

# Trust

The Pew Charitable Trusts

VOLUME 9 / NUMBER 1 / SPRING 2006



*Resistance Melts about  
Climate Change*

*Ben Franklin Is for the Ages—  
But for Our Age?*

*Preschool Pays Back*

## Notes from the President



### Useful Knowledge

**S**udoku, the logic puzzle of grids and numbers, is all the rage nowadays. And so it was, too, in the 1730s—at least to the 20-ish clerk of the colonial Pennsylvania Assembly, who made up sudoku-like “magic squares,” passing the time by exercising and extending his reasoning skills.

That staff member was Benjamin Franklin. He preferred to keep his mind at full throttle, as he did more consistently later in his life, when he was dealing with challenges of great consequence—in science, politics, diplomacy, business, the arts or the civic infrastructure, to name a few of his pursuits—and his knowledge could be, as he desired, “of real use.”

His magic squares are on display in *Benjamin Franklin: In Search of a Better World*, an exhibition that opened at Philadelphia’s National Constitution Center in December and will travel nationally and internationally to honor his life and help the 21st century understand his enduring legacy. Through a great variety of displays, we all have the opportunity to rediscover his unceasing inquisitiveness, his ability to think expansively, pragmatically and effectively, and his eagerness to improve his era with inventions and ideas.

Franklin was amazingly consistent in his approach. He always assembled evidence and applied his analytical skills to the facts (or created experiments) until they provided a coherent explanation of the world around him. He then based his subsequent action on that well-grounded interpretation, which he called “useful knowledge.”

To help celebrate Franklin’s 300th birthday anniversary this year, the Trusts is proud to support *In Search*

*of a Better World* as a gift to the nation. The exhibition helps us appreciate, ever more strongly, the many dimensions of his mind and achievements. And we witness an extraordinary example of how one citizen can play a central role in shaping our society, a paradigm of civic engagement.

**A**t the Trusts, we also believe in the power of knowledge to improve American society. Our guiding principle is useful knowledge, because we gather information for decidedly practical purposes that will lead to results for the public good—as in our work on global climate change. More than a decade of Trusts investments in research and analysis has helped inform the debate on this crucial and urgent issue.

A growing number of scientific studies demonstrate that our world is heating up, and this alteration will create enormous problems on every continent. Computer modeling and data extrapolation remain a mainstay of science, but mathematical models are now complemented by direct observation of the consequences of global warming on flora and fauna.

With such an important problem upon us, policy makers will need to make difficult decisions. Credible, balanced, nonpartisan scientific research will be an extraordinarily important way to both inform them and the public and help everyone understand the need for prompt action to mitigate climate change’s adverse effects.

A headline in *USA Today* last year—“The Debate’s Over: Globe is Warming”—seems to echo the sentiment of many leading scientists, businesses and an increasing number of American elected officials at all levels. Climate-change resolutions are emerging in Congress, governors of several states have announced major emissions-reduction initiatives, and mayors have pledged municipal actions to reduce the effects of greenhouse-gas emissions.

In February, more than 80 Christian leaders in the Trusts-supported Evangelical Climate Initiative released a statement vowing to fight global warm-

ing. “For most of us, until recently this has not been treated as a pressing issue or major priority,” they acknowledged. “Indeed, many of us have required considerable convincing before becoming persuaded that climate change is a real problem and that it ought to matter to us as Christians. But now we have seen and heard enough,” and they went on to offer a four-point “moral argument” for addressing the problem.

These actions are promising. We may be on the threshold of meaningful progress in climate policy, as solid, unbiased scientific evidence is beneficially applied to inform the debate.

**U**seful knowledge is also broadening discussions on the benefits of voluntary, universal early education for three- and four-year-olds.

The information, however, goes beyond more academically and socially adept children, better school performance and improved job prospects. Three long-term experiments with preschoolers who are now adults demonstrate an economic return of as much as \$17 for each \$1 invested in prekindergarten. And computer modeling shows that high-quality prekindergarten has long-term economic value as a potential remedy for the decline of productivity in the U.S. workforce, a problem that American businesses already recognize as a top priority. These data constitute useful knowledge that can be the basis of informed policy.

Our founding fathers revered sound evidence. “We are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead,” wrote Thomas Jefferson. Benjamin Franklin gave us a map for that journey. With the problems of today every bit as complex as those he faced, we continue to pursue his strategy for effective policy: Find the facts and then let them guide society in taking an informed and thoughtful course of action.

*Rebecca W. Rimel  
President and CEO*

## Trust

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America has always had strong opinions about Franklin. Walter Isaacson assesses his relevance as he turns 300.



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High-quality preschool has far-reaching economic benefits. Business leaders increasingly understand and are willing to help convey that message.



### Policy

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Whether humans are implicated in the observed warming of the planet, says an expert, "is an argument that is over." Now what?



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The Pew Charitable Trusts serves the public interest by providing information, advancing policy solutions and supporting civic life. Based in Philadelphia, with an office in Washington, D.C., the Trusts will invest \$204 million in fiscal year 2006 to provide organizations and citizens with fact-based research and practical solutions for challenging issues.

The Trusts, an independent nonprofit, 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.

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# Has Benjamin Franklin

By Walter Isaacson



Looking to the Future by Samuel Formica, 2003. Oil on canvas, 7' x 5.' [www.samuelformica.com](http://www.samuelformica.com).

# Worn Out His Welcome?

**NOT LIKELY.** What we see in this 300-year-old founding father mirrors ourselves.

**W**hat leadership lessons can we learn from our country's founders? What qualities and personality traits make a leader great? There is not, I think, one answer. What made the era of the founders so successful was that there was a group of leaders who each had different talents and who together complemented one another.

It was critical to have someone like George Washington, who was revered by all and could command authority. We also needed men like John Adams and his cousin Samuel, who were unflinching and unbending and uncompromising in pursuit of principle. Then, too, we needed bright young philosophers like Thomas Jefferson and James Madison.

But equally important, the nation, aborning, needed a Benjamin Franklin: someone who was sage yet sensible and very pragmatic, who could bring people together and calm their passions, who could understand that

*Portrait bust of Benjamin Franklin,  
by Jean Antoine Houdon, 1779.  
Philadelphia Museum of Art.*





it was possible to uphold core values while also seeking to find common ground with others.

