

**ALSO**

AMERICA'S  
COMMON  
GROUND:

*The Wilderness  
Act at 50*

THE NEXT  
AMERICA:

*Generational  
Change  
Transforms  
the Nation*

SUMMER 2014 | VOL. 16, NO. 2

# Trust

The Pew Charitable Trusts

## Kentucky Writes a New Story

*How Pew helped leaders in  
the Bluegrass State find  
agreement on divisive issues*





## Bridging Differences With Data

MANY AMERICANS BELIEVE that government is hopelessly gridlocked and that the partisan divide is beyond repair. There are certainly strident voices on both sides of most policy issues. But many people in public service put the collective good ahead of personal gain or political interests. And there are elected officials at all levels of government who work together and find common ground.

My colleagues and I frequently work with public servants who think creatively, make bold decisions, and reach across the aisle to serve the interests of their communities. And while these voices of compromise sometimes get lost in the din of polarized discourse, they are often the unsung heroes of public service. We should applaud their achievements and celebrate their successes, which benefit us all.

At Pew, we believe that reliable and verifiable data—produced from solid, nonpartisan research—can build bridges between differing opinions. We often find that policy challenges go unaddressed—or become divisive—because useful information does not exist or is not accessible. In those cases, we try to ask relevant questions; gather information from polling, demographic research, or scientific inquiry; and come up with authoritative data around which opposing views can come to an agreement and find achievable, effective solutions.

In our environmental work, we are often reminded and encouraged by the success of the bipartisan Wilderness Act, passed by Congress in 1964 with only a few dissenting votes. Over its first 50 years, this landmark legislation has saved close to 110 million acres of wilderness in more than 40 states. The American people have used this law to encourage Congress to work together to preserve some of the most stunning and diverse wild lands in the United States. Today, although preserving wilderness has become more politically challenging, we continue to make progress toward our goal of safeguarding pristine public land. This issue of *Trust* includes award-winning photographs that exemplify the beautiful landscapes the Wilderness Act is intended to protect.

As our cover story illustrates, bipartisan progress is also much in evidence at the state level. Kentucky stands out as a state where Republicans and Democrats—despite their deeply held and often opposing points of view—have worked

together for the greater good and, using reliable data, found consensus on how to solve critical challenges.

For example, in 2011, Kentucky lawmakers took data provided by Pew and let the facts guide their deliberations. They passed legislation requiring that every inmate undergo a period of post-release supervision, which makes it less likely that offenders will commit new crimes and saves taxpayers millions of dollars. This year, Pew partnered with Kentucky legislators to overhaul the state's juvenile justice system and reduce by one-third the number of juvenile offenders sent to detention. These policies still require offenders to pay their debt to society, but in a more cost-effective way.

We also worked with a Kentucky task force to break political gridlock and forge an agreement on the state's

***We often find that policy challenges go unaddressed—or become divisive—because useful information does not exist or is not accessible.***

unfunded pension liabilities. The new plan attracted support across the political spectrum and will improve the fiscal health of Kentucky's pension system while protecting the retirement security of current and future workers.

If you wonder whether fact-based progress will become more common in the years ahead, a good place to start is an examination of the views of the Millennial Generation. These young people range in age from 18 to 33, are largely politically independent, and are forging a unique path to adulthood. The Pew Research Center has studied the implications of this new group of citizens. *The Next America*, an important book excerpted here, explains the attitudes and interests of this up-and-coming generation, what they may mean for the future of America, and why some scholars believe they could be our next great civic generation.

This much we know for certain: All of us who came of age before the Millennial Generation have a responsibility to show these future leaders what it means to get involved, set aside partisan differences, compromise, and—with facts in hand—act in the best interests of our communities, bridging what divides us and building on our shared future.

**REBECCA W. RIMEL**  
*President and CEO*

# The Pew Charitable Trusts

## BOARD OF DIRECTORS

ROBERT H. CAMPBELL  
SUSAN W. CATHERWOOD  
ARISTIDES W. GEORGANTAS  
MARY GRAHAM  
JAMES S. PEW  
J. HOWARD PEW II  
J.N. PEW IV, M.D.  
MARY CATHARINE PEW, M.D.  
R. ANDERSON PEW  
SANDY FORD PEW  
REBECCA W. RIMEL  
DORIS PEW SCOTT  
ROBERT G. WILLIAMS

## PRESIDENT AND CEO

REBECCA W. RIMEL

## SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT

FOR COMMUNICATIONS  
MELISSA SKOLFIELD

## SENIOR DIRECTOR, EDITORIAL

BERNARD OHANIAN

## EDITOR

DANIEL LEDUC

## EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS

ANAHI BACA  
ERIC WRONA

## CONTRIBUTING WRITERS

JOHN BRILEY  
CAROL HUTCHINSON  
MEGAN MCVEY  
MICHAEL REMEZ

## PHOTO EDITOR

KATYE MARTENS

## DESIGN/ART DIRECTION

DAVID HERBICK DESIGN

One Commerce Square  
2005 Market Street, Suite 2800  
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](http://www.pewtrusts.org)

# Trust

SUMMER 2014 | VOL. 16, No. 2

The Pew Charitable Trusts  
© 2014 The Pew Charitable Trusts  
ISSN: 1540-4587

## → Contents



12



25

### 6 A Kentucky Tale

From controlling prison costs to rescuing its pension fund, the Bluegrass State has become a laboratory of ideas—and a story of accomplishment. *By Peter Perl*

### 12 America's Common Ground

A tribute in photographs to the 50th anniversary of the Wilderness Act. *Essay by Don Belt*

### 22 The Next America

Demographically, politically, economically, socially, and technologically, the generations are more different from each other than at any time—and the divisions are transforming the nation. *By Paul Taylor*

### 25 A Fragile Center

Through statistics and voices, a portrait of Philadelphia's middle class after decades of decline. *By Tom Infield*

#### 2 BRIEFLY NOTED

A New National Monument in New Mexico and other news

#### 28 NEWS

A Polarized America Lives as It Votes

#### 30 LESSONS LEARNED

An evaluation of Pew's campaign to conserve wild lands in Canada and Australia critical to global biological diversity

#### 32 DISPATCH: SAN JUAN

In Search of Spawning Fish

#### 34 PEW PARTNERS

Results That Bring Change

#### 36 RETURN ON INVESTMENT

Some of Pew's recent accomplishments

#### 40 END NOTE

Young Adults, Student Debt, and Economic Well-being

**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.

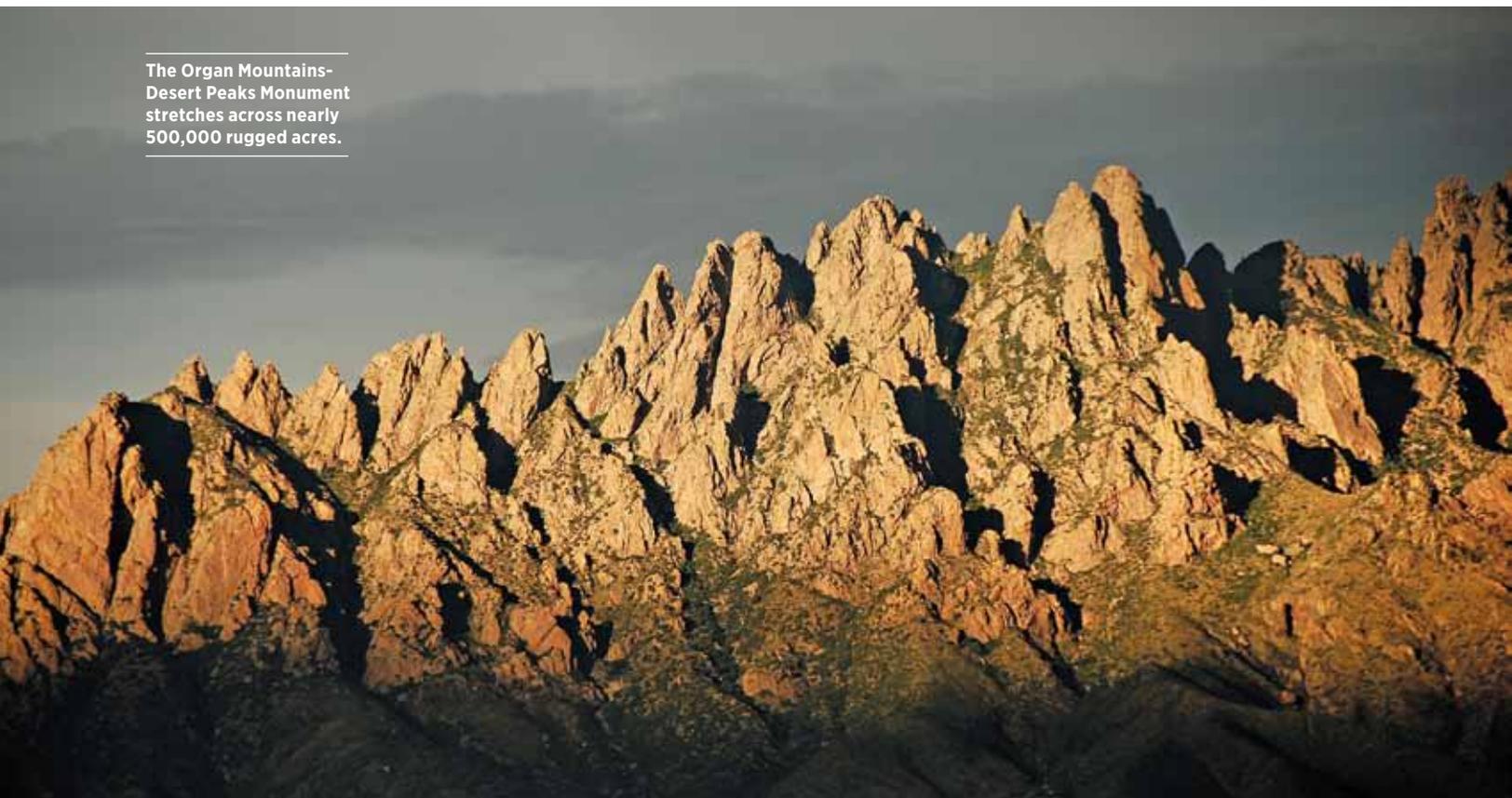
Pew is the sole beneficiary of seven individual charitable funds established between 1948 and 1979 by two sons and two daughters of Sun Oil Company founder Joseph N. Pew and his wife, Mary Anderson Pew.

---

# *Briefly* **NOTED**

---

The Organ Mountains-Desert Peaks Monument stretches across nearly 500,000 rugged acres.



---

## *A New National Monument Is Declared in New Mexico*

Once it was the home of pre-Columbian Indians. Later it was frequented by some of the most legendary figures of the Old West, including Billy the Kid and Geronimo. And now, 496,000 acres of ecologically and historically significant open land in southern New Mexico has been permanently protected for present and future Americans to experience as the new

Organ Mountains-Desert Peaks National Monument.

The May 21 declaration by President Barack Obama—who invoked “our obligation to be good stewards to the next generation”—concluded a decade of work by The Pew Charitable Trusts and local partners that had sought to safeguard the area.

The coalition built support among

diverse communities, including Native Americans, sportsmen, Hispanic leaders, border security experts, military veterans, business owners, ranchers, historians, and faith groups. The beauty and history of the region will be preserved “to make sure that our children’s children get the same chance to experience all of these natural wonders,” President Obama said during his announcement at the Interior Department headquarters in Washington.

The region, located in Doña Ana County, offers visitors a wide array of attractions and landscapes, including desert grasslands, wildflower meadows,

rugged mountain peaks, hundreds of native plant and animal species, and historic sites and artifacts. Portions of the Butterfield Stagecoach Trail, as well as landmarks along the Camino Real—the “royal road” traveled by Spanish traders from Mexico to the American West—also traverse the wild expanse.

The designation as a national monument, the largest of President Obama’s administration, is expected to boost economic activity in the area, including job creation.

“Our magnificent Organ Mountains-Desert Peaks region attracts people from around the state and country for its cultural heritage and natural beauty,” says Nora Barraza, mayor of Mesilla. The monument “will only increase the appreciation of and visitation to these lands. By permanently protecting this special area, we have conserved the crossroads of New Mexico’s diverse history and culture.”

The state’s U.S. senators had sought to protect the land through legislation, but when it stalled in Congress, they joined the local community in asking President Obama for help. He created the monument using his authority under the Antiquities Act, a 1906 law that allows the president to declare “historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest” on public land. The Organ Mountains-Desert Peaks designation will protect the lands for the future while preserving existing uses such as hunting, hiking, and grazing.

“It is extremely gratifying to see this area protected as the result of an upwelling of interest on the part of such a diverse cross section of New Mexico society,” says Joshua S. Reichert, Pew’s executive vice president who oversees environmental programs. “Hopefully, it will serve to leverage action by Congress to protect some of the sites which are the targets of the other 25 campaigns we have mounted in partnership with local groups.”

—CAROL HUTCHINSON

## *Illegal Fishing And Ideas to End It*

**I**llegal fishing is causing social, economic, and environmental problems around the globe. Criminal fishermen, often using vessels that are hundreds of feet long, are stealing up to 1,800 pounds of fish per second from the world’s oceans, a haul worth up to \$23.5 billion every year. The crime deprives fishing communities in the developing world of food and income; takes fish that otherwise might be available for law-abiding fleets; harms the marine environment; confounds efforts to manage fisheries sustainably; and deceives consumers, who assume that the fish they buy were caught legally.

But solutions are within reach. On June 29, Tony Long, who directs The Pew Charitable Trusts’ ending illegal fishing project, spoke at the Aspen Ideas Festival about one strategy: the use of satellite technology to help track fishing boats and, ultimately, confront and prosecute illegal fishers. The annual festival in Colorado draws thought leaders from around the world; this year’s lineup included Hillary Rodham Clinton, Robert De Niro, Newt Gingrich, and Arianna Huffington.

Long, a former British Royal Navy commander who joined Pew in 2012, told a near-capacity audience that technology alone cannot root out illegal fishers. Satellite systems “can reduce [a vessel search area] to a manageable size,” but catching offenders requires expert analysis and cooperation among authorities, Long said. “I can look at data and see that a captain turned off his vessel’s automatic [location] transponder. Why? Did it break? Did he sink? Or is he doing something illegal? If I’m a fisheries authority, I’ll want to talk to him to get some answers.” The ability of advanced satellite systems to recognize vessels’ patterns of movement, keep watch over marine protected areas, and track individual boats should help



**Pew’s Tony Long explained how satellite technology can help end illegal fishing.**

authorities monitor the oceans with far greater effectiveness and efficiency than in the past.

Illegal fishing is drawing attention from other high places: The Obama administration in June announced creation of a White House task force to work across all U.S. agencies to fight illegal fishing. It also will improve ocean-to-shelf tracing of seafood to boost the certainty that consumers are buying fish that is legally caught and accurately labeled.