Indeed, these are the traits, I think, that account for Franklin's recurring popularity in times of social discord and strife. He enjoyed a brief vogue, for example, during the Depression, when Carl Van Doren wrote the masterful biography of his life and when I. Bernard Cohen exalted the practical and pragmatic nature of his science. And after a decade of rising divisiveness in politics and the media in our own time, almost a dozen new books celebrate Franklin as a voice of reason and moderation.

Each new age can relate to him because, more than any other, he is the founding father who winks at us. Washington's colleagues found it hard to imagine touching the austere general on the shoulder, and we would find the idea even more unthinkable today. Jefferson and Adams are just as intimidating. But Ben Franklin, that ambitious urban entrepreneur, seems made of flesh rather than marble; addressable by nickname, he turns to us from history's stage with eyes that twinkle from behind those new-fangled spectacles. He speaks to us, through his letters and hoaxes and autobiography, not with orotund rhetoric but with a chattiness and clever irony that is very contemporary, sometimes unnervingly so. We see his reflection in our own time, which can be a bit disconcerting.

Franklin helped invent the type of a middle-class meritocracy that informs the American dream today. Jefferson's idea of a meritocracy, expressed in his founding documents for the University of Virginia, was to take the cream of naturally talented young men and elevate them from the masses to become part of a new "natural aristocracy." But Franklin, though he loved young Jefferson, had a less elitist

ideal. In his document launching the academy that became the University of Pennsylvania, he talked of helping all "aspiring" and "diligent" young men (alas, not women) from any stratum or of any natural endowment, for he felt that society was helped by elevating people from all levels who strove to improve themselves.

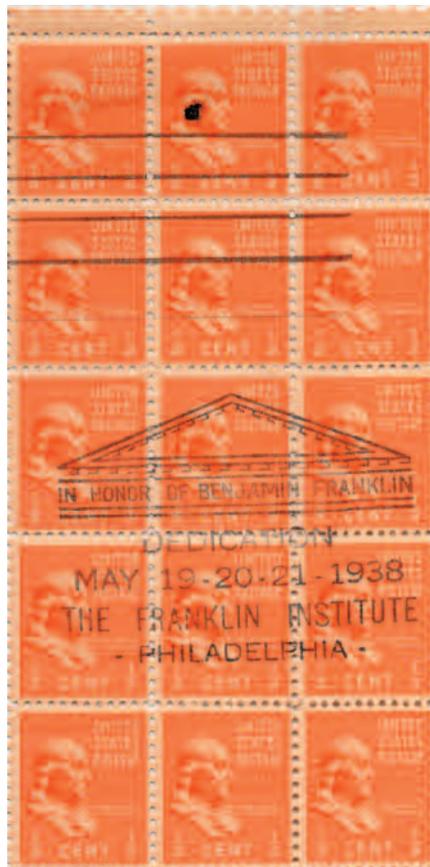
He believed in a new political order in which rights and power would be based not on the happenstance of heritage but on merit, virtue and hard work. He rose up the social ladder from runaway apprentice to royal dinner guest in a way that would become quintessentially American. Yet in doing so he resolutely resisted, as a matter of principle—sometimes to a fur-capped extreme—aristocratic pretensions. More than almost any other founder (certainly more than Washington and Adams), he held firm to a fundamental faith that the New World should avoid replicating

the hierarchies of the Old. His aversion to elitism and his faith in a new order built on the virtues of common people were among his most lasting legacies.

Indeed, the roots of much of what distinguishes the nation can be found in Franklin: Its cracker-barrel humor and wisdom. Its technological ingenuity. Its pluralistic tolerance. Its ability to weave together individualism and community cooperation. Its philosophical pragmatism. Its celebration of meritocratic mobility. The idealistic streak ingrained in its foreign policy. And the Main Street (or Market Street) virtues that serve as the foundation for its civic values. Franklin was egalitarian in what became the American sense: He approved of individuals making their way to wealth through diligence and talent but opposed giving special privileges to people based on birth.

At the height of his success, Franklin did something unusual. He stepped back from his businesses to devote himself to philanthropy, community projects and civic works. His mother, back in Boston, was disapproving of his lack of focus on his earthly calling. She was a good Calvinist Puritan who believed in the doctrine of salvation through God's grace alone. Her son, on the other hand, had rejected this doctrine and espoused instead the covenant of works. He believed that salvation came through good works, that the only religious doctrine he could be sure of was that, if God loved all his creatures, then the best way to serve God was to serve your fellow men. He explained this in a letter to his mother, which ended with the wonderful line, "I would rather have it said 'He lived usefully' than 'He died rich.'"

When it came time for a declaration to be written explaining why the colonies had asserted their independence, the Continental Congress ap-



From a sheet of 100 Franklin half-cent stamps, signed by postal officials and others, 1938. The Franklin Institute, Philadelphia.

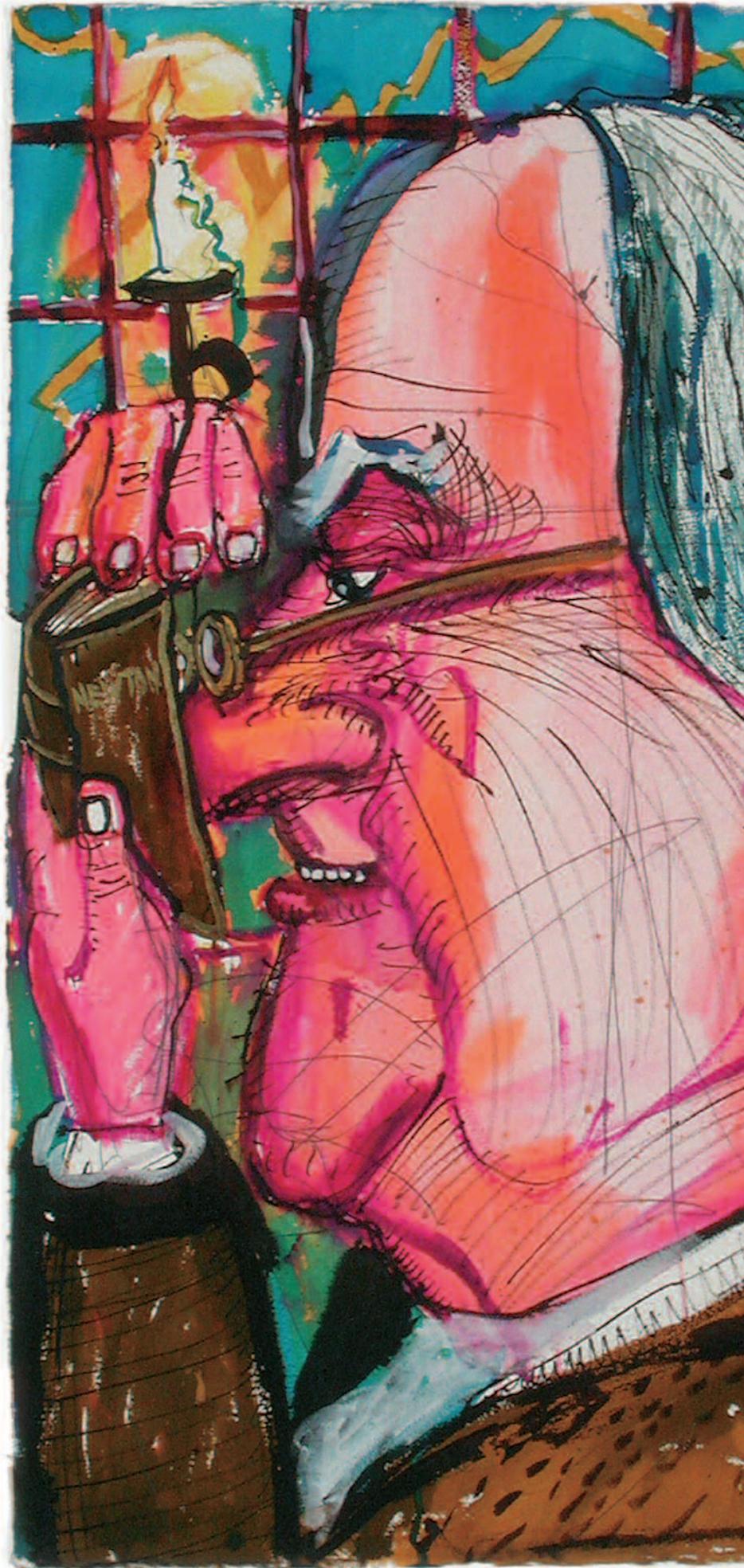
pointed a committee to draft it—perhaps the last time Congress created a good committee. It included, among others, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin and John Adams.

They were clear, in their first sentence, about the purpose of the declaration. “A decent respect to the opinions of mankind” required the signers to explain their actions. It was, in short, a propaganda document or, to put it more politely, a piece of public diplomacy designed to enlist others to their cause.

Jefferson wrote the first draft and sent it down Market Street to Franklin. He had begun his famous second paragraph with the words, “We hold these truths to be sacred.” Franklin took his heavy black printer’s pen—you can see the rough draft in the Library of Congress—crossed out *sacred*, and made it: “We hold these truths to be self-evident.” His point was that our rights come from rationality and reason and depend on the consent of the governed, not the dictates or dogmas of a particular religion.

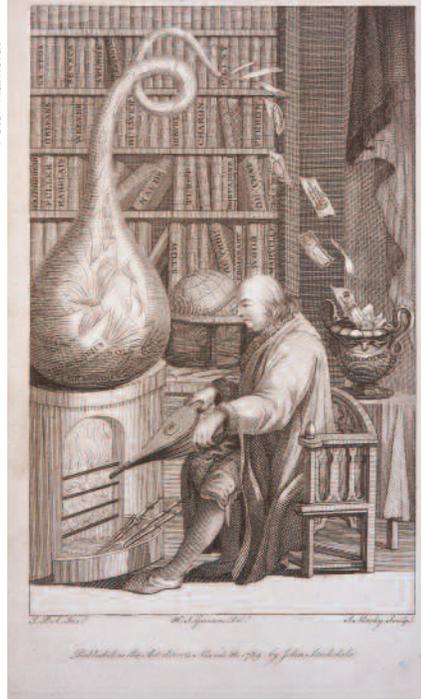
Jefferson went on to say that, by virtue of their equal creation, people are endowed with certain inalienable rights. Here we see the probable influence of that old Massachusetts Puritan John Adams. The committee added the phrase “endowed by their Creator.” The final sentence became a perfect balance of fealty to divine Providence tempered with an understanding that our rights are guaranteed by the consent of the governed.

Americans have long struggled to come to grips with the role of religion and divine Providence in our politics and society. But our founders were sensible enough to realize that, whatever each of us believes about the place of religion in public life—whether the words “under God” should appear in the Pledge of Allegiance or the Ten Commandments be displayed in public buildings—invocations of the





Peter Harholdt



Lord should be used to unite rather than divide us.

**T**he complex interplay among various facets of Franklin's character—his ingenuity and unreflective wisdom, his Protestant ethic divorced from dogma, the principles he held to and those on which he was willing to compromise—means that each new look at him reflects and refracts the nation's changing values. He has been vilified in romantic periods and lionized in entrepreneurial ones. Each era appraises him anew and, in doing so, reveals some aspect of itself.

What is his particular resonance in 21st-century America? Both his earnestness and his self-aware irony. And the way he tried to balance, sometimes uneasily, a pursuit of reputation, wealth, earthly virtues and spiritual values.