—JOHN BRILEY

---

## *New Shark Protections in Caribbean Waters*

**T**he world’s sharks are in trouble, but the British Virgin Islands has done its part to help protect them by establishing a shark and ray sanctuary in its territorial waters.

With the declaration in May, the British overseas territory joined The Bahamas and Honduras as leaders in efforts to preserve these critical apex

predators in the Caribbean Sea. The Bahamas and Honduras established sanctuaries in 2011.

Because sharks grow slowly, are late to mature, and produce few young, they are especially vulnerable to overfishing and slow to recover from depletion. The demand for fins and other shark products has driven a number of shark species close to extinction.

But sanctuaries provide protections that allow endangered populations to replenish. The Pew Charitable Trusts' global shark conservation program has been working with governments around the world—particularly in the Caribbean and the Pacific Ocean—to put more in place. So far, 10 sanctuaries have been established. “About 100 million sharks are being killed every year. More than half of all sharks and rays are estimated to be threatened or near threatened with extinction due to overfishing,” says Imogen Zethoven, who directs Pew's shark conservation campaign. “Shark sanctuaries will allow their populations to recover.”

Commercial fishing of sharks and rays is now prohibited across the British Virgin Islands' entire exclusive economic zone of 30,933 square miles, which is home to at least 23 species of sharks, including tiger, hammerhead, and oceanic whitetip. The territory has banned the sale, export, import, and possession of sharks and rays, including meat and fins, as well the intentional removal of the fins or tail of a shark. These actions serve as a model for shark conservation that can spread across the region.

Sharks play an important role in maintaining the balance of the ocean environment. As top predators, they regulate the variety and abundance of species in the food web, including commercially important fish species. Sharks also help to maintain healthy marine habitats, such as coral reefs.

—MICHAEL REMEZ



Dental therapists, already at work in Minneapolis, have expanded care.

## Maine Increases Dental Care Access

Fifteen of Maine's 16 counties have dentist shortages, so state officials in April authorized the use of midlevel dental providers, who will expand care for thousands of patients, especially in places where dentists are hard to find.

The law authorizing dental hygiene therapists, who will function much like nurse practitioners or physician assistants on medical teams, passed with bipartisan support. It allows the providers, who will work under the supervision of dentists, to perform preventive and routine restorative care such as filling cavities.

Research shows that private-practice dentists who hire midlevel dental providers can serve more patients and improve their bottom lines. A recent Pew Charitable Trusts study that examined the use of a dental therapist in a rural private practice found that in the therapist's first year, the number of new patients increased by 38 percent, the share of Medicaid patients increased from 26 percent to 39 percent, and the dentist was able to focus on more advanced procedures.

Based on a growing body of research, Pew has advocated greater use of midlevel providers, especially in areas where dental care is scarce. Dental therapists are already working in Alaska and Minnesota, and 15

states are considering legislation to authorize midlevel providers. In Maine, the shortage of dentists has made it difficult for about 180,000 residents to receive care; in 2011, more than 62 percent of low-income children in the state did not have access to a dentist. Public health advocates welcome the new law.

“This legislation will give us the flexibility we need to offer dental care in a financially sustainable way,” says Julian Kuffler, M.D., M.P.H., who is medical director of the Community Health Center at Mount Desert Island Hospital in Southwest Harbor, Maine. “We'll be able to hire a dentist knowing that we can also hire a dental hygiene therapist to work as part of the team to extend care for the most-needed routine services.”

—MEGAN MCVEY

## Maxed Out, With No Supervision

More than 1 in 5 inmates released from state prisons serve their entire sentences behind bars and return to the community without supervision, even though research consistently shows that some oversight of inmates in the months after release makes it less likely that they will commit new crimes.

The finding comes in a report from The Pew Charitable Trusts' public safety per-

formance project that received widespread attention when it was released in June. The analysis shows that efforts to make society safer are actually being undermined by policies adopted around the nation in the past several decades that result in offenders serving their full sentences behind bars. Such policies do not allow time for parole and probation authorities to monitor ex-offenders or help them make the transition back into society with substance abuse, mental health, and other programs.

“There’s a broad consensus that public safety is best served when offenders have a period of supervision and services when they leave prison,” says Adam Gelb, who directs the public safety performance project. “Yet the trend is toward releasing more and more inmates without any supervision or services whatsoever. Carving out a supervision period from the prison sentence can cut crime and corrections costs.”

The report, *Max Out: The Rise in Prison Inmates Released Without Supervision*, finds that from 1990 to 2012, the number of inmates who “maxed out” their sentences grew 119 percent, from fewer than 50,000 to more than 100,000.

Some states are beginning to recognize that a change in approach is needed. In the past few years, at least eight states—Kansas, Kentucky, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and West Virginia—adopted reforms to ensure that authorities can supervise all or most offenders after release from prison. These policies typically carve out the supervision period from the prison sentence rather than adding time for it after release. This allows states to reduce prison spending and reinvest some of the savings in stronger recidivism-reduction programs. A Pew-commissioned evaluation of such a policy in Kentucky found that offenders who served shorter prison terms followed by supervision were less likely to return to prison for new crimes than were those who maxed out behind bars.

Pew has worked in many states to help reform policies that will lead to improved public safety and more effective use of tax dollars. “The prevailing philosophy used to be that we just turn inmates loose at the prison gate with nothing more than a bus ticket and the clothes on their back,” Gelb says. “Now policymakers on both sides of the aisle are starting to realize that if you’re serious about public safety, you need more effective strategies.”

—DANIEL LEDUC

---

## Setting a Course Correction for the World’s Seas

The high seas—which lie beyond the national waters of any country—make up 45 percent of the planet’s total surface area and face increasing threats from overfishing, habitat destruction, biodiversity loss, ineffective governance, and lax enforcement of regulations. In response to those concerns, the Global Ocean Commission, an independent panel of 17 world leaders, has proposed a “rescue package” aimed

at restoring ocean health to protect the valuable benefits the seas provide.

The recommendations, released June 24, identify the lack of adequate governance on the high seas as a key issue and call for negotiation of a new agreement under the U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea to help restore ocean productivity; guard against inequitable and wasteful exploitation; and allow for the creation of high seas marine protected areas.

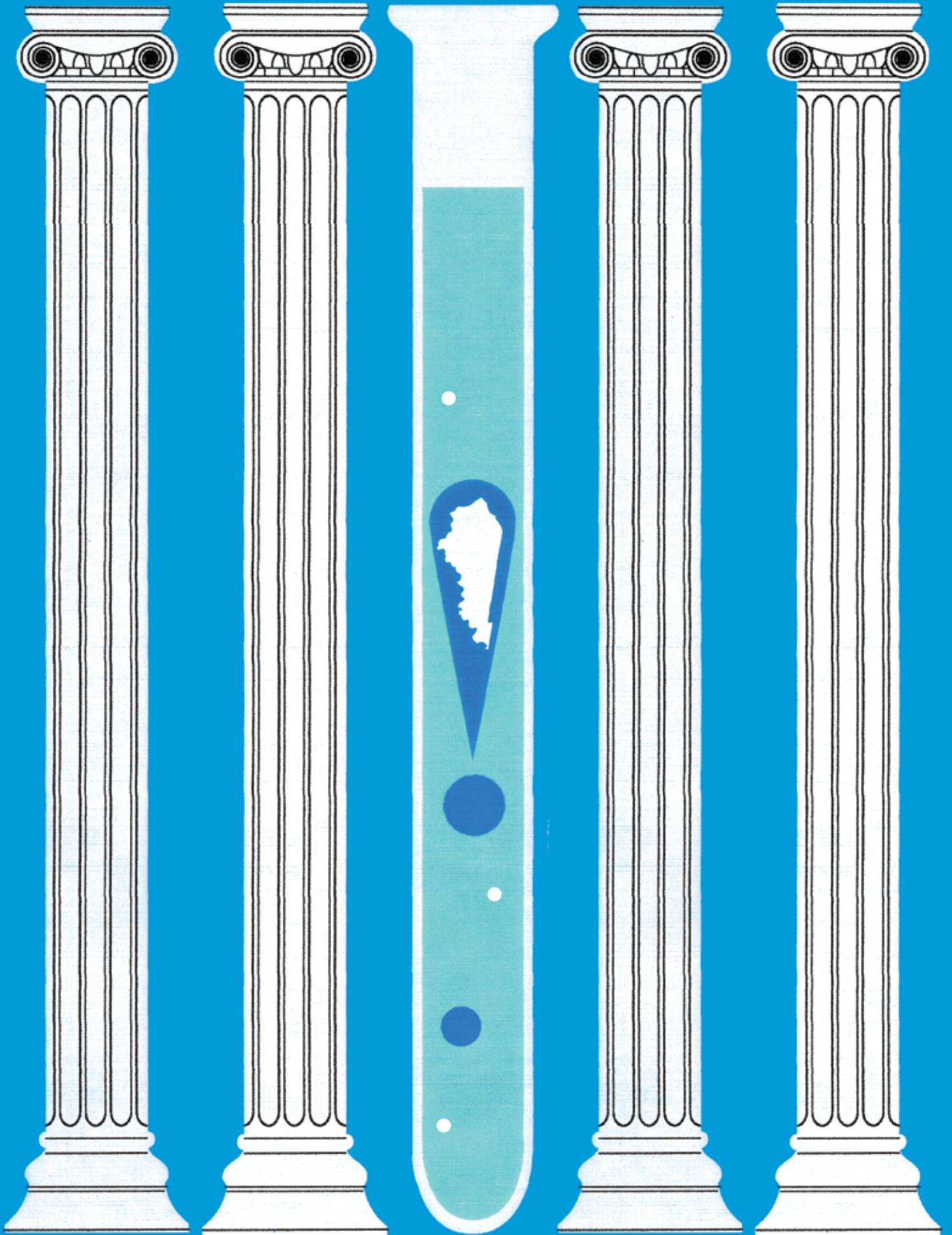
The commission also proposes mandatory tracking of all vessels fishing on the high seas, a ban on the transshipment of fish at sea, measures to end pollution from plastic waste, and global standards for the regulation and control of offshore oil and gas exploration and exploitation.

The commission operates independently but originated as an initiative of The Pew Charitable Trusts. It is supported by a partnership among Pew, the Adessium Foundation, Oceans 5, and the Swire Group Charitable Trust and is hosted at Somerville College at the University of Oxford. Pew has a long-standing interest in promoting healthy oceans and a decade ago sponsored the Pew Oceans Commission, which drew attention to the plight of U.S. waters.

—DANIEL LEDUC



Plastic waste and other trash litter the world’s oceans, threatening the health of the seas.



---

*With Pew's help, Kentucky lawmakers found agreement on divisive issues through research-based evidence that pointed to solid solutions. From controlling prison costs to rescuing its pension fund, the Bluegrass State has become a laboratory of ideas—and a story of accomplishment.*

---

# LEADING WITH FACTS

---

**BY PETER PERL**

ILLUSTRATION BY MATTHEW HOLLISTER

**I**n his 38 years as a public defender in Kentucky, Edward Monahan observed with growing alarm—and then anger—the irrationality of a juvenile justice system that incarcerated tens of thousands of young people for offenses that wouldn't even be crimes if committed by an adult: running away from home, alcohol or tobacco use, chronic truancy, persistent tardiness, or disobeying a judge's order to return to school and do their homework.

Children as young as 10 or 11 were removed from their homes for these "status offenses" and locked up in detention facilities, sometimes housed with violent youth. "This is morally inappropriate, morally indefensible," says Monahan, who is now Kentucky's chief public defender, supervising a staff of 335 lawyers in 120 counties. "These were almost 100 percent social problems that are just not criminal-justice problems." For

---

years, Kentucky consistently ranked first or second among all states for what former Juvenile Justice Commissioner Hasan Davis called the “criminalizing” of children’s behavior.

This system cost Kentucky a fortune: Each bed in a secure facility costs taxpayers more than \$87,000 a year, according to state legislators, who noted that jailing a child for a single year could pay the same child’s tuition for all four years at some of the state’s best universities—with \$40,000 left over.

But thanks in large part to an innovative partnership with Pew’s public safety performance project, Kentucky lawmakers in 2014 approved a comprehensive overhaul that is projected to reduce the out-of-home population at the Department of Juvenile Justice by more than one-third, saving the state as much as \$24 million in the next five years. Beyond that, the new law sets up an evidence-based diversion process that will keep thousands of other nonviolent juvenile offenders out of the criminal justice system altogether, while limiting the lengths of stay and supervision for lesser offenses, and reinvesting the new law’s savings into other evidenced-based alternatives to out-of-home placement.



---

*“These issues are very, very complex. So it was invaluable for Kentucky to have an outside, independent expert with the reputation of Pew to come in and work with us.”* —Kentucky Governor Steven L. Beshear

---

All this, while making sure that public safety remains paramount as the new system evolves.

The juvenile justice reform marks the latest of four significant policy changes in the last four years in Kentucky which Pew has collaborated on, helping to make the state’s government more effective and efficient. Since 2011, Pew has provided research, analysis, and technical assistance that helped the state adopt sweeping changes not only for improving treatment of juveniles in Kentucky, but for strategically reducing the exploding cost and population of the adult prison system, while also reducing recidivism; stabilizing the deeply troubled public employee pension system; and strengthening the state’s family support and coaching program, often known as “home visiting,” for vulnerable new and expectant mothers and their children.

Pew has launched more projects in Kentucky than in any other state, largely because the topics of deepest concern to

its Legislature coincided with those public policy problems that Pew had been actively studying. And if it seems that all roads are leading to the state capitol in Frankfort, there’s nobody happier about it than Governor Steven L. Beshear. The second-term Democrat says the depth and breadth of Pew’s research, its familiarity with best practices throughout state governments around the country, and its data-driven and nonpartisan transparency about the potential effects of government policies have made all the difference for Kentucky.

“These issues are very, very complex and they lent themselves to a number of political land mines along the way. So it was invaluable for Kentucky to have an outside, independent expert with the reputation of Pew to come in and work with us,” Gov.

Beshear says. “They brought a sense of nonpartisanship and even-handedness on the issues that helped all of us raise the discussion to the policy level and avoid arguing at the political level.”

---

**Kentucky is neither a red state nor**

**blue:** The House of Representatives has long been controlled by Democrats, the Senate by Republicans. The governor is a Democrat; both U.S. senators are Republican. If this decidedly purple hue doesn’t make successful governing difficult enough, the Legislature meets for only 30 days in odd-numbered years and 60 days during even-numbered years—when its main task is to pass a biennial

budget. Not surprisingly, most major legislation barely inches forward, often getting pushed off to a subsequent year, when it’s studied by a committee and then pushed off again.

“For a decade, we formed task forces, but we never even nibbled at the problem; we just kicked the can down the road,” says Democratic Representative John Tilley, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, who played a key role in the 2014 juvenile legislation as well as the 2011 passage of the Public Safety and Offender Accountability Act, which was aimed at reducing adult corrections costs and recidivism. “Pew’s involvement made all the difference, from literally thousands of hours of their research and technical assistance to their ability to draw from their experience in other states.”