Some who see the reflection of Franklin in the world today fret about our shallowness of soul and spiritual complacency, which seem to permeate our culture of materialism. They say that he teaches us how to live a practical and pecuniary life, but not an exalted one. Others, seeing the same reflection, admire the basic middle-class values and democratic sentiments that now seem under assault from elitists, radicals, reactionaries and other bashers of the

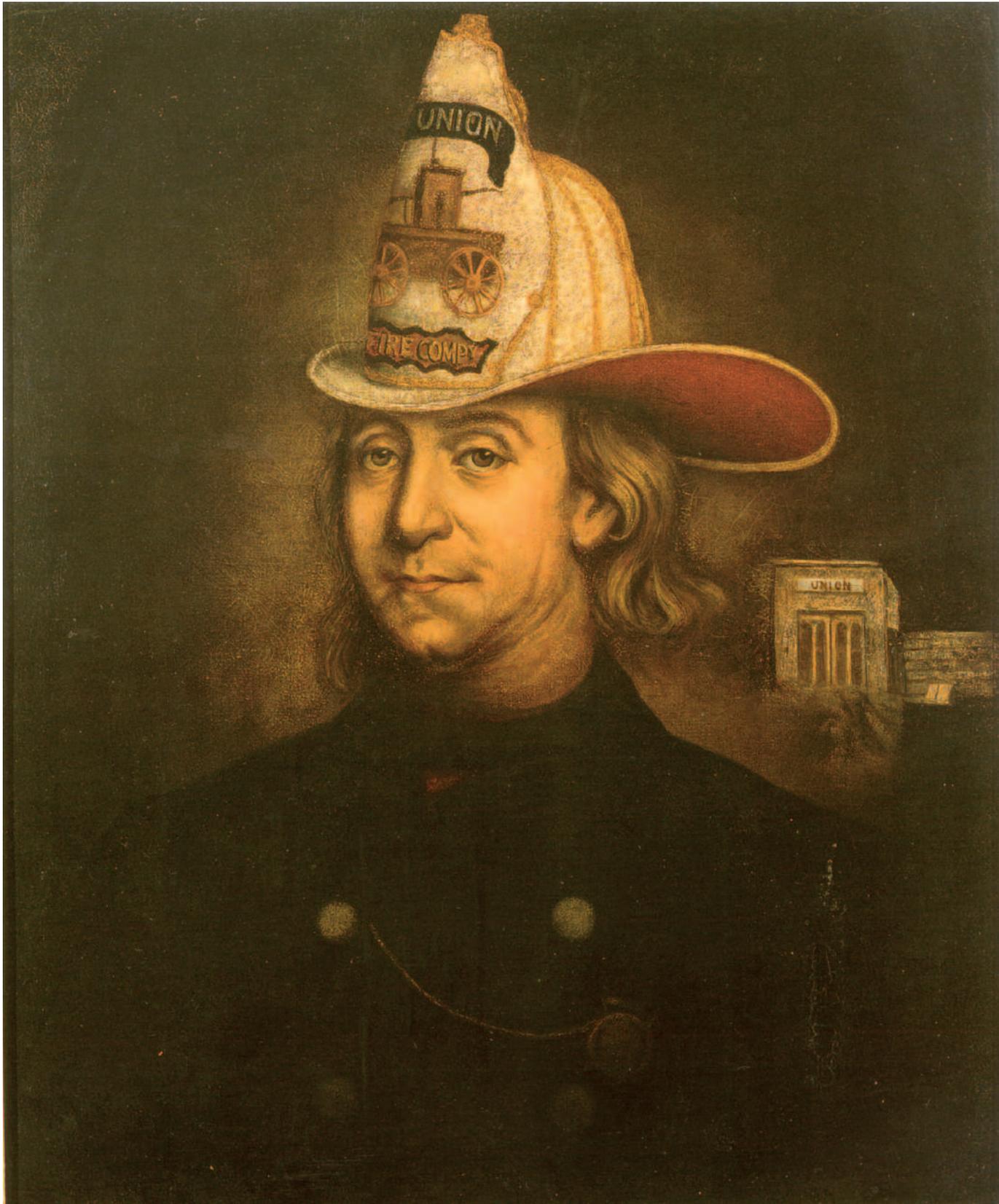
bourgeoisie. They look upon Franklin as an exemplar of the personal character and civic virtue that is too often missing in modern America.

Much of the admiration is warranted, and so too are some of the qualms. But the lessons of Franklin's life are more complex than those usually drawn by either his fans or his foes. Both sides too often confuse him with the striving pilgrim he portrayed in his autobiography. They mistake his general moral maxims for the fundamental faiths that motivated his actions. But his morality was built on a sincere belief in the value of leading a virtuous life, serving the country he loved and hoping to achieve salvation through good works. This led him to make the link between private and civic virtue and to suspect, based on the meager evidence he could muster about God's will, that these earthly virtues were linked to heavenly ones as well. As he put it in the motto for the library he founded, "to pour forth benefits for the common good is divine."

In contrast to the views of contemporaries such as Jonathan Edwards, who believed that men were sinners in the hands of an angry God and whose salvation could come through grace alone, Franklin's outlook might seem somewhat complacent. In some ways it was, but it was also genuine.

Franklin represents one side of a national dichotomy that has existed since the days when he and Edwards stood as contrasting cultural figures. On one side are those, like Edwards and the Mather family, who believed in an anointed elect and in salvation through grace. They tended to have religious fervor, a sense of social class and hierarchy, and an appreciation of exalted values over earthly ones. On the other side were the Franklins, who believed in salvation through works, whose religion was benevolent and tolerant, and who were unabashedly striving and upwardly mobile.

*Dr. Franklin's Profile* by Red Grooms, 1982. Philadelphia Museum of Art, purchased with the Alice Newton Osborn Fund, 1982.



*Benjamin Franklin, The Fireman* by Charles Washington Wright, ca. 1850. Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American History, Behring Center, Washington, D.C. The helmet shows the insignia of the Union Fire Company, which he organized.



Graydon Wood

*Benjamin Franklin Drawing Electricity from the Sky* by Benjamin West, ca. 1816. Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Out of this grew many related divides in the American character, and Franklin represents one side: pragmatism versus romanticism, practical benevolence versus moral crusading. He was on the side of religious tolerance rather than evangelical faith. The side of social mobility rather than an established elite. The side of middle-class virtues rather than aristocratic aspirations.

Whichever view we take, it is useful to engage anew with Franklin, for in doing so, we are grappling with a fundamental issue: How can we live a life that is useful, virtuous, worthy, moral and spiritually meaningful? For that matter, which of these attributes is most important? These are questions just as vital for a self-satisfied age as they were for a revolutionary one.