Republicans and Democrats agree that what ultimately led to success in juvenile and adult corrections, state pensions, and home visiting was bipartisanship. While Pew did not create a bipartisan atmosphere in Frankfort, it gets nearly universal praise for nurturing the bipartisan yearnings of well-meaning

---

*Peter Perl* is a former writer and editor for *The Washington Post Magazine*.

---

lawmakers by providing them reliable, convincing, and objective information in timely and large quantities.

“Pew just had a lot of firepower. And it was firepower we could not have mustered on our own,” if the state tried to do it, Rep. Tilley says.

Pew already was a well-known institution to many veteran legislative leaders who had attended numerous Pew-sponsored government conferences over the years. Several had previous relationships with Pew, such as Juvenile Commissioner Davis, a former youth-violence prevention worker in Lexington who received a “civic entrepreneur” fellowship from Pew in 1998 and became a strong supporter of its work.

But what really put Pew on Kentucky’s radar was the 2009 study, *One in 31: The Long Reach of American Corrections*, a state-by-state analysis of the nation’s corrections population of 7.3 million. Kentucky officials had grappled long and unsuccessfully with adult prison reform, and say they were finally shocked into action by the Pew report, which pointed out, to the dismay of Kentuckians, that the Bluegrass State had the most dramatic growth in prison population of all 50 states.

This pattern of state governments studying and restudying issues before working directly with Pew is quite common, says Alexis Schuler, Pew’s senior director for state assistance projects. She says that the initial success on the Kentucky prison project built Frankfort’s trust in Pew’s research approach, leading to collaboration on the other projects. “It’s all in service of getting good, evidence-based policy change enacted into law,” Schuler says, which means that Pew and its legislative allies have to tailor their approach in each state, on each issue, to determine what would work in each political and social environment.

What unites all of Pew’s efforts is that they are driven by voluminous data that yields evidence of what works. In the states, that means pinpointing what policymakers can do more effectively and more economically for taxpayers and for the citizens served by the programs. Pew also provides technical assistance in development of policy proposals and assists with communications and legislative strategy.

Jack Brammer, a government reporter for the *Lexington Herald-Leader* who has covered Kentucky and the State House for 36 years, divides the Legislature’s effectiveness on corrections issues into two eras: “pre-Pew” and afterwards. Initially, he says, “legislators just did not have the information and knowledge

of what other states were doing.... Then Pew comes in and they get ready access, and it seems to speed up the process.” Juvenile justice reform was stalled repeatedly, but this time, “I can’t say whether Kentucky would have passed this without Pew, but I know that Pew definitely made it easier.”

---

**While juvenile justice was its most recent** success story in Kentucky, Pew’s public safety performance project, launched nearly a decade ago, has helped improve corrections laws in many states, including Texas, which has one of the nation’s largest prison systems, using an approach that seeks to reframe the public debate, taking it beyond liberal vs. conservative, or soft on crime vs. tough on crime. The goal, instead, is to be smart on crime. In Kentucky, this meant focusing on public safety and on the efficiency and cost-effectiveness of government, a particular concern in one of the nation’s poorest states.

J. Michael Brown, secretary of the Justice and Public Safety Cabinet, says the state had always prided itself on vigorously “fighting the war on drugs



---

*“Pew’s involvement made all the difference, from literally thousands of hours of their research and technical assistance to their ability to draw from their experience in other states.”* —Representative John Tilley

---

and being tough on crime,” without fully examining the costly consequences. When Gov. Beshear, shortly after being elected in 2007, asked Brown to lead a task force on drugs and the penal code, Kentuckians weren’t aware of the devastating impact of recidivism. Roughly 50 percent of released prisoners committed new crimes or violated their parole, returning them to prison and driving the annual prison budget beyond \$400 million, according to state estimates, growing at a faster rate than every state function except Medicaid.

Pew staff, having highlighted the state’s particularly severe problems in its 2009 corrections report, reached out to state officials with an offer of help. On June 3, 2010, the deal was sealed with a formal letter from Kentucky’s governor, chief justice, Senate president, and House speaker asking for Pew’s assistance and committing to reinvesting some of the expected savings from reforms into effective, community-based programs. Pew seeks those commitments before agreeing to work in a state.

After that, as many as a dozen of the institution’s policy

---

experts, researchers, and consultants launched what would become a nine-month effort assisting lawmakers in Frankfort, says Adam Gelb, who directs the public safety performance project.

Pew documented the cost of a system and key drivers of the prison population. One of the most glaring problems was that more than 4,000 prisoners “maxed out” their prison terms each year and were released, with no probation or parole supervision, leaving them ill-equipped for returning to the outside world. “At the end of the day, we’d just open the door, send them on their way, and say ‘Good luck,’” Brown says.

After months of task force proceedings, public hearings, and legislative maneuvering, Kentucky lawmakers had grappled with numerous aspects of prison costs and human outcomes, and the resulting Public Safety and Offender Accountability Act passed unanimously in the Senate and by a vote of 96 to 1 in the House.

One key provision was the concept of “mandatory reentry supervision,” a program under which inmates are either released to supervision and counseling six months before their sentences expire,



---

*“I thought we would end up in the usual partisan impasse,” but the Pew team “brought a level of seriousness, credibility and nonpartisanship...and they never tried to push a specific agenda.”* —Senator Damon Thayer

---

or are released with a requirement to serve an additional year under supervision of probation and parole officers.

The result has been “an unassailable success,” says Brown. Between January 2012 and May 2014, more than 8,800 inmates entered the mandatory reentry supervision program, and their rate of committing new offenses declined by 30 percent. In all, he says, “that means we have saved more than 1 million ‘incarceration-days’ and saved \$33,193,746.92.” Brown pauses. “Yes, you heard it right: 33 million, 193 thousand, 746 dollars, and 92 cents. We know this down to the penny.” And Kentucky officials predict that when all the provisions of the new law are fully operating, the savings will be \$422 million over the next decade.

The law requires that each year, a percentage of the savings must be reinvested, which so far has enabled the hiring of 150 new staff to work with offenders—using proven practices highlighted by Pew that reduce recidivism, such as substance abuse and mental health programs. In addition to reducing prison time for low-risk, nonviolent offenders, the law requires that by 2016, Kentucky must ensure that 75 percent of

spending on supervision and intervention goes to programs empirically demonstrated to reduce recidivism.

One key reason the legislation was initially well-received was that Pew never lost sight of the public safety message for the public, lawmakers say. While reducing the prison population can dovetail with goals often associated with political liberals, such as social justice and racial equality, the adult corrections legislation was also supported by Right on Crime, a campaign featuring prominent conservatives Newt Gingrich, William Bennett, Grover Norquist, and Edwin Meese III. Pew has collaborated with Right on Crime in other states as well, helping raise awareness of support for reforms based on conservative principles of limited government and fiscal discipline.

---

**The adult corrections legislation** earned a top “transformational” rating from the Kentucky Chamber of Commerce, a rare distinction. Even more rare is that the chamber awarded the same rating the following year to another significant policy change Pew helped state policymakers achieve.

Like prisons, the public pension system in Kentucky was in crisis—a crisis in the shadows, with few people understanding its severity. And as with prisons, it took Pew’s unearthing of impossible-to-ignore data to finally spur the state to action. Pew had issued reports in 2007

and 2010 targeting the time bomb of debt that states had taken on—not just billions of dollars, but trillions. Kentucky, like many states, had a history of increasing its workers’ benefits without fully funding them, and had taken a huge loss in its investments following the 2008 recession.

Kentucky’s pension plan had become one of the worst-funded in the country, covering only 55 percent of its total liabilities, and reaching by 2012 a projected shortfall of \$23.6 billion—more than twice what the state collects annually in taxes. That year, Pew launched a nationwide pension-reform effort, and Kentucky, which formed a pension task force, became one of Pew’s first projects, conducted in a partnership with the Laura and John Arnold Foundation.

“We really tried to focus the debate away from placing blame on how Kentucky got there. It’s good to know why it happened, but it doesn’t help you move forward,” says David Draine, Pew’s senior researcher on state fiscal issues. And Pew found that its success with corrections reform in the state helped pave the way for its work on pensions. Pew’s

team helped with complex technical and actuarial work and, Draine says, “made ourselves accessible to all the stakeholders: the task force, labor, retirees, and the business community.”

The long-standing pension gridlock hinged on whether to change the existing “defined benefit” plan, favored by Democrats, which guaranteed workers a specific income, versus the Republican-backed “defined contribution” obligating the state to pay a fixed sum—but giving workers no fixed payout amount, because of investment risk. Complicating matters, neither political party wanted to cut benefits that were already promised to current workers and retirees.

Drawing on knowledge of other states’ plans and which of them had been effective, Pew outlined a choice of “hybrid” options that would guarantee benefits—but not as generously as before, and with workers and the state sharing in the risk of potential future investment losses.

“I thought we would end up in the usual partisan impasse that we’d had for years,” says Republican Senator Damon Thayer. “Things were never moving.” He credited Gov. Beshear for reaching out to Republicans, but says the Pew team provided the crucial impetus. They “brought a level of seriousness, credibility and nonpartisanship... and they never tried to push a specific agenda.” Proposed compromises passed the state task force by a vote of 11-1, which helped give Sen. Thayer and his House counterpart, Democratic Representative Mike Cherry, the opportunity to enthusiastically pitch the package to their colleagues.

The full Legislature was receptive and enacted multiple reforms, among them mandating no cost-of-living increases unless matched by new funding, and committing the state to full funding of the entire pension system. It also diverted \$100 million from road construction to the pension system. Passed overwhelmingly on the final day of the 2013 Legislature, the new law prompted House Speaker Greg Stumbo to call it one of the greatest achievements in his 29-year tenure.

---

**Instead of controversy and gridlock** that had bound up corrections and pension reform in the past, Pew’s home-visiting initiative in Kentucky was confronted with a different kind of challenge: how to make meaningful improvements in a program that virtually everyone agreed was vital to thousands of vulnerable children and was already running very well and cost-effectively.

Kentucky’s family support and coaching program—called Health Access Nurturing Development Services (HANDS)—started in 2000 and is regarded as one of the best of its kind in the country, according to Karen Kavanaugh, director of Pew’s home visiting campaign. HANDS operates in each of Kentucky’s 120 counties, and is open to all first-time parents deemed at risk. Trained providers, linked to county

health departments, work with nurses and parent educators to meet diverse family needs regarding health, substance abuse, and a range of social services.

About 38 percent of all first-time Kentucky parents have had contact with HANDS, which makes about 160,000 home visits per year to some 10,600 families. And most important for taxpayers, HANDS says that for every dollar it spends on aiding infants and families, the state saves about \$2 by substantially reducing the number of low birth-weight infants, emergency room visits, child abuse and neglect cases and more. HANDS also claims to have raised academic performance, advanced employment of mothers, and increased the number of fathers moving back into households.

Kavanaugh says Pew’s primary goal was to help Kentucky enact “accountability legislation” that would codify the high standards and measures of success shown by HANDS and elevate awareness of the program in the Legislature. In contrast to pre-K, a well-known early childhood service which Pew helped Kentucky strengthen and expand in 2010, home visiting does not often share the same profile.

The law Kentucky stakeholders developed with Pew’s assistance would mandate that the state only fund future home-visiting programs that met the standards of HANDS and also complemented rather than duplicated existing services.

To pursue this goal, Pew formed a partnership with the Prichard Committee for Academic Excellence, a prominent Kentucky nonprofit, nonpartisan volunteer organization that has been working effectively on children’s issues for more than 25 years.

Because of public concern about spending tax dollars wisely, the committee saw the accountability legislation as bolstering the program’s future. “Pew strategies have been very, very helpful,” says Cindy Heine, Prichard’s associate executive director. She credits Pew with arranging for various interest groups, including law enforcement, to speak in favor of HANDS.

Pew would like to expand the scope and funding of HANDS and is working toward that end, Kavanaugh says. But she adds that she is happy with the new legislation and the fact that in a difficult budget year, HANDS avoided cuts suffered by other programs because the legislative campaign elevated its importance and impact among lawmakers.

In all four projects—adult corrections reform, juvenile justice improvements, pension changes, and the home-visiting program—Pew has pledged to continue its services by helping Kentucky policymakers assess the success of each new law. This commitment is no surprise to Diana Taylor, a Frankfort-based communications consultant who worked with Pew staff on the four bills. “Pew didn’t just make recommendations and go home. They stayed and worked, and it’s tough work.” ■

 For more information, go to [pewtrusts.org/kentucky](http://pewtrusts.org/kentucky)

# America's Common Ground

A celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Wilderness Act | BY DON BELT

*“There are no words that can tell the hidden spirit of the wilderness, that can reveal its mystery, its melancholy, and its charm.”*

—THEODORE ROOSEVELT

**Fifty years ago this summer**, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed into law the Wilderness Act, which had been working its way toward his desk for eight long years, like a vine seeking sunlight through a forest of red tape. Authored by Howard Zahniser of the Wilderness Society, the bill had survived 66 rewrites and 18 congressional hearings going all the way back to the Eisenhower administration.

Finally, on Sept. 3, 1964, with a flourish of his pen, LBJ set aside 9.1 million acres of American wilderness, defined by the new law as “an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammelled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain.”

Amid the often harsh partisanship of today, it may be hard to imagine the broad level of support that conservation enjoyed from both political parties in the 1960s. It was a time of awakening: The “greening” of America, which some trace to the 1962 publication of Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring*, had begun to raise public awareness of the threats to our water, air, wildlife, and health from man-made pollutants and pesticides. The conservation movement promoted by



The photographs on these pages are included in an exhibit honoring the 50th anniversary of the Wilderness Act at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History in Washington. The exhibit, which Pew helped sponsor, opens Sept. 3 and runs through January 2015.

**Three Sisters Wilderness,  
Oregon**  
*Photograph by Thomas Goebel*



Theodore Roosevelt and John Muir in the early 20th century was becoming a national priority, if not yet a lifestyle (that was to come in the 1970s). Having begun as a nation of westward pioneers, we increasingly saw wilderness, raw and untamed, as an essential part of our national character.

So as he signed the Wilderness Act into law, President Johnson, the master legislator, was proud to note that Congress had passed the bill by a vote of 73-12 in the Senate and 373-1 in the House of Representatives—a testament to the importance of “far-reaching conservation measures,” he declared, to “a far-sighted nation.”

In the five decades since, nearly 100 million acres have been protected in some 760 areas in the National Wilderness Preservation System, thanks in part to the efforts of The Pew Charitable Trusts and other organizations that work to raise public awareness and the resources necessary to set aside tracts of wilderness. Today, Congress is considering two dozen bills that would add 2.6 million acres of wilderness to the system, and Pew, having supported local advocates with survey research, communications assistance, and campaign expertise, is now working with the bills’ sponsors to educate the public and elected representatives about the lasting value of these areas.