During his lifetime, Franklin contributed to the building fund of every

church in Philadelphia. And at one point, when the people of Philadelphia were trying to raise money for a hall for visiting preachers, he wrote the fundraisers' prospectus. Even if the Mufti of Constantinople were to come here to preach Muhammad to us and teach us Islam, he said, we should offer him a pulpit, we should be open and listen, for we might learn something. And on his deathbed, he was the largest individual contributor to the Mikveh Israel synagogue, the first synagogue built in Philadelphia. So at his funeral, instead of just his minister accompanying his casket to the grave, all the ministers, preachers and priests of Philadelphia, along with the rabbi of the Jews, linked arms and marched with him to his burial place.

Franklin did not embody every transcendent, poetic ideal, but he did embody the most practical and useful ones. That was his goal, and a worthy one it was. The most important of these ideals, which he held from the age of 21 when he first gathered his Junto, was a faith in the wisdom of the common citizen that was manifest in an appreciation for the possibilities of democracy. It was a noble ideal, transcendent and poetic in its own way.

And it turned out to be, as history has proven, practical and useful as well. ■

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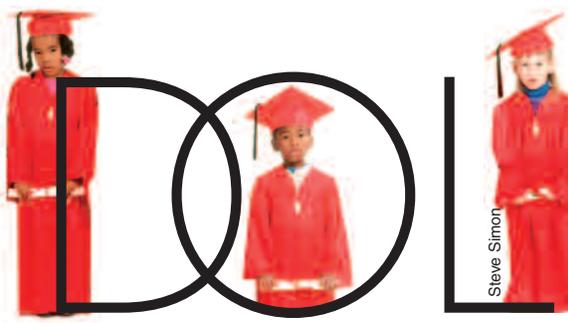
*Benjamin Franklin: In Search of a Better World*, book and traveling exhibition, is the centerpiece of the Trusts-supported Benjamin Franklin Tercentenary. For more about the celebrations in his honor, visit [www.benfranklin300.com](http://www.benfranklin300.com) and [www.gophila.com](http://www.gophila.com).

Walter Isaacson, who wrote the best-seller *Benjamin Franklin: An American Life*, is president and CEO of the Aspen Institute. He formerly served as chairman and CEO of CNN and managing editor of *Time* magazine.

# The TRILLION

*By Christopher Connell and Marshall A. Ledger*





# DOLLAR edge

Preschool benefits children and now we know its economic power.



October 1962 is remembered for several events, noteworthy even at that time. Among them was the opening of the Second Vatican Council, word from Stockholm that Francis Crick and James Watson were to share a Nobel Prize for solving the riddle of the molecular structure of DNA, and the 14 days of the Cuban missile crisis, when the Cold War threatened to get hot.

Only years later, however, have we been able to look back and realize that history was also being made in a nondescript recreation center serving the mostly poor, African-American residents on Harriet Street in Ypsilanti, Mich. Preschool classes began for a group of three-year-olds from the projects surrounding the center and the all-black Perry School down the street.

They were part of an unorthodox experiment engineered by the Ypsilanti Public Schools psychologist and director of special services, David P. Weikart. He wanted to see if intense, early education could keep these African-American children, when they reached elementary school, from being placed in special education classes.

The preschool children were randomly selected, but not their teachers, who were triple-certified in preschool, elementary *and* special education, and were paid a 10-percent bonus over the regular Ypsilanti salary scale.

Each teacher not only spent 2½ hours each weekday morning with five or six of the preschoolers, but also made a weekly, 90-minute home visit to work one-on-one with each child and parent.

The structure of the classes was highly participatory: The children had a say in the activities they pursued each day.

Children's art:

*Left:* Saphia Obeidat, "Playing the piano' with her fingers while listening to Chopin."

*Page 13:* Ana Borgstede, "Listening to Beethoven's Piano Concerto no. 4."

*Pages 16, 17:* Zamira Sigel-Kulick, "Zamira sad, with Anita," "Zamira happy."

*Back cover (background):* Jenin Obeidat, "Listening to Vivaldi's *The Four Seasons*."

The children participate in a holistic program of early childhood education, using the visual arts, classical music, dance and yoga, and conducted by visual artist Jacqueline Unanue in Philadelphia.

“We’re really shedding light where there is no darkness. The idea that a kid who can read or add doesn’t do too well, shouldn’t shock us. But we’ve gotten a lot more sophisticated in terms of knowing exactly how important the issue is and how important it is for our future.”

—Jim Rohr

Evelyn K. Moore, founder and president of the National Black Child Development Institute, was one of the four original Perry preschool teachers. She had experience teaching special education classes in Rose Hill, Mich., that were disproportionately male and African-American. She remembers children in special ed classes who knew all the baseball players and could sing the lyrics to every popular record, “but they weren’t reading,” she recalls.

“I knew that these kids were not retarded, not in the true sense of the word. But they did have some missing elements in terms of their development, and that’s what Dave [Weikart] was about filling in.

“His hypothesis was that if we took these children earlier and really bombarded and enriched their learning, they would not end up in rooms for educable mentally retarded. And most didn’t.”

Back then, IQ was widely thought immutable, and the idea of exposing three- and four-year-olds to letters and numbers was almost heretical. But the Perry preschoolers’ IQs jumped an average of 15 points by the time they entered kindergarten, moving most “out of the mildly retarded IQ range and into the normal range,” Weikart wrote in a subsequent mem-

oir. Even though that jump dissipated within a year or two, teachers reported that the Perry preschoolers behaved better in their classes and scored higher on achievement tests.

**T**he Perry preschool experiment made history not simply because early education helped these young children off to a better start, but because for many it lit a spark that has never been extinguished.

Although the participants’ names have been kept confidential all these years, National Public Radio featured the program on the 40th anniversary of its first graduation and included the comments of a Perry preschooler whose real name was withheld: “David” is a health-care consultant with a college degree who recalled that “even during the playtime, there seemed to be a learning component to it.”

Looking back, he said, “I understand it now as relationship-building, playing games with others, getting used to interacting with others. . . . Maybe that’s why I’m such an inquisitive person today.”

Follow-up was part of the experiment from the start. Weikart and his team surveyed the same 123 youngsters every year until they turned 11, and

then at ages 14, 15 and 19, again at 27 and most recently at age 40. All but a handful of the preschoolers and controls have been found and interviewed for each follow-up. Ninety-seven percent of those still living were interviewed for Perry at 40.