The people most responsible for the act’s success, however, are ordinary Americans who love wilderness in their own areas enough to do the hard work of conservation, banding together with local elected officials, sportsmen, business leaders, scientists, and environmentalists to protect precious lands, often against powerful opposition.

Conservation is a balancing act: Throughout human history, we have survived by either mastering or adapting to our environment. And wilderness has always been coveted by those who view it exclusively as a resource to be mined, logged, drilled, or cleared for development. In an era of economic and energy challenges, opponents argue, wilderness is a luxury this country can scarcely afford.

And yet we, as a nation, have consistently replied that the rewards of conservation are greater. These lands, which belong to all of us, are nothing less than America’s crown jewels.

They are our national parks, wildlife refuges, national forests, and lands in the public domain—an astonishing variety of landscapes and natural wonders. They include tundra and boreal forests set aside in the Arctic; coastal rain forests in the Pacific Northwest; soaring granite peaks of the Rockies in Colorado and Montana; black volcanic moonscapes in Hawaii; wind-scalloped sandstones in our desert Southwest;

**Don Belt** spent 25 years reporting on cultural and environmental subjects for *National Geographic*. A native of South Carolina, he grew up exploring the Congaree Swamp, which was later preserved under provisions of the Wilderness Act and became a national park in 2003.

remnants of virgin prairie in the Midwest; vast bottomland swamps in the Carolinas—a natural heritage as diverse as the nation itself.

Protected areas range in size from the gargantuan Wrangell-Saint Elias Wilderness (more than 9 million acres) to Florida’s tiny Pelican Island Wilderness, which weighs in at 5.5 acres—just a few paces smaller than California’s 5.89-acre Rocks and Islands Wilderness. But whatever their size or location, these areas have citizen advocates who, thanks to the Wilderness Act, were able to set them aside for future generations.

Some provide vital habitat for wildlife, including threatened species, and give charismatic carnivores such as wolves, bears, and mountain lions the “habitat connectivity” necessary for a more diverse mix of genetic material. Others yield valuable scientific data on the intricacies of our changing climate. They filter and clean our air, protect our watersheds, and restore our health and peace of mind. They remind us that for all our advances, human beings are part of the natural world—an existential baseline for what it means to be fully alive. “Something will have gone out of us as a people ... if we permit the last virgin forests to be turned into comic books and plastic cigarette cases,” wrote the poet and conservationist Wallace Stegner in 1969. “We simply need that wild country available to us, even if we never do more than drive to its edge and look in.”

Today there are pressures on wilderness, and our ability to enjoy it, that President Johnson might never have imagined. The population of the United States, 192 million in 1964, now exceeds 300 million; we take fewer vacations, work longer hours, and retire later than we did 50 years ago. A new generation of Americans often heeds the siren call of technology, with the pleasure of hiking to a mountain stream giving way to a YouTube video of a rushing stream, or the bouncy song of a prothonotary warbler substituted by its ringtone imitation.

And yet there were 283 million visits to U.S. national parks in 2012. That’s an increase of nearly 4 million from 2011 and the highest level of visitation since 2009. Even in these stressed-out times, it seems, Americans need wild places.

All of which makes President Johnson’s remarks, delivered as he signed the Wilderness Act, resonate as loudly today as they did in 1964. “If future generations are to remember us with gratitude rather than contempt, we must leave them more than the miracles of technology,” Johnson said. “We must leave them a glimpse of the world as it was in the beginning, not just after we got through with it.” ■







**Above, Alpine Lake  
Wilderness, Washington**  
*Photograph by  
Daniel Silverberg*

**Left, Great Sand Dunes  
National Park and  
Preserve, Colorado**  
*Photograph by  
Richard Hebbardt*

**Right, Katmai Wilderness,  
Alaska**  
*Photograph by  
Judy Lynn Malloch*







Left, John Muir Wilderness,  
California  
*Photograph by  
Nolan Nitschke*

Right, St. Marks National  
Wildlife Refuge, Florida  
*Photograph by Tara Tanaka*

Below, Maroon Bells-  
Snowmass Wilderness,  
Colorado  
*Photograph by  
Benjamin Walls*

Below, left, Boundary  
Waters Canoe Area  
Wilderness, Minnesota  
*Photograph by  
Dawn M. LaPointe*



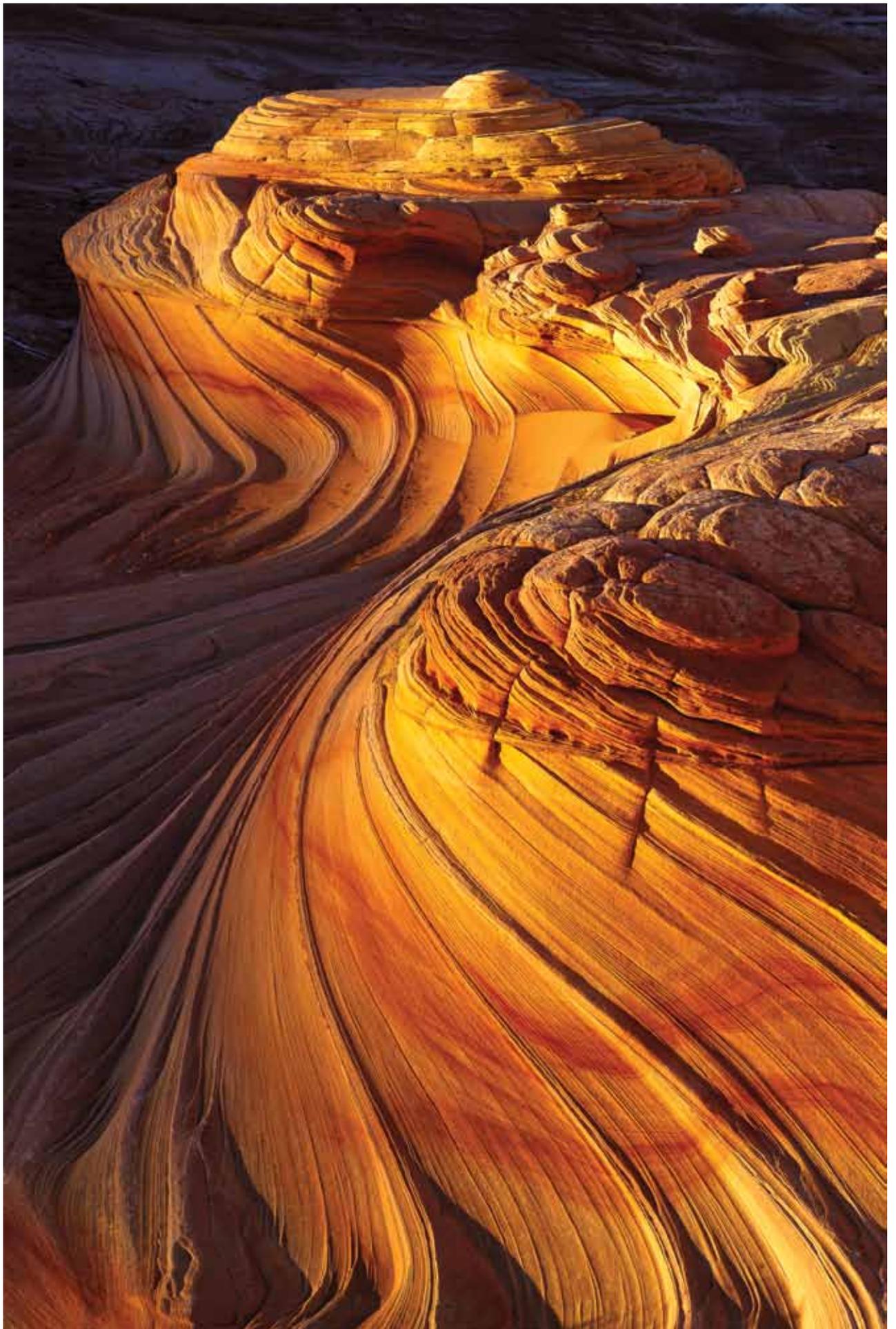


**Left, Darling  
Wilderness, Florida  
Photograph by  
Nate Zeman**

**Right, Paria Canyon-  
Vermilion Cliffs  
Wilderness, Arizona  
Photograph by  
Joseph Rossbach**

**Below, Mount Hood  
Wilderness, Oregon  
Photograph by  
Jarrod Castaing**





---

# *The* Next America

Young and old in America are poles apart. Demographically, politically, economically, socially, and technologically, the generations are more different from each other than at any time in living memory. *The Next America* by Paul Taylor, a senior fellow at the Pew Research Center, explores this divide that is transforming the nation. This excerpt focuses on the **Millennials**, those born after 1980.



In the decades since Boomers first came bounding onto the national stage, no generation of young adults had made nearly as loud an entrance—until now. Meet the Millennials: liberal, diverse, tolerant, narcissistic, coddled, respectful, confident, and broke.

If timing is everything, Millennials have known a mix of good and bad fortune. By lottery of birth timing, they're the world's first generation of digital natives. Adapting to new technology is hardwired into their generational DNA, and while it's impossible to forecast where the digital and social media revolutions will take humankind, it seems safe to predict that Millennials will get there first. They are also the most racially and ethnically diverse generation in American history, a profile that should serve them (and the rest of the United States) well in a multicolored world engulfed by cultural, ethnic, and religious divisions. On the downside, they're the first generation in American history in danger of having a lower standard of living than the one their parents enjoyed. On all these fronts, timing has played a central role.

Millennials' political views have been forged by these distinctive identities and experiences. First, though, a few words about a debate among scholars over a related question: Are they on track to become America's next great civic generation? That was the prediction advanced by generational scholars William Strauss and Neil Howe when they published *Millen-*

*nials Rising* in 2000, just as the oldest of the Millennials were turning 18. Relying on interviews with teenagers and data about decreases in teen pregnancy, alcohol and drug abuse, dropout rates, crime, and other antisocial behaviors, they posited that the new generation would resemble the Greatest Generation (born before 1928)—a pattern foreordained by the authors' four-phase cycle of history. Millennials would be conformist, socially conservative, involved in their communities, and interested in government. Their book started a genre. Since then numerous journalists and authors have promoted this civic portrait of Millennials, exemplified by such books as *Generation We* by Eric Greenberg and Karl Weber.

But it hasn't taken long for revisionism to set in. A *Time* magazine cover in 2013 pegged Millennials as "The Me Me Me Generation"—"lazy, entitled narcissists still living with their parents." (In classic newsmagazine style, the cover added a cheeky hedge: "Why they'll save us all.") The "me me me" meme isn't new. It was first put forth nearly a decade ago by psychologist Jean Twenge, a San Diego State University psychology professor whose 2006 book, *Generation Me*, analyzed surveys of young people dating back to the 1920s and showed a long-term cultural shift toward high self-esteem, self-importance, and narcissism. In follow-up work, she found that Millennials are less likely than Boomers and Generation Xers had been as young adults to exhibit values such as social trust and civic engagement and behaviors such as contacting public officials or working on political, social, or



## The Millennials

Born after 1980

Empowered by digital technology; coddled by parents; respectful of elders; slow to adulthood; conflict-averse; at ease with racial, ethnic, and sexual diversity; confident in their economic futures despite coming of age in bad times.

**Icons:** **Mark Zuckerberg**, Lena Dunham, LeBron James, Carrie Underwood, Jennifer Lawrence, **Lady Gaga**.

## Gen Xers

Born from 1965 to 1980

Savvy, entrepreneurial loners. Distrustful of institutions, especially government. Children of the Reagan revolution—and the divorce revolution. More comfortable than their elders with an increasingly diverse America.

**Icons:** **Will Smith**, Adam Sandler, Tiger Woods, **Quentin Tarantino**, Robert Downey Jr.

## Baby Boomers

Born from 1946 to 1964

As exuberant youths, led the countercultural upheavals of the 1960s. But the iconic image of that era—longhaired hippie protesters—describes only a portion of the cohort. Now on the front stoop of old age, Boomers are gloomy about their lives, worried about retirement, and wondering why they aren't young anymore.

**Icons:** Bill and Hillary Clinton, **Steve Jobs**, George W. Bush, Barack Obama, **Tom Hanks**.

## Silent Generation

Born from 1928 to 1945

Conservative and conformist, Silents are uneasy with the pace of demographic, cultural, and technological change—and with the growing size of government. But hands off their Social Security and Medicare!

**Icons:** **Clint Eastwood**, Neil Armstrong, **Marilyn Monroe**, Tom Brokaw, Hugh Hefner.

environmental causes. She did find an overall increase in volunteerism, though she noted it has come at a time when more high schools are requiring their students to do some sort of community service to graduate. Twenge expanded her critique in a 2009 book, *The Narcissism Epidemic*, co-written with W. Keith Campbell. It cast a jaundiced eye across all precincts of the modern celebrity culture but reserved a particularly disapproving glare for the everyone-gets-a-trophy school of child rearing that has come into vogue in the modern era. Twenge's research found that college students in 2009 were significantly more likely than their counterparts in 1966 to rate themselves above average in writing and math skills—despite the fact that SAT scores decreased slightly during that same period. As she and many others have noted, the parental coddling often persists beyond adolescence. College deans nowadays complain that the hardest part of freshman orientation week isn't getting the new students to feel comfortable staying—it's getting the "helicopter parents" to feel comfortable leaving. Some schools even provide separation-anxiety seminars for Mom and Dad, but that doesn't keep some from calling professors during the academic year to complain about their child's grades.

I'll leave it to the experts to untangle the psychological roots of such behaviors. My own guess is that the mix of global terrorism, digital "stranger danger," the Columbine school shooting, 9/11, Newtown, media hype, and fewer kids per family have thrust parents' biologically normal protective instincts into overdrive. These same factors may also be responsible for the low levels of social trust among Millennials themselves. If you were born in 1984, you were in middle school when the Columbine massacre happened; in high school on 9/11/01; and perhaps just about to become a parent for the first time when the young children of Newtown were struck down. Evil of that magnitude leaves a mark.

Then there's the Internet and social media—the first communication platform in human history that enables anyone to reach everyone. Suppose your buddy shot a video of you bouncing so high on your backyard trampoline that you got stuck briefly in a tree? Back in the dark ages (pre-2005 or so) you might have shown it

## What Makes Your Generation Unique?

<b>Millennial</b>		<b>Gen X</b>	
Technology use	24%	Technology use	12%
Music/Pop culture	11%	Work ethic	11%
Liberal	7%	Conservative	7%
Smarter	6%	Smarter	6%
Clothes	5%	Respectful	5%
<b>Boomer</b>		<b>Silent</b>	
Work ethic	17%	WWII, Depression	14%
Respectful	14%	Smarter	13%
Values/morals	8%	Honest	12%
"Baby Boomers"	6%	Work ethic	10%
Smarter	5%	Values/Morals	10%

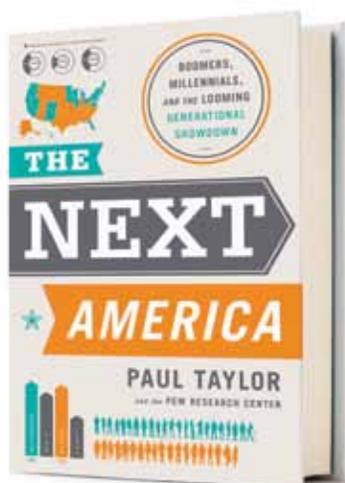
to a few friends as you yukked it up over some beers. Now you post it on YouTube and Facebook and hope it goes viral. At which point hundreds may see it. Or thousands. Or tens of millions. This outlet for personal expression and empowerment may help to explain their look-at-me tendencies—which find an offline analog in their fondness for tattoos. Back in the day, tattoos were the bodywear of sailors, hookers, and strippers. Today they've become a mainstream identity badge for Millennials. Nearly 4 in 10 (38 percent) have at least one. Gen Xers are not far behind; 32 percent say they have a tattoo. Only 15 percent of Baby Boomers and 6 percent of Silents wear body art. And by the way, for Millennials, one tattoo often isn't enough. Half of all tattooed Millennials have 2 to 5, and 18 percent have 6 or more.

When it comes to civic engagement, the data on Millennials are mixed. They match their elders on some measures of volunteering and contacting public officials, but lag behind on voting. The voter turnout deficit is largely a life-stage phenomenon; previous generations of young adults also turned out at much lower rates than their elders. In 2008 and 2102, Millennials narrowed the turnout gap—a testament to President Barack Obama's strong personal appeal to the young. But in the mid-term election of 2010, with Obama not on the ballot, the young stayed home in droves.

As for volunteering, a 2010 Pew Research survey found that 57 percent of Millennials said they had done so in the past 12 months, compared with 54 percent of Gen Xers, 52 percent of Baby Boomers and 39 percent of Silents. Pew Research surveys also find that Millennials are about as likely as other generations to say they had signed some sort of petition in the past year, but are less likely than Boomers and Xers to say they'd contacted a

government official. Once again, there's a life-cycle effect; people start reaching out to their elected officials when they have families, children, jobs, and homes. Lots of Millennials aren't there yet.

That's true of nearly all aspects of this generation's life story. It's still a work in progress. The question is whether their futures will be enhanced or encumbered by choices their elders are making now. ■



*The Next America* is published by PublicAffairs, and a multimedia presentation on its findings is at [pewresearch.org/next-america](http://pewresearch.org/next-america).



# A Fragile Center

*Through statistics and voices of city residents, Pew paints a contemporary portrait of Philadelphia's middle class after decades of decline.*

**BY TOM INFIELD**

Photographs by Katy Martens

---

**A**s other middle-class residents abandoned his Mayfair neighborhood in Philadelphia in recent decades, Joe DeFelice dug in. He became ever more determined to stay and raise his family in the area where he had grown up, despite increasing concerns about their quality of life. “The suburbs are just not my cup of tea,” he told Pew’s Philadelphia research initiative. “That’s not what I want for my kids. I want

them to have a level of street smarts and hustle and all the education I got growing up in the neighborhood that I feel helped shape me.”

*Joe DeFelice at the Mayfair Diner in Northeast Philadelphia. DeFelice lives a block and a half from the house where he grew up.*

Philadelphia could use more residents with DeFelice’s stick-to-it attitude. The city has lost one-quarter of its population, more than 400,000 inhabitants, since 1970, although the head count has been on the increase for nearly a decade. Much of that erosion came from middle-class enclaves, including Mayfair, nestled in Lower Northeast Philadelphia, and fundamentally transformed the city’s economic makeup.

A new report by the research initiative, *Philadelphia’s Changing Middle Class: After Decades of Decline, Prospects for Growth*, finds that just 42 percent of city households qualified as middle class in 2010, compared with 59 percent four decades earlier. For purposes of the report, adult Philadelphians were considered middle class if they lived in a household with an annual income

between \$41,258 and \$123,157—that is, between 67 percent and 200 percent of the region’s median household income.

As the report notes, “A vibrant and substantial middle class is widely considered essential for economic health and social stability in any community.” And the shrinking of the middle class is a national problem, magnified in Philadelphia and other old cities by the loss of once-great industries that provided tens of thousands of well-paying jobs, even for people without a lot of formal education. Since 1970, according to U.S. Census Bureau data, the share of all American households that rank as middle class has dropped from 60 percent to 51 percent.

“There is obviously a great amount of concern about the middle class in America,” says Larry Eichel, who directs the Philadelphia research initiative. “We all grew up with this idea that the middle class is the foundation of this country, that middle-class aspirations are what drive the economy and drive the culture. So what’s

happened to the middle class is a very important story—and, if you look at it over time, a discouraging story.”

In relative terms, the percentage of residents who are middle class in Philadelphia is about the same as in Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, and Pittsburgh, the report says. What separates Philadelphia from those cities is its greater percentage of poor people and its smaller upper class.

The good news for Philadelphia is the stabilization of its middle class in the past decade, bolstered by an influx of 20-somethings and empty-nesters in downtown Center City and in trendy adjoining neighborhoods. Citywide, the percentage of adults in the middle class was virtually unchanged between 2000 and 2010.

The in-migration of young adults also reflects a wider American trend. “Many people of the younger generation, in their 20s, are really turning toward the urban environment as a place to live in and work in,” says Steven G. Cochrane, managing director of Moody’s Analytics in West Chester, Pennsylvania. “I think it’s a very good national trend that bodes well for a place like Philadelphia.”

But now that the city’s middle class has stabilized after decades of decline, Philadelphia is at a crucial juncture: Will the middle class hold—or after this pause, will it start to shrink again?

Compared with many other cities, Philadelphia faces a particular challenge to retaining its middle class: its greatly underfunded and poorly performing public school system. “Frankly, I think that’s the biggest issue that will determine long-term success,” says Cochrane, who was an independent reviewer of the report’s research.

The clock is ticking, with new residents in their 20s and 30s starting families and beginning to face school decisions. In a Pew poll, conducted as part of the report, nearly half of middle-class residents give the public schools poor marks and nearly two-thirds say charter schools improve education options and help keep middle-class families from leaving the city.

The report offers other insights: In addition to living in smaller households, today’s middle class in Phila-



## A Changing South Philly

The owner of an apparel shop on East Passyunk Avenue, Tom Longo caters to the new middle class in South Philadelphia. He describes his customers at Metro Mens Clothing as hipsters, young couples just starting out, and gays—the new residents who arrived soon after a wave of trendy restaurants opened.

This historically Italian section of South Philadelphia, where storefront delis once made tubs of fresh mozzarella in the basement, was largely middle class 40 years ago and remains so today. But as in many other neighborhoods near the city center, the middle class today is different from that of the past. Increasingly, middle-class residents are single, well-educated, and working in management or professional fields. “There is definitely a difference in the old and the new,” Longo says.



## Looking for Quality Schools

For Cheryl and Reginald James, a middle-class couple living in West Philadelphia, figuring out where to educate their children has been a constant challenge. They sent the first two of their five children to public schools through sixth grade. “It was pretty rough for the children,” Cheryl James says. “There were fights and different things going on in school that I wasn’t pleased with.”

She then enrolled the children in a private school affiliated with her church and worked as a teacher’s aide to help pay tuition. Her youngest two sons later took advantage of publicly funded charter schools, which turned out to be a good fit. One of the boys has gone on to study auto mechanics at the Community College of Philadelphia, and the other wants to earn a business degree and become an entrepreneur.

Over the years, for school reasons, the James family has considered leaving Philadelphia. But church and home ties kept them in the city. “Once we got to the Christian school and then the charters, we were pleased,” Cheryl James says. “Those schools had more supervision and attention for the children and communicated with me much better. The children knew that I was definitely up on what was going on with their education.”

---

Philadelphia is more racially diverse, better educated, and more likely to work in a professional or service occupation than 40 years ago. In 1970, Philadelphia was still a manufacturing city, with a rail car plant, a naval shipyard, and a textile industry. In the Philadelphia of four decades ago, 44 percent of people in the middle class didn’t even have a high school diploma. As of 2010, only 8 percent hadn’t graduated from high school, while 35 percent held college or graduate degrees.

The Philadelphia report is part of a growing body of work by Pew on the economic condition of American families as well as the plight of the middle class in the United States (see, *Trust*, Fall 2012) and the growing middle class abroad (*Trust*, Fall 2013.)

The research for this report was a complex undertaking, relying on data from the Census Bureau and the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Historical income numbers were adjusted for inflation. The report provides a road map for researchers in other cities who may want to take a deep look at middle-class change in their own localities, Cochrane says.

The poll accompanying the report also provided a new window on the middle class. In addition to the findings on the city’s schools, the survey shows that middle-class Philadelphians feel overtaxed and believe they are carrying an undue share of the load. They worry, like people in other Philadelphia income groups, about crime, drugs, and job issues. Above all, they feel neglected. They feel that City Hall gives more attention to the 47 percent of households in the lower class and to the 10 percent of households in the upper class.

And yet, the survey finds something resilient in the outlook of middle-class Philadelphians: Whatever their complaints, nearly two-thirds—64 percent—say the city is an excellent or good place to live. They are more favorable toward their city in this regard than either low- or upper-income residents.

Carolyn Adams, an urban policy professor at Temple University, told the Pew researchers that to retain and attract middle-class residents, Philadelphia should focus more attention on middle-class enclaves. But that approach is “difficult to even talk about in

public policy circles,” Adams says, because “if you try to sustain the quality of middle-income places, advocates for the poor will see that as a strategy that devalues their constituency.”

So Philadelphia, with its limited resources, faces hard choices. Pew’s poll suggests that one way to appeal to the middle class is to take care of the essentials: schools, jobs, and public safety. Although none of those goals will be easy to achieve, all of them have broad appeal.

Mayfair’s Joe DeFelice, an attorney and past president of the local civic association, is nothing if not patient. Although some family members have moved out, he has purchased a twin house with a small yard, a block and a half from where he grew up. He appears to be in the neighborhood to stay. “The reality is that Mayfair is not the Mayfair of the past,” he says. “But we can embrace Mayfair as it is now.” ■

---

**Tom Infield**, who was a longtime reporter and editor for *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, last wrote for *Trust* on Pew’s civic initiatives in the city.



For more information and to read the full report, go to [pewtrusts.org/philaresearch](http://pewtrusts.org/philaresearch)

# A Polarized America Lives as It Votes

*In a groundbreaking survey, the Pew Research Center finds that Republicans and Democrats are more divided now than at any point in two decades—and that the divisions aren't limited to the ballot box.*

**BY CHARLES BABINGTON**

PARTISAN GRIDLOCK, an all-too-familiar theme in U.S. politics, is typically described in anecdotal terms. Now the Pew Research Center has produced an extensive survey of Americans' ideologies and attitudes that shows just how strikingly polarized our society has become in nearly all facets of life, not just government and politics.

The survey reveals that as the ideological center shrinks, Americans have grown more fervently liberal on the left and more ardently conservative on the right. The most politically engaged people are the ones most likely to oppose compromise, which is essential in a democracy. Substantial numbers of Americans want to live near and associate with people who think and believe like they do. Many oppose the idea of a close relative marrying someone from the "other" political party.

Perhaps most alarming, the survey finds that, among Democrats and Republicans alike, the most politically engaged Americans see the "other party" as worse than simply wrongheaded or misguided. "Partisan animosity has increased substantially," the report says. "The share with a highly negative view of the opposing party has more than doubled since

1994. Most of these intense partisans believe the opposing party's policies 'are so misguided that they threaten the nation's well-being.'"

The findings come from the largest study of U.S. political attitudes ever undertaken by the Pew Research Center via a telephone survey of 10,013 adults nationwide from January through March. Respondents were asked, among other things, 10 "political values" questions that Pew has tracked since 1994. The study's scope is striking, surveying about 10 times as many people as does a typical poll.

Fully half of the 10,000 people surveyed by phone have agreed to answer follow-up questions online at least through 2014, allowing the center to probe further into the causes of polarization.

The survey is helping to quantify what has become the defining theme of American politics in the past two decades. The Pew Research Center has examined political polarization for a number of years but decided it was time for deeper analysis. The center, which does not advocate solutions to policy issues, has become a trusted source of survey data that is respected across the political spectrum and is now well into a year-long study with support from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation (see *Trust*, Fall 2013), the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and Don C. and Jeane Bertsch.

The study is built on the largest political survey Pew has ever conducted.

THE SURVEY HELPS explain why Congress often seems paralyzed, unable to handle once-routine tasks—such as enacting annual budgets for the major federal agencies or raising the debt ceiling to avoid default—without first bringing the nation to the brink of economic calamity.

Among the key findings: Americans have become more strongly liberal or conservative in their views. This is especially true among the most politically engaged, who are likeliest to vote in Republican and Democratic primaries. As was well-documented before the survey, so many U.S. House districts and states are now either overwhelmingly conservative or overwhelmingly liberal that the primary elections pose the only real threat for most lawmakers to be ousted.

That's why a congressional Democrat's survival instinct is to veer hard left, and a Republican's instinct is to veer hard right. The center, where compromises are forged, is increasingly lonely. "The overall share of Americans who express consistently conservative or consistently liberal opinions has doubled over the past two decades, from 10 percent to 21 percent," the survey finds. Moreover, "ideological overlap between the two parties has diminished: Today, 92 percent of Republicans are to the right of the median Democrat, and 94 percent of Democrats are to the left of the median Republican."

Of course, some Americans remain near the political middle. However, the survey finds, "many of those in the center remain on the edges of the political playing field, relatively distant and disengaged." Meanwhile, "the most ideologically oriented and politically rancorous Americans make their voices heard through greater

---

**Charles Babington** covers Congress and politics for the Associated Press. He has reported from Washington since 1987 and is a frequent panelist on PBS's "Washington Week."

participation in every stage of the political process.”

Americans appear increasingly likely to talk past each other—or simply to miscomprehend one another—instead of engaging in true debate. “‘Ideological silos’ are now common on both the left and right,” the report says. “People with down-the-line ideological positions—especially conservatives—are more likely than others to say that most of their close friends share their political views. ... And at a time of increasing gridlock on Capitol Hill, many on both the left and the right think the outcome of political negotiations between [President Barack] Obama and Republican leaders should be that their side gets more of what it wants.”