The project was clearly a winner. At every juncture, by almost every measure, the Perry preschoolers fared better than those who missed out on the early education. They earned better grades, made less use

### A Partnership Invests in Kids

**T**he Trusts’ pre-K initiative is advancing as states continue to make early education a top priority for their children.

At the same time, a wide range of organizations have begun to explore whether the economic data and the growing momentum for pre-K could, in turn, build support for the broader range of children’s programs that are necessary for children to succeed.

The Partnership for America’s Economic Success, an initiative to make the successful development of all our children the top priority of the United States, was launched recently by several foundations, corporations and individuals.

Funding partners include the Buffett Early Childhood Fund, Robert Dugger, The George Gund Foundation, the Horace Hagedorn Foundation, Paul Tudor Jones, Ohio Children’s

Photographs by Steve Simon



Jim Heckman



Nadine Basha



Rob Dugger

of welfare and committed fewer crimes.

Two-thirds of the Perry preschoolers graduated from a regular high school, compared to 45 percent of the others. Fewer repeated a class or were referred to special education. Thirty-six percent of the Perry preschoolers had been arrested five or more times

by age 40, versus 55 percent of a control group.

The reduced crime largely explains why economists have calculated that, even though more than \$15,000 in current dollars was spent over two years on the education of each Perry preschooler, society has recouped 17 times that, or more than \$250,000. The earnings of the Perry students were higher, more were employed, and more owned their own home and a car. They were even more likely to



Foundation, The Pew Charitable Trusts, PNC Financial Services Group, Inc., and the Schott Foundation for Public Education.

The Partnership advisory board of business leaders, major donors and policy experts is chaired by Robert Dugger of Tudor Investment Corporation; and the Partnership is administered by and housed at the Trusts.

In the first phase (2006-2007), the Partnership will assess the economic value to the nation of investments that help children grow to be successful, productive adults.

The \$3-million research agenda will commission research on the macroeconomic benefits to the nation of effective programs for children; microeconomic benefits of individual programs for very young children, prenatal to age five, including programs targeting at-risk children; policy and financing options

that encourage investments commensurate with children's importance to the national economy; and the communications and coalition-building strategies necessary to convey these emerging data to the nation.

Each January the Partnership will host a national conference on the economic benefits of investments in children.

If, at the end of the two-year research phase, the data are compelling, the partners would seek to expand the Partnership to implement a strategy for communications and coalition-building and identifying and advancing opportunities to strengthen state and federal policy in support of children.

More information about the Partnership is available from Robert Dugger (Robert.dugger@tudor.com), Sara Watson (swatson@pewtrusts.org) or at [www.ced.org/projects/kids.shtml](http://www.ced.org/projects/kids.shtml).

have a savings account.

Today the celebrated Perry Preschool Project has been buttressed by other research.

The Chicago Parent-Child Center Study, one notable example, began providing an enriched early education to low-income Chicago children in 1966. Comprehensive educational and family-support services were given to 989 children starting at age 3 and continued until the children reached 9. The children were compared to a sample of 550 eligible children who enrolled in all-day kindergarten but did not receive the preschool services and follow-up.

Another initiative, the Abecedarian study, has followed 111 children in rural North Carolina born in 1972 and given services starting from infancy.

Both of these studies have also shown solid returns. Fewer children required special education, more graduated from high school, fewer committed crimes, and as a group they have enjoyed higher earnings. The impact of these and other early childhood studies has been magnified by the emergence of research demonstrating how rapidly the brain develops in very young children and how important a stimulating environment is to that development.

States have caught on. Georgia and Oklahoma have led the way in offering voluntary prekindergarten education to all four-year-olds, and Florida recently launched its own initiative, three years after voters added to the state



David Lawrence



Isabel Sawhill



Jim Rohr

**“We know high-quality, early-years provision can improve the life chances of all children, irrespective of background.”**

—Beverly Hughes

constitution the promise of “a high-quality prekindergarten learning opportunity” for every four-year-old.

The push for improved early childhood education has picked up support across party lines, with such gubernatorial champions as Rod R. Blagojevich (Illinois-R), Jeb Bush (Florida-R), Tim Kaine (Virginia-D) and Tom Vilsack (Iowa-D). In 2004, 15 states increased spending on pre-school, by over \$200 million; in 2005, 26 states did so, by over \$600 million, giving this opportunity to 120,000 more children. And of those 26 states, half were led by Republican governors, half by Democratic ones.

This movement has been advanced by The Pew Charitable Trusts, other foundations, such as the Foundation for Child Development and the David and Lucile Packard Foundation, and private-sector firms, such as PNC Financial Services Group, that have funded a host of early education research and public-education efforts. The Trusts has invested more than \$40 million to show the benefits of early education; and the Trusts-supported National Institute for Early Education Research at Rutgers University, Fight Crime: Invest in Kids, and the Washington-based advocacy organization Pre-K Now are particularly savvy and influential.

The Committee for Economic Development, representing business and education leaders, called for universal preschool education in 2002, and the Council of Chief State School Officers supports the effort as well.

**A**s vital as they are, the benefits of preschool extend beyond the positive impact on children. Research has also found relationships between investments in preschool and sustained economic development.

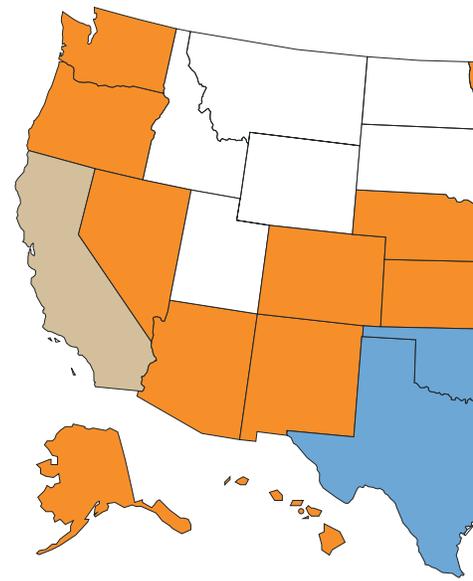
Exploring the conclusions and helping mobilize business leaders and policy makers around this issue was the theme of the conference “Building the Economic Case for Investments in Preschool,” sponsored by the Committee for Economic Development, PNC Financial Services Group and the Trusts in New York in January. Researchers, business executives, bankers and people directly involved in pre-K discussed the broader advantages of preschool.