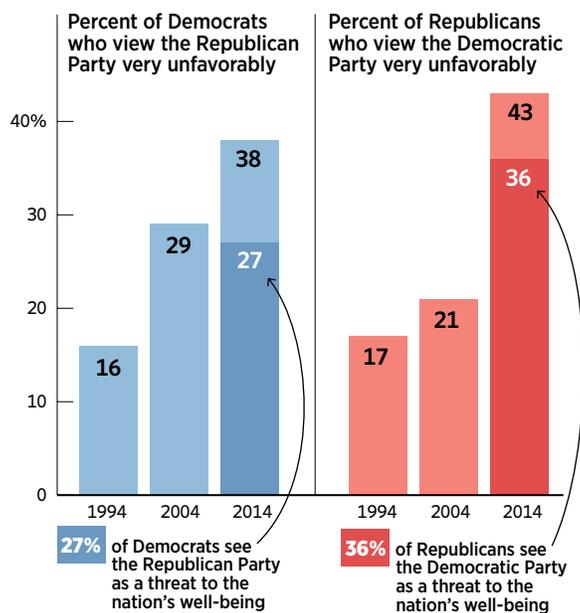
AS A REPORTER covering Congress, I find that this notion of “ideological silos” comports with what I’ve seen in my years on Capitol Hill. I often talk with House members—Republicans and Democrats—who seem bewildered by the priorities or concerns of colleagues from the other party. My sense is that aides, relatives, and associates of a typical GOP lawmaker watch Fox News almost exclusively and listen to radio commentators such as Rush Limbaugh and Laura Ingraham when driving. Democrats’ offices and associates tune to MSNBC and read editorials from *The New York Times*, not *The Wall Street Journal*.

And the polarization extends far beyond Washington, with divisions that are not just about politics. “Those on the opposite ends of the ideological spectrum,” the survey finds, “disagree about everything from the type of community in which they prefer to live to the type of people they would welcome into their families.”

Three-quarters of

 To learn more, read the full report at [pewresearch.org/polarization](http://pewresearch.org/polarization).

## Beyond Dislike



“consistent conservatives” prefer communities where “the houses are larger and farther apart” and “stores and restaurants are several miles away.” And “the preferences of consistent liberals are almost the exact inverse,” the report says, “with 77 percent preferring the smaller house closer to amenities.” More than three times as many consistent liberals as consistent conservatives “rate proximity to museums and galleries as important.”

These intriguing findings help explain why Americans “self-gerrymander,” as some political scientists put it. Before partisan lawmakers even start drawing legislative district maps, millions of liberals have packed themselves into urban areas, and millions of conservatives have moved to rural and exurban regions.

“If people living in ‘deep red’ or ‘deep blue’ America feel like they inhabit distinctly different worlds,” the Pew survey concludes, “it is in part because they seek out different types of communities, both geographic and social.”

Congressional scholar Thomas Mann of the Brookings Institution calls the survey

“a gold mine of insights into how the sharp partisan polarization, so pronounced in Congress and among political elites, has penetrated the broader public.” That’s not to say that Mann and other experts agree with every conclusion. He and his frequent co-author, Norman Ornstein, contend that conservatives and Republicans play a substantially bigger role in partisan gridlock than do liberals and Democrats. They highlight nuggets from the report such as this: 82 percent of consistent liberals prefer leaders who compromise, while only 32 percent of consistent conservatives want leaders who compromise.

Commentators who blame polarization more equally on both sides, meanwhile, emphasize report findings such as this: “The share of Democrats who are liberal on all or most value dimensions has nearly doubled, from just 30 percent in 1994 to 56 percent today.” The share that is consistently liberal has quadrupled. Although the rightward shift of Republicans during those 20 years is less dramatic, the report says, “the GOP ideological shift over the past decade has matched, if not exceeded, the rate at which Democrats have become more liberal.”

Carroll Doherty, director of political research for the Pew Research Center, said it’s clear that Americans have become more firmly ideological on the left and right. However, he said, “partisan antipathy is more pronounced on the right.”

He says the overall findings are sobering. “The results may be more discouraging than we thought,” he says. “From how polarization manifests itself in our personal lives to its effects on policymaking to the way it shows up even in our political participation, the numbers are telling.” ■

# Saving the Land

*An evaluation of Pew's campaign to conserve wild lands in Canada and Australia critical to global biological diversity*

BY JOSH JOSEPH, RICHARD SILVER, AND LESTER BAXTER

ECONOMIC GROWTH and technological advances have brought prosperity to many parts of the world, but the continued expansion of industrial civilization also threatens the survival of ecosystems that mark some of Earth's most special natural places. In 1991, The Pew Charitable Trusts identified the loss of old-growth forests as a major threat to biological diversity and began work to conserve coastal temperate rain forests of the North Pacific Coast. Early success there encouraged the institution to extend its focus to Canada's boreal forest in 1999 and, in 2006, to create the International Boreal Conservation Campaign. Having exceeded its 10-year goal of protecting 100 million acres by 2010, Pew raised the bar substantially in 2012 by setting a long-term goal of protecting 1 billion acres of boreal—half with formal protections and the other half through sustainable development rules—by 2022.

Encouraged by the progress in Canada in the mid-2000s, Pew turned its attention to Australia, another country with valuable wilderness, a strong conservation culture, and established political and legal structures. By 2008, the Australian campaign was underway and, in 2011, Pew set long-term goals of achieving commitments to protect 50 percent of the Australian Outback—about 500 million acres—by 2022 and of ensuring that the remaining area is managed in accordance with conservation values.

**Josh Joseph** is an officer in Pew's planning and evaluation department, where **Richard Silver** is a senior associate. **Lester Baxter** directs the department.

In 2013, Pew's planning and evaluation department began a review of the work in Canada and Australia to look at the progress since 2007. The aims were to determine the institution's contributions to land protection in both countries, understand factors that affected

protected status and in securing passage of two landmark provincial agreements that set targets to protect or sustainably develop another 400 million acres. With the addition of lands that could be protected through the campaign's timber industry initiatives, the Canadian work affects about 700 million acres of land that is either currently protected, that governments have pledged to protect, or that may be subject to restrictions on commercial and industrial development.

In Australia, Pew's efforts contributed to protecting about 75 million acres in the



these efforts, and identify lessons that could improve the chances of meeting Pew's long-term goals. Four independent evaluators conducted 119 interviews, visited three sites in Canada and six in Australia, analyzed campaign documents, assessed public land protection records, and reviewed media coverage.

The evaluation's findings were clear: Work in both countries was decisive or important in achieving a number of key outcomes.

In Canada, Pew's project contributed to placing more than 150 million acres into

Outback, through a mix of conservation reserves, Indigenous Protected Areas, and land purchases. The evaluators also recognized the project's role in obtaining over half a billion dollars to support Indigenous conservation programs in the Outback. In both countries, the evaluation attributed campaign successes to a combination of well-executed tactics, including leveraging science-based arguments for the value of land conservation, empowering Indigenous communities to assert their rights over native lands, and cultivating strong relationships with

PHOTOGRAPH BY SCOTT HELFRICH/GETTY IMAGES/FLICKR (ABOVE), ISTOCKPHOTO (OPPOSITE)

key decision-makers from across the political spectrum.

## CANADA

Since 1999, the International Boreal Conservation Campaign has been involved in placing 158 million acres of wilderness—spanning nine provinces and territories—into either interim or final protection. It is an outsize figure, about twice the area of all the lands that make up the U.S. National Park System.

The campaign's direct support to First Nations was found to be important or decisive in the majority of these land protection accomplishments. In particular, the boreal campaign recognized the value of including these Indigenous groups in negotiations affecting their lands, especially because of their legal right to be consulted on development and resource extraction proposals. In the process, the campaign helped First Nations exercise the legal tools available to them and strengthen their voice at the table.

The campaign and its partner organizations also developed the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework, a game-changing document calling for 50 percent of the boreal to be placed in

permanent protection with the remaining 50 percent subject to sustainable development. This was an unprecedented increase over the prevailing 12 percent standard for permanent protection in Canada. In 2007, 1,500 scientists from 50 countries signed on to the framework, adding valuable legitimacy.

The campaign used the 50/50 vision as a centerpiece for its public education efforts, aimed at informing key Canadian decision-makers. The Pew-funded Canadian Boreal Initiative provided leadership in formulating Ontario's Far North Act of 2010, which set targets for strict protection and for sustainable development of 110 million acres—the first provincial-scale legislation to incorporate the campaign's 50/50 concept. The following year, Quebec passed Plan Nord, an even larger provincial-scale conservation policy covering 293 million acres that also specified 50 percent strict protection and 50 percent sustainable development. Pew again played a central role in building consensus around important details of the plan and driving the political process forward. The evaluators noted that the Quebec premier "was reportedly impressed with the science-based policy narrative the campaign brought forward."

At the same time, the evaluation suggested that in order to yield on-the-ground conservation outcomes from

promising agreements like Plan Nord and the Far North Act, much work remains to develop explicit strategic plans and campaign capability at the provincial level. This effort should build on the campaign's strengths—supporting First Nations to assert their rights and title through land protection, providing technical assistance with planning activities for affected communities, and building stakeholder buy-in through communications and government relations.

## AUSTRALIA

Since 2008, Pew's efforts in Australia have led to protections for 27.6 million acres in the Outback—exceeding the campaign's interim goals—through a mix of conservation reserves, Indigenous Protected Areas, and land purchases. The campaign also played an important role in the declarations of another 48 million acres of Indigenous Protected Areas, leading the evaluators to conclude that Pew initiatives have contributed to the designation of more than half of the total acreage protected since that government program began in 1998. In the process, Pew's advocacy efforts mobilized support and bridged differences among conservationists, Aboriginal people, and ranchers and farmers.

Several core strategies and attributes underlie the campaign's successful work on Indigenous Protected Areas. As in the boreal, chief among these was recognizing the value of partnering with Aboriginal owners. The campaign invested the time to understand the needs and aspirations of Indigenous communities and then used this knowledge to provide targeted funding, attract additional philanthropic support, establish corporate ties, moderate disputes, and offer other expert advice.

The project leadership in Australia also recognized that it is not enough to create a park or other protected area in the Outback. Because of overuse and natural degradation by fires, invasive weeds, and feral animals, protected lands require ac-

---

**The Canadian boreal is home to countless bird species, including this baby sandhill crane (left). In Australia, gum trees frame the horizon at sunset in the Outback.**

---



tive management to maintain or restore their ecological value. As a result, Pew's efforts in the nation's capital, Canberra, have raised awareness of Indigenous conservation management, provided advocacy for key programs, and contributed to support for funding across party lines. This includes the campaign's decisive role in establishing the ranger program, Working on Country Aboriginal, in 2007, and an important role in ensuring ongoing funding for it and related programs.

Going forward, the evaluation identified a need to revisit the "big picture" conservation framework for the Australian Outback and implications for measuring conservation success. The project has so far been applying the 50/50 concept developed for Canada—strict protections for one half the land and ecologically sustainable development standards for the rest—as a guiding vision for land protection in Australia. But it is not yet clear whether sufficient conservation science is available to support this framework as a robust foundation to drive the types of large-scale conservation gains that program leaders envision.

Pew's international lands work has made a substantial contribution to protecting public lands in the Canadian boreal and the Australian Outback, helping to set a new standard for land conservation in Canada, yielding protections on a scale not seen before, with comparable efforts gaining traction in Australia. In both countries, success has been supported by a core set of approaches, which include grounding Pew's advocacy efforts in peer-reviewed science, collaborating with Indigenous communities, retaining talented campaigners and government relations staff, and pursuing diverse strategic relationships and alliances. The program's long-term protection goals—500 million acres in Australia and 1 billion acres in Canada—remain highly ambitious, requiring sufficient funding, talent, and time to ensure that the conservation strategies can reach their full potential. ■

## ➔ *Dispatch*

### SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO

# In Search of Spawning Fish

BY LEDA DUNMIRE

I FIRST GET TO KNOW the producer of the film project that calls me to the Caribbean as we glide over the turquoise waters. I have joined Gary Strieker, an Emmy award-winning television correspondent who has worked all over the world, to shoot an episode of "This American Land" about the Bajo de Sico seamount, an underwater wildlife mecca off the western coast of Puerto Rico.

Over the roar of the Cessna's propellers, we talk about Bajo de Sico, the flattened peak and coral-rich slopes of the undersea mountain that rises from the deep ocean floor to within human diving limits of 70 to 200 feet.

Bajo de Sico hosts the annual spawning rituals of several fish species, including the imperiled Nassau grouper. Some fish travel hundreds of miles to gather during spawning season.

We have come here to tell the story of a team of scientists working with fishermen to protect Bajo's seamount habitat. Banning fishing during times when fish are reproducing could allow them to safely aggregate, spawn, and produce a larger number of offspring. Robust fish populations are essential for healthier ocean ecosystems that may be more resilient to threats such as climate change. Thriving ecosystems in turn support fishing and recreation, which power local economies. As a result, some limits on fishing may create more economic opportunities for

*Leda Dunmire* manages Pew's ocean conservation efforts off the U.S. South Atlantic coast and in Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands and is a certified dive master.

everyone in the future.

Tomorrow we will dive at Bajo to see the unique place that these experts and Pew are working to save.

On the second day of our trip, I awaken with a head cold and fear that congestion will stop me from this long-awaited dive. I worry that I won't be able to clear my ears to deal with the pressure changes that happen on deepwater dives. I power through a morning of planning and interviews with University of Puerto Rico scientists Michael Nemeth and Michelle Schärer, who study fish spawning aggregations. They believe they may have discovered the unexpected return to Bajo of the once plentiful but now internationally endangered Nassau grouper.

We set off in the afternoon for Rincón, a small fishing and surfing town in the northwestern part of the island. Locals call it "Gringolandia" because of the many Americans drawn there for the surf and laid-back lifestyle. We arrive, and as we rest on a bluff overlooking the sea, we spy whales spouting in the distance. It's breeding time for the Atlantic humpback whale. It would be a dream come true to see them during our dive, but such contact is rare.

I'm still stuffed up when we reach the dive boat. The rebreather divers—who use specialized closed-circuit equipment to stay underwater longer—have already been there an hour preparing their gear.

It's an hour's journey to Bajo. The birder in me is excited by the prospect of spotting the brown and masked boobies



rarely found on the mainland. When we arrive at the dive spot, the mood turns serious. We prepare for the dive, deep—90 to 170 feet—and dangerous.

As the rebreather divers get into the water first to complete research-related tasks on the seafloor, I get ready. I love the 10 minutes before hitting the water for a dive. Even after 17 years of struggling into a wetsuit, there’s nothing like the anticipation of the mystery that waits for me below.

Everchanging, yet ever the same. Storms, people, and time may alter the seascape, but in the tropics, marine life

**Some fish, like these Nassau groupers in the Cayman Islands, travel to their spawning places to reproduce—an event rarely caught on film.**

still plays a unique role in these complex ecosystems. The tiny cleaner shrimp still pick away parasites in a grouper’s mouth, and the ubiquitous damselfish still dart among the corals, defending their algae gardens.

I’m the first in my group to take the plunge, then Michelle, videographer Roger Herr, and finally our boat captain, Francisco “Paco” Garcia-Huertas.