Speakers acknowledged the benefits to children and the importance of leveling the playing field so that all children get a good start—the “moral argument,” as one speaker put it—but the focus was the positioning of American business, and indeed the nation itself, in an increasingly aggressive global economy.

Business’s concerns were presented quantitatively in several ways:

- The growth of labor-force quality in the United States has slowed, measured by a projected drop in college graduates and the increase in college dropouts in the years 2000-2020, compared to the years 1980-2000.

University of Chicago economist and 2000 Nobel Prize laureate



#### Legislative Action on Pre-K Budgets

This map demonstrates that more than half of U.S. legislatures recognize the importance of increased investments in pre-k. This trend is new to the West and Southwest with seven states in those regions increasing pre-k budgets compared to just two in FY05.

James J. Heckman, Ph.D., mentioned this point, calling it an “ugly fact” of American society.

- In the 2005 skill-gaps survey by the National Association of Manufacturers and Deloitte Consulting LLP, 80 percent of companies (of more than 800 surveyed) reported that skill shortages have already affected them. Some 36 percent of employees have insufficient reading, writing and math skills, encroaching on production levels, productivity and customer demand.

Albert P.L. Stroucken, chairman, president and CEO of the H.B. Fuller Company and chairman of the Minnesota School Readiness Business Advisory Council, cited these findings. “That human-capital gap” between the availability of skilled, adaptable workers and the employee-performance requirements



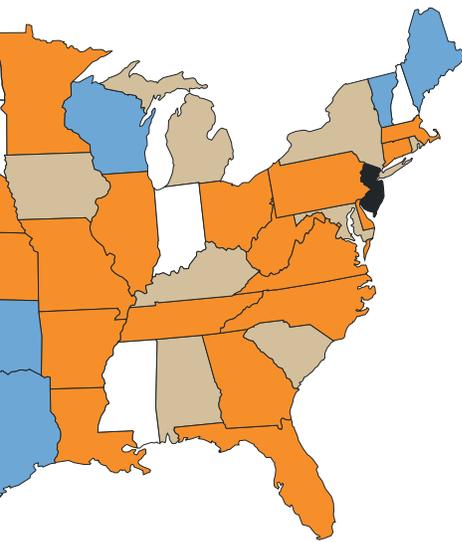
Arthur Rolnick



Marguerite Sallee



Steve Barnett



- Increased Investment
- Anticipated Increased Investment
- Flat Investment
- Decreased Investment
- No State Pre-K Program

of modern manufacturing, he said, “is threatening the United States’ ability to compete long-term.”

These polls were underscored by a survey, conducted by Zogby International and released at the conference, that polled 205 senior executives at *Fortune* 1,000 companies and other firms with more than 1,000 employees. These participants acknowledged prekindergarten as essential to a better educated workforce: 83 percent favored public investment, and 63 percent approved of active business-sector support for universal pre-K programs.

Said Charles E. M. Kolb, president of the Committee for Economic Development: “When one-third of American companies are going overseas to find educated workers, and 38 percent of business leaders say we already face a competitive disadvantage, it is clear

that there are serious problems in the American workforce.”

The Zogby assessment, he continued, “makes it clear that immediate investments in effective preschool programs are vital for our future competitiveness in the global economy.”

**T**he conference speakers had various ways of addressing this point. As Arthur J. Rolnick, senior vice president and director of research at the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis put it: “Early child development is economic development, and it’s economic development with a very high public—and I want to emphasize *public*—return.”

Sandra Pianalto, president and CEO of the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, said: “We need to strengthen the entire supply chain. Those of you who are in business know that a quality product starts with a quality process. And it costs much more to fix defects at later stages in the process than it does if you do it right at the outset. So prudent investments at early stages have the potential for paying a stream of dividends for all of us well into the future. In the case of early childhood education, these investments do hold the promise of narrowing some of the skill gaps that we see in society, creating higher employment levels and helping us achieve better economic policies.”

The advantages of quality preschool, of course, become even more noticeable as the children get older and move

through school and into adulthood, said W. Steven Barnett, Ph.D., director of the National Institute for Early Education Research. When researchers track the children over time, acquiring actual data rather than depending on assumptions, he pointed out, their analyses become more accurate. In the case of preschool, the advantages found as the children enter their 40s are greater than researchers had projected. In addition to the \$17 to \$1 return on investment of the Perry project, he said, the Chicago initiative has shown a \$7 to \$1 margin, and the Abecedarian project, nearly \$4 to \$1.

He cited a study done by Georgetown University investigators, which documented a positive impact of one year of preschool on 3,000 Oklahoma children, including not only poor children but also those in families with higher incomes. Barnett’s institute replicated the study in five states—Michigan, New Jersey, South Carolina and West Virginia as well as Oklahoma. The results of standardized tests, Barnett reported, found similar gains, and these held across economic classes, although poorer children increased more.

These findings, he observed, strengthen the argument for universal preschool over targeted programs. The latter, he said, are “problematic, because the poor kids you target in the fall are not the poor kids in the spring. The benefits [of preschool],” he also noted, “don’t stop at the poverty line.”

Moreover, the universal approach is more likely to help address school failure, which “is not just a problem



Beverley Hughes

Al Stroucken

Sandra Pianalto

for children in poverty, and we cannot solve the school-failure problem if we only deal with poor children.”

The fact that all children gain through preschool was previously viewed as a “possibility, and now it’s a demonstrated actuality,” he said, adding, “It’s safely established. Investing in preschool can yield high returns and is a pro-growth economic strategy.”

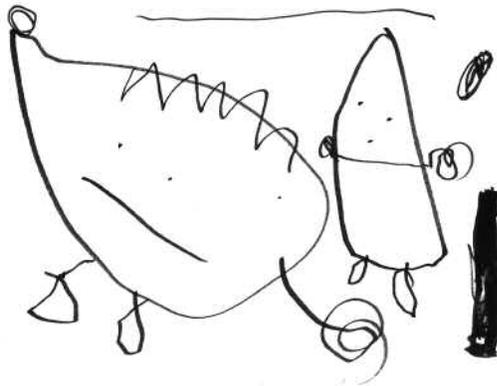
In the question-and-answer session, David Lawrence Jr., president of the Early Childhood Initiative Foundation and former publisher of *The Miami Herald*, suggested that universal preschool was necessary in order to provide every child with fundamentals—and to gain political consensus. Preschool, he said, “will never be a true movement unless it is about everyone’s child.”