We descend slowly, and I hope it will give my ears time to adjust to the pressure. It works! Without problems I get to the bottom, which is covered in gently rolling coral hills and riven by channels. Surgeonfish cruise around in small schools. Parrotfish nibble on algae. Triggerfish slowly flutter by. We can spend only 10 minutes at this depth. While the production crew busily records our surroundings, I focus on the quiet beauty of the underwater city that surrounds me: coral architecture and lush landscapes that should house abundant life.

Although Michelle and Michael’s research has shown that fish gather here for spawning, we don’t spot any today. They have dispersed since the last full moon. If this year is lucky enough to see a second spawning time—a “split spawn”—they may

return during the next lunar cycle. Such infrequent opportunities for reproduction—and the slow population growth that results—exacerbate their vulnerability to overfishing and other threats. With very little chance of a baby boom, it is critical to conserve habitats such as Bajo.

After the dive and a simple lunch, we return to the water for a leisurely swim, using our snorkels to explore just below the surface. The waves make it hard to get our bearings, but the sea feels warm and relaxing now that we have taken off our cumbersome dive gear. We are startled by the sound of a tail slap and a flash of white underwater: A humpback whale is in front of me! The animal floats by vertically with its head down and flukes hanging limply by its enormous head. Eyes closed, it is at rest in the water.

“Thank you,” I whisper. “Thank you for being here.” Whether it be luck or privilege or good karma, I share a full minute and a half with this sublime creature. I search for the words to describe what I feel in this moment: love, awe, gratitude, humility. I am not afraid, even though I am physically dwarfed by this enormous animal.

Too soon for me, the whale awakens, rights itself in the water, and seems to size up my three goggle-eyed companions and me. Then the leviathan gracefully swims away. I break the surface in the whale’s wake. We are all elated, but the thrill is bittersweet. We know that Bajo is not what it used to be. We hope for what it could be once again.

Protecting the seamount is critical for life to rebuild here. Fish, corals, whales, and all marine animals need a haven in which to reproduce. I know now more than ever that safeguarding these areas is paramount. The brief moment with the humpback steels my resolve to work for the preservation of Bajo de Sico—an underwater home where vital sea life can safely feed, spawn, and rest. ■

The Seamount of Life episode of “This American Land” is airing on PBS stations this summer. Check local listings or view it online at [pewtrusts.org/seamount-of-life](http://pewtrusts.org/seamount-of-life).



PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL HUMANN/PUERTO RICO: THIS AMERICAN LAND

# Results That Bring Change

*The Results First partnership between Pew and the MacArthur Foundation is helping states spend their tax dollars more effectively to better serve the public.*

BY DANIEL LEDUC

THE IOWA DEPARTMENT of Corrections has a long tradition of using an evidence-based approach to evaluate its programs. But it was lacking crucial information about what alternatives might reduce recidivism and what their long-term costs and benefits might be.

So the department partnered with the Pew-MacArthur Results First Initiative to develop a system tailored to Iowa's specific needs that helped policymakers evaluate programs' effectiveness, cost, and expected benefits.

The good news? Some of the state's drug treatment programs in prisons and in the community were returning \$8 in savings for every dollar invested. Cognitive therapy, a relatively inexpensive program for Iowa, was returning \$35 for every dollar the state spent.

The bad news? A domestic violence program, long thought by Iowa officials to be a model of its kind, was costing the state \$3 more for every dollar spent on the program. A department report based on the Results First analysis summed it up this way: "a waste of taxpayer dollars." Officials have replaced it.

"The Results First program really narrowed our focus ... and it challenged us to do better," says John R. Baldwin, director of the Iowa Department of Corrections. "We, like almost every correction system in the United States, can't

*Daniel LeDuc* is the editor of *Trust*.

afford to be running programs that have a negative return on investment."

Results First emerged from Pew and the MacArthur Foundation's shared interest in helping state governments better serve citizens and offer greater return on the investment of tax dollars. Launched in 2011, it is now working in 15 states and four large California counties, with an intermediate goal of being in half of the states and expanding to additional California counties.

"We take seriously the notion that democracy is imperiled when citizens see their governments as ineffective. So Pew and MacArthur share a goal of not only making government more effective today but of helping states and local governments take a longer view so they can be even more successful tomorrow," says MacArthur's interim president, Julia Stasch. That sort of transformative change is possible through well-developed partnerships between like-minded organizations with the experience, resources, and ambition necessary to succeed. The Chicago-based MacArthur Foundation and Pew have a long history of working together and currently have projects on election administration, state health care spending, ending illegal fishing, and survey research on aging and international trends.

They decided to collaborate on Results First three years ago. MacArthur has a continuing interest in applying social

cost-benefit analysis to public policy, and Pew has ongoing efforts to improve the performance of government and make it responsive to the public. Results First meant the two organizations could directly focus energy and resources on state government, which touches the lives of millions of Americans each day. "There is ample room for debate about the size of government," says Pew Executive Vice President Susan Urahn, who has worked on state policy issues since the 1980s. "We leave decisions about that to policymakers. But whatever its size, the public expects its government to be effective—delivering needed services in a fiscally responsible way. With a strong partner like the MacArthur Foundation sharing that view, we have a great collaboration in Results First that will make real differences in the states."

The project taps a growing body of research that is identifying the most-effective public programs. Washington state has been a leader in the approach and attracted Pew and MacArthur's attention early on. The Washington State Institute for Public Policy created a sophisticated cost-benefit computer model to analyze state programs, and Republican and Democratic leaders there report that the new approach has helped produce bipartisan policies that improved results while saving more than a billion dollars.

"I came from the business sector, where we relied on evidence on what was a good investment. In the Legislature, I realized we needed to do the same thing. Otherwise, you make decisions based on opinions and anecdotes or one person's favorite study that may be the exception," says Skip Priest, the former ranking Republican on Washington's House Committee on Education.

Seeing the value of Washington state's approach, Pew and MacArthur worked with the Washington State Institute



**Policymakers in Iowa have used Results First to evaluate adult criminal justice programs and policies.**

for Public Policy to adapt its model and develop Results First as a tool that can be applied to other states.

Policymakers are finding that the Results First cost-benefit analysis is essential for many states still grappling with the lasting effects of the Great Recession. Limited revenue has to be spent wisely, and Results First helps state leaders:

- Systematically identify which programs work and which don't.
- Calculate potential returns on investment of funding alternative programs.
- Rank programs based on their projected benefits, costs, and investment risks.
- Identify ineffective programs that could be targeted for cuts or elimination.
- Predict the impact of various policy options.

Recognizing that no single approach works for everyone, the project collaborates closely with policymakers to tailor the analysis to meet the individual needs of each state.

For example, Results First started working in New Mexico in 2011 and has helped policymakers there calculate “the cost of doing nothing” if current corrections trends continued. An analysis of offenders released in 2011 showed that this single group would cost the state \$360 million over 15 years if current recidivism patterns persisted. The study guided lawmakers, who chose to shift funds from an ineffective corrections program to one predicted to produce strong outcomes.

“Results First is trying to inform the process and give policymakers information so they know the impact of their spending choices—that is information they have not had before,” explains the project’s director, Gary VanLandingham. “We want this to become part of the way they do business, to be part of the budget process.”

And while programs’ financial costs are a central consideration, VanLandingham says the human benefit of effective programs is paramount: “the crimes avoided, the people being kept safe, the kids who won’t be abused because we’ve looked at

what works to help them.”

Pew and MacArthur work closely together on the project with representatives meeting regularly to assess progress, refine strategy, and plan for growth. The strengths of the two organizations complement each other. MacArthur has deep experience applying cost-benefit analysis to policy and Pew’s institutional structure allows it to have staff working directly with state officials.

“We’ve got a nice relationship among the two teams. We’ve played off each other’s ideas, strengths, and enthusiasm,” says Valerie Chang, MacArthur’s director for policy research. “We’ve become thought partners.”

This summer Results First is creating a new central clearinghouse for much of the research on effective state programs. It will be a one-stop database that makes information from eight research clearinghouses easily available. Policymakers, who often must make critical budget decisions on tight timelines, will have a new resource. It will tell them what works and what doesn’t in many policy areas, including adult criminal justice, juvenile justice, mental health, substance abuse, early education, K-12 education, and child welfare.

More than halfway to the intermediate goal of working in 25 states, Results First has moved at a rapid pace. “I’ve enjoyed how we’ve challenged each other to make Results First as big and as powerful as it can be,” MacArthur’s Stasch says. “Together we want states in this country to fundamentally change how they budget based on evidence and, in the process, become better stewards of taxpayer dollars and provide the excellent services their constituents deserve and should expect.” ■



For information about philanthropic partnerships at Pew, please contact Senior Vice President Sally O’Brien at 202-540-6525, sobrien@pewtrusts.org.

---

Program investments by The Pew Charitable Trusts seek to improve policy, inform the public, and stimulate civic life through operating projects managed by Pew staff, donor partnerships that allow us to work closely with individuals and organizations to achieve shared goals, and targeted grant-making. Following are highlights of some recent Pew work. To learn more, go to [www.pewtrusts.org](http://www.pewtrusts.org).

---

# *Return on* Investment

---

## ■ THE ENVIRONMENT

### ***Atlantic menhaden fishing limits achieve results***

The Atlantic States Marine Fisheries Commission released the first-year results of its menhaden management plan May 16, and they show it was a strong conservation success with more than 300 million of the forage fish left in the water to fulfill their important role in the marine food web. The commission's review showed that east coast states effectively implemented the first full, coastwide catch limit on menhaden, which was largely the result of a Pew-led campaign—marking a 25 percent reduction in the catch from 2011.

### ***New Indigenous Protected Area in Western Australia***

The Australian government established the Karajarri Indigenous Protected Area in the southern Kimberley region in Western Australia. The protected area, designated May 7, covers 6.1 million acres of land and sea. The move completes work in partnership with the Kimberley Land Council that has led to protections for a total of 26 million acres. Pew worked with Indigenous leaders and the government to create the areas, which will be protected and managed by the Indigenous Traditional Owners.

### ***New Caledonia announces plan to create marine park***

Harold Martin, the president of New Caledonia, authorized plans April 23 for creation of the New Caledonia Coral Sea Natural Park. The move advances the government's pledge to create a marine park spanning the islands' exclusive economic zone, which is 463,000 square miles, more than twice the size of mainland France. New Caledonia is an overseas territory of France. Pew is serving on the park's official working group and assisting the governments of New Caledonia and France, whose marine protected areas agency will help create and oversee the park.

### ***Canada's Northwest Territories protects boreal***

The government of the Northwest Territories used its newly acquired powers over public lands April 1 to adopt legally binding interim protection for 18.9 million acres of boreal parks and refuges (about the size of South Carolina), including the proposed Horn Plateau Wildlife Area, the Ramparts Wildlife Area, and Thaidene Nene National Park. The Canadian federal government had protected these areas, but their conservation was put at risk when the federal government transferred jurisdiction and management to the local government. Pew organized public outreach to ensure

that no interim protections were reversed during the transfer when the territorial government signaled it might be a possibility. This success advances Pew's goal to protect 1 billion acres of Canada's boreal forest by 2022 (half under formal protections and the other half under sustainable development rules).

### ***Canada moves to protect Arctic fisheries habitat***

The Canadian government prohibited trawling near Baffin Island, protecting Arctic waters out to 12 miles along 1,000 miles of coastline for fish, cold-water corals and sponges, and marine mammals, including whales and seals. The 54,000-square-mile area includes Lancaster Sound, at the eastern entrance of the Northwest Passage, an important migratory path for 85 percent of the world's narwhals. Oceans North Canada, a partnership of Pew and Ducks Unlimited, helped develop consensus for the plan, which is part of a larger effort to bring a cautionary approach to commercial fishing in the Arctic.

## ■ IN THE STATES

### ***Tax incentives to be evaluated***

Indiana lawmakers unanimously passed legislation, signed into law March 25 by Governor Mike Pence, which requires



regular evaluations of the state's tax incentives to determine if they are achieving their goals. Mississippi approved similar legislation in April, requiring evaluation of current and future economic development tax incentives. Pew worked with leaders of both states to provide technical assistance in support of the legislation.

### ***Criminal justice reforms approved***

Pew worked in a number of states to help elected officials develop data-driven policies that will ensure public safety and save money for taxpayers:

- Kentucky passed juvenile justice reforms in April that restrict many low-level offenders from being sent to secure facilities and direct the projected savings of up to \$24 million to be reinvested into more effective programs and supervision practices.
- Hawaii approved juvenile justice

#### **ENVIRONMENT**

### ***Michigan's Sleeping Bear Dunes protected***

On March 13, President Barack Obama signed the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Conservation and Recreation Act, which passed Congress with wide bipartisan support. The law safeguards 32,500 acres along a 35-mile stretch of Lake Michigan shoreline in Michigan's Lower Peninsula. Pew worked with members of Congress, the National Park Service, and the local community to develop a wilderness proposal and marshal support for protecting Sleeping Bear Dunes, which attracts 1.2 million visitors annually and is important to the local and state economy.

legislation that will cut the number of youth in the state's secure facility by more than half, targeting space there for serious offenders and directing the savings to proven community-based programs.

- Idaho passed legislation in March to slow the growth of the state's prison population, saving as much as \$288 million over the next five years.
- Mississippi approved legislation in March to reduce the prison population and save \$266 million over the next decade.

### ***Helping states manage budget volatility***

Illinois passed legislation, signed into law June 30 by Governor Pat Quinn, that for the first time requires the state to study how up-and-down swings in revenue affect the budget and to develop policies for its rainy day fund. Connecticut lawmakers created a bipartisan tax study panel in May that will examine revenue volatility and develop recommendations on how to manage it. Pew worked with policymakers in both states, building on

recommendations from its recent report *Managing Uncertainty: How State Budgeting Can Smooth Revenue Volatility*.

### **Right on Crime**

The Right on Crime campaign, a project of the Texas Public Policy Foundation in partnership with Pew's public safety performance project, hosted a panel March 7 on sentencing and correction reforms at the Conservative Political Action Conference in Washington. It featured Texas Governor Rick Perry, former New

York City Police Commissioner Bernard Kerik, and Americans for Tax Reform President Grover Norquist. The campaign, with Pew's support, also hosted a leadership summit in Washington on May 21 that was the largest-ever gathering of conservatives supporting criminal justice reforms.

### **Support for home visiting**

Pew hosted its fourth National Summit on Quality in Home Visiting Programs, attracting more than 550 participants. The Jan. 29 and 30 event in Washington was the largest ever and has become a premier gathering in the field to share innovations and research. In March, Congress extended six months of funding for the Maternal, Infant, and Early Childhood Home Visiting Program at the current level of \$400 million annually. Pew advocated for this funding, building on successful campaigns in 10 states and enlisting governors and other influential leaders to communicate to key members of Congress about the importance of family support and coaching efforts for expectant parents.



A rally in the southern Ukrainian city of Mariupol to call for peace and for a unified Ukraine, July 13, 2014.

## **THE ECONOMY**

### **Consumer information on prepaid cards**

Pew's consumer banking project developed a model disclosure box for prepaid cards in February that provides key fees, terms, and conditions in a concise, easy-to-read manner. JPMorgan Chase was the first provider to voluntarily adopt the box. In June, Visa incorporated a new designation for its reloadable prepaid cards that was developed with help from Pew and the Center for Financial Services Innovation.

### **Payday lending reforms**

The Bank of Oklahoma became the last bank in the nation to discontinue "deposit advance" payday, high interest loans. The Jan. 22 move follows similar action by Regions Financial, Wells Fargo, Fifth Third, Guaranty Bank, and U.S. Bank—in response to guidance by the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. Pew's small-dollar loans team helped

push through the change, which will save consumers hundreds of millions of dollars, with comment letters, media outreach, and numerous meetings with federal regulators.

## **PEW RESEARCH CENTER**

### **Shifting religious identity of U.S. Latinos**

Nearly 1 in 4 Hispanic adults is now a former Catholic, according to a Pew survey of more than 5,000 Hispanics. Most Hispanics in the United States continue to belong to the Roman Catholic Church, but the Catholic share of the Hispanic population is declining, while rising numbers of Hispanics are Protestant or unaffiliated with any religion. A majority (55 percent) of the nation's estimated 35.4 million Latino adults—or about 19.6 million Latinos—identify as Catholic today. About 22 percent are Protestants (including 16 percent who describe themselves as born again or evangelical), and 18 percent are religiously unaffiliated.



**PEW RESEARCH CENTER**

***Ukrainians want to remain one country***

A clear majority of Ukrainians agree that their country should remain a single, unified state, according to a pair of Pew surveys conducted in Ukraine and Russia after Crimea's annexation by Russia but before violence in Odessa and other cities. The survey in Ukraine also finds a clearly negative reaction to the role Russia is playing in the country. By contrast, the poll in Russia reveals a public that firmly backs Vladimir Putin and Crimea's secession from Ukraine.

***The Web's 25th anniversary***

The Pew Research Center is marking 25 years of the World Wide Web with a series of reports examining its impact and by asking experts for their predictions for the future of the Internet. Since 1995, Pew has documented the rapid adoption of the Internet and its effect on American life. Sir Tim Berners-Lee, inventor of the Web, has praised Pew's reports, noting they "provide us with raw data and valuable insights on many ... pressing questions."

***Supreme Court cites Pew Research***

In its June ruling on cellphone privacy, the Supreme Court turned to Pew Research Center data. The court's unanimous decision in *Riley v. California* cited Pew's report showing that a majority of American adults now own a smartphone. The 2013 report found that 56 percent of American adults are smartphone owners. Ownership is particularly high among younger adults and those with

relatively high levels of household income and educational attainment.

***European Union favorability rises***

As part of Pew's broader global research portfolio, the center released a survey of seven European Union nations in May showing that after a dramatic decline in the wake of the euro crisis, favorable opinion of the union is now on the rise in France, the United Kingdom, and Germany. But people across Europe overwhelmingly think that their voice is not heard in Brussels, where the EU is based.

***After decades of decline, a rise in stay-at-home mothers***

A Pew report found that the share of mothers who do not work outside the home rose to 29 percent in 2012, reversing a long-term decline. The study, cited on the front pages of more than 50 newspapers, found that married stay-at-home mothers with working husbands made up 68 percent of the nation's 10.4 million stay-at-home mothers in 2012, down from 85 percent in 1970. Meanwhile, 20 percent of stay-at-home mothers were single, 5 percent were cohabiting, and 7 percent were married with a husband who did not work.

**PHILADELPHIA**

***Residential housing a bright spot for Philadelphia***

The Philadelphia research initiative's annual "State of the City" report showed that developers received building permits for 2,815 units of new residential housing in 2013, the most approved in a decade. The units are worth an estimated \$465 million, the highest amount on record. Though chronic challenges remain, investors appear to be betting that the city's population, which rose for the seventh

straight year, will keep growing and that many of the new residents will be looking for new homes and apartments.

***Support for arts and culture***

- Philadelphia's Pig Iron Theatre Company, founded by former Pew fellows Gabriel Quinn Bauriedel, Dan Rothenberg, and Dito van Reigersberg, performed its adaptation of Shakespeare's "Twelfth Night" at the Abrons Art Center in New York City in February to glowing reviews. *The New York Times* declared, "The whole production is pretty dazzling." The original work, which was funded by The Pew Center for Arts and Heritage and debuted at Philadelphia's Fringe Arts Festival in 2011, has earned additional support to travel to other venues outside the region.
- The Philadelphia Mural Arts Program, with a \$250,000 grant from The Pew Center for Arts and Heritage, commissioned "psychylustro," a public art project by Berlin-based artist Katharina Grosse. Grosse and a team of local artists painted buildings and landscapes along five miles of Amtrak's Northeast Corridor with vivid pink, green, and orange biodegradable paint that will change and fade over the year. The installation, which debuted April 29, will be seen by about 34,000 rail passengers a day.
- The Pew Center for Arts and Heritage awarded a \$500,000 Advancement Grant in June to the Zoological Society of Philadelphia to support continuing construction and expansion of a system of overhead trails that allow primates, big cats, and other animals to leave their designated habitats and travel around the zoo. The intention is for a more dynamic visitor experience and for the animals to be more active and healthy. ■

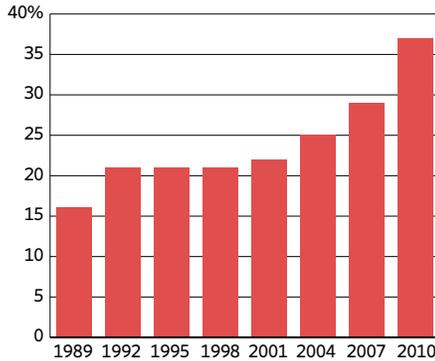
# Young Adults, Student Debt and Economic Well-being



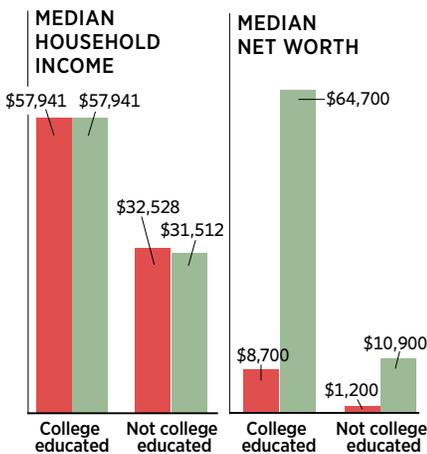
Households headed by adults under age 40 who have student debt are lagging far behind their peers in accumulating wealth, according to a Pew Research Center report which shows that the burden of college loans is weighing heavily on the economic fortunes of younger Americans. Student debt was the only kind of household debt that continued to grow during the Great Recession, from late 2007 to 2009. It outpaced credit card debt to become the second-largest type of debt owed by U.S. households, after mortgages. Nearly 4 in 10 households headed by an adult under 40 now have student loans—the highest share on record—with a median load of about \$13,000. ■



**Young households that owe student debt have climbed dramatically in the past 20 years.** (By percent)

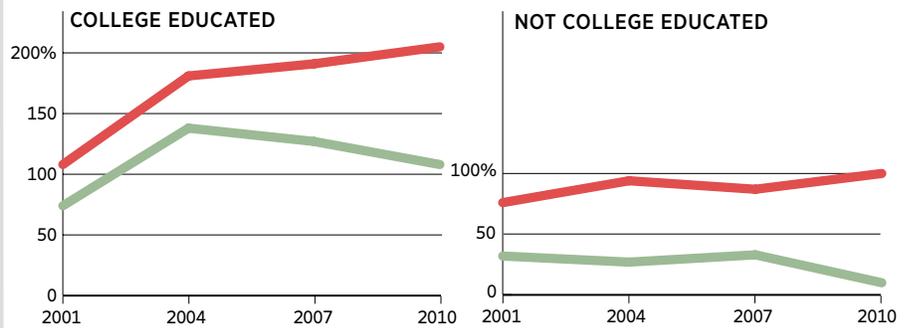


**Although income is unaffected by student debt, college-educated households with student debt have a much lower net worth than those without.**

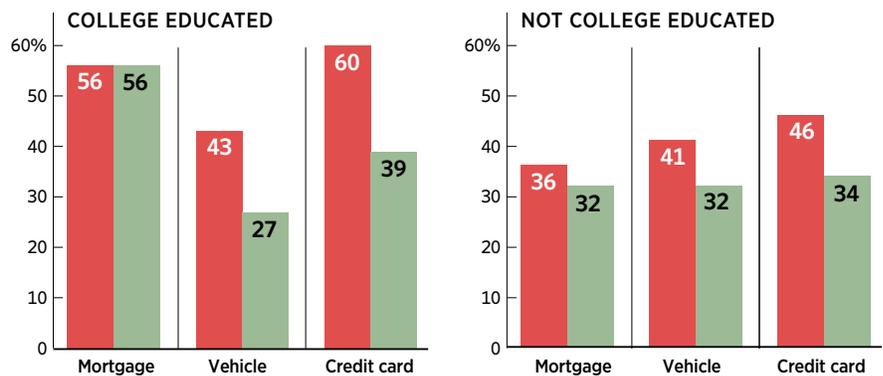


**Debts are growing for households that have student loans to repay.**

(Median total debt as percentage of income)

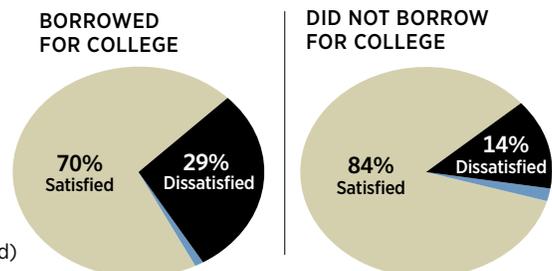


**Young households with student debt are much more likely to have car loans and credit card debt, too.** (By percent)



**Young households that borrowed for college are less satisfied with their personal financial situation than those who didn't and are less likely to say their education has paid off.**

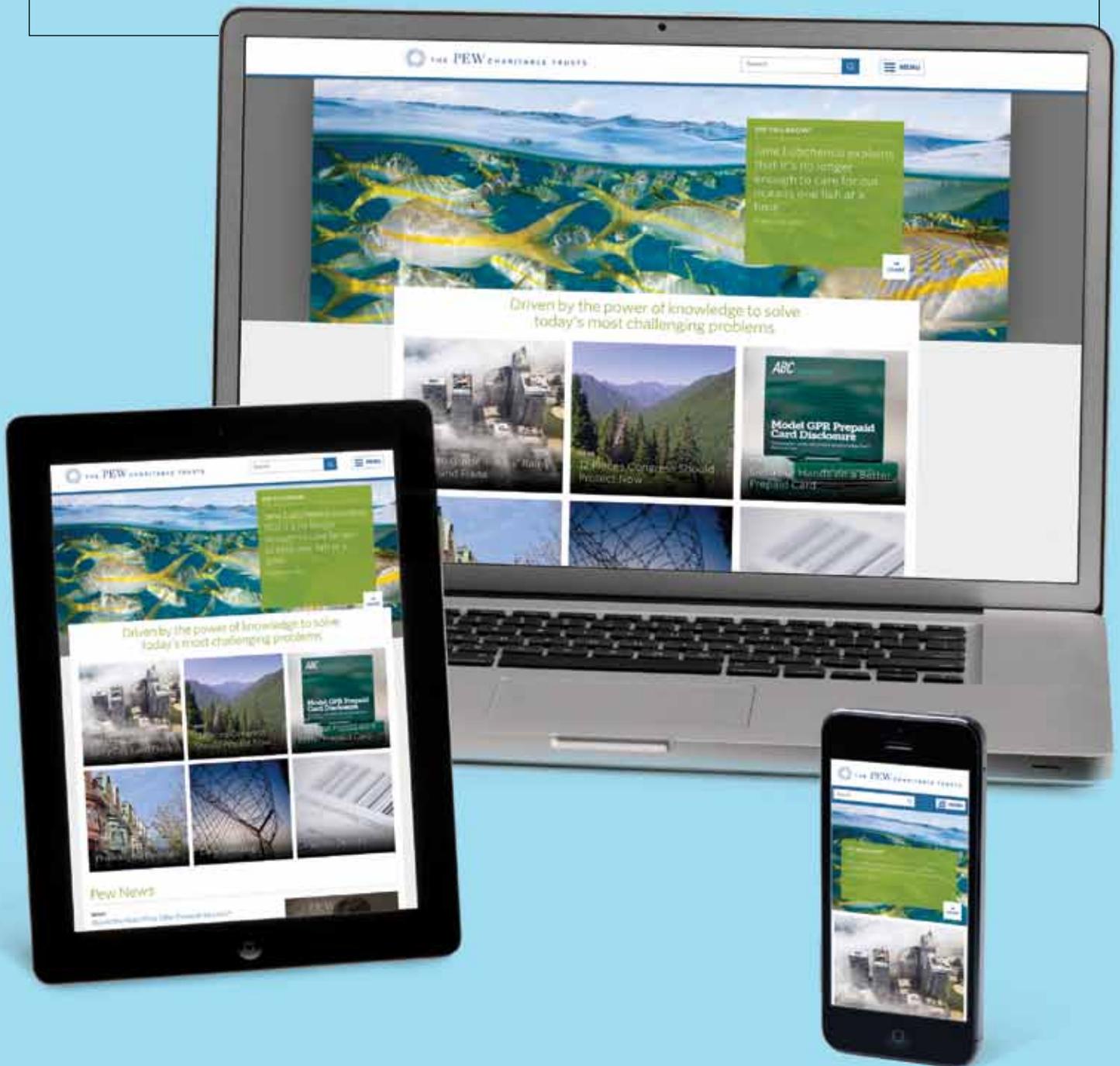
(By percent satisfied/dissatisfied)

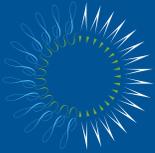


# Discover the new pewtrusts.org

Explore Pew's research and learn more about our mission to solve today's most challenging problems. Our new website is ready wherever you are—optimized for easy reading on your phone, tablet, or laptop.

**Get the data that makes a difference.**





THE  
**PEW**  
CHARITABLE TRUSTS

One Commerce Square  
2005 Market Street, Suite 2800  
Philadelphia, PA 19103-7077

---

NONPROFIT ORG  
U.S. POSTAGE PAID  
CINNAMINSON, NJ  
PERMIT NO. 579

---



*“If future generations are to remember us with gratitude rather than contempt, we must leave them more than the miracles of technology,” President Lyndon B. Johnson said. “We must leave them a glimpse of the world as it was in the beginning, not just after we got through with it.”*

—from “America’s Common Ground,” Page 12

---

**Denali National Park  
and Preserve, Alaska**  
*Photograph by  
Dee Ann Pederson*

---