**F**or the very long term—60 years—Isabel V. Sawhill, Ph.D., vice president and director of the Economic Studies Program at the Brookings Institution, projected the effect of pre-K investments on economic growth, the first such quantitative effort, she said. Sawhill and her team constructed a mathematical model that assumed participation of 70 percent of all three- and four-year-olds, a pattern that has emerged in places where preschool is both universal and voluntary.

Her program shows that the nation’s gross domestic product would be \$988 billion larger within six decades, and the growth effects could become self-sustaining because, as labor productivity and output improve, savings and investments swell.

Sawhill cautioned, however, that the initial impact of universal pre-K might be a period of slower economic growth: As young people stayed in school longer, the labor supply would be smaller.

But then the effects of their better education would lead to a more pro-



## Accountability in Preschool

**H**igh-quality preschool requires states to make significant investments. In exchange for these

investments, states want to ensure that they are effective. To help them, the Foundation for Child Development, the Joyce Foundation and the Trusts launched the National Early Childhood Accountability Task Force.

The task force is a unique forum for leading experts in child development, early education and state policy. Its recommendations, to be issued early in 2007, will help states set and review standards for early childhood programs, select appropriate measures and assessment tools, and report and use accountability data.

Well-designed accountability systems will allow states to chart progress and appropriately improve programs so that young children may receive the education they need to succeed.

The chair of the task force is Sharon Lynn Kagan, Ed.D., professor and associate dean at Columbia University’s Teachers College, and the vice-chair is Eugene Garcia, Ph.D., of Arizona State University. The task force is based at the Trusts and can be found on the Web at [www.earlyedaccountability.org](http://www.earlyedaccountability.org).

ductive labor force that can use sophisticated equipment, learn new tasks and skills more easily, be more creative and require less supervision. Not only does the employer benefit, but so does the whole economy “because the quality of the labor force dictates what kinds of machines, technology, forms of organization can be used.”

The Federal Reserve Bank’s Arthur Rolnick described his own estimate by converting the data into the “internal interest rate”—essentially, the growth of the investment. High-quality preschool, he said, returned 16 percent annually, adjusted for inflation; 4 percent goes to the children, who are more successful in life; and 12 percent is public. If venture capitalists saw a “16 percent return, inflation adjusted,” he said, “that project would not go unfunded for very long.”

**H**eckman introduced the idea of “efficiency,” a way that economists evaluate productivity. Economic policy, he said, often requires selecting between equity and efficiency, but with early education, there is no tradeoff. The central lesson of the “flagship” Perry experiment, he said, was the enriched environment that it gave the children and that followed them thereafter. With enhanced abilities in acquiring and developing skills—a must for the modern economy, he noted, citing Sawhill’s presentation—the children will be better-prepared adults. “Investments in pre-K,” he concluded, “reduce inequities and promote efficiencies.”

Early advantages accumulate—as do early disadvantages, Heckman suggested, or as he put it in a memorable nutshell, “Skill begets skill.”

He called that developmental idea “a powerful metaphor but also science-based.” Early education raises both cognitive skills—“smarts,” he remarked—and such non-cognitive skills as confidence, motivation, self-

control, perseverance, tenacity and expectations for the future. The relation between them—“lifecycle skill formation”—is dynamic.

Impoverishment, which he also called “the accident of disadvantage,” is not about money but about the lack of cognitive and non-cognitive stimulation, and children entering school behind their peers have a hard time



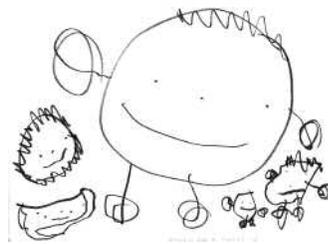
catching up. “The real problem,” he said, “is the kids going into the schools, not what the schools are doing or not doing.”

Heckman won the Nobel Prize for his development of theory and methods for analyzing selective samples, and he was also cited for his applied research. For early education, he noted, “the case gets stronger by the hour as the evidence accumulates. The structure of the early years matters.”

Conference attendees also heard from supporters of three current projects: PNC Grow Up Great, a \$100-million, 10-year investment in early education by PNC Financial Services Group; First Things First, an early childhood development and health initiative in Arizona, described

by Nadine Mathis Basha, a financial supporter of the project and chair of the Arizona State School Readiness Board and member of the state Board of Education; and the £17-billion British investment in preschool, by the Right Honorable Beverley Hughes, the United Kingdom’s minister of state for children, young people and families. The speakers described a range of involvement, from policy initiatives to individual volunteers, partners and collaborations across sectors.

But it was the British example that astonished the audience, since it was created as late as 1997, when the



government committed to “guaranteed, free, part-time early education for every three- and four-year-old. And when I say ‘universal,’ that’s what I mean,” Hughes pointed out, since the program enrolls virtually all four-year-olds and 96 percent of three-year-olds. “We know high-quality, early-years provision can improve the life chances of all children, irrespective of background,” she said, “and crucially it can help the disadvantaged and vulnerable children the most.”

She also underscored David Lawrence’s observation that universality is a critical component of a preschool investment. “It’s essential to have that approach if you’re going to make this a political reality,” she said.

The British model, Hughes said, is intended to be comprehensive, because it includes such elements as child care, community centers and extended schooldays for children up to the age of 14 from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m.

on weekdays all through the year.

The government’s role, she said, is that of “ensuring, not directly providing” the services and standards. “It’s a huge, sometimes daunting, agenda,” she said, crediting a “fair political wind” for the headway the program has made in less than a decade.

The experiences of others around the world should be shared, she pointed out: “We must talk together—how to achieve our vision in our different contexts, that vision being high-quality, early-years provision, which is both essential for economic competitiveness and grounded in those values of fairness and opportunity.”

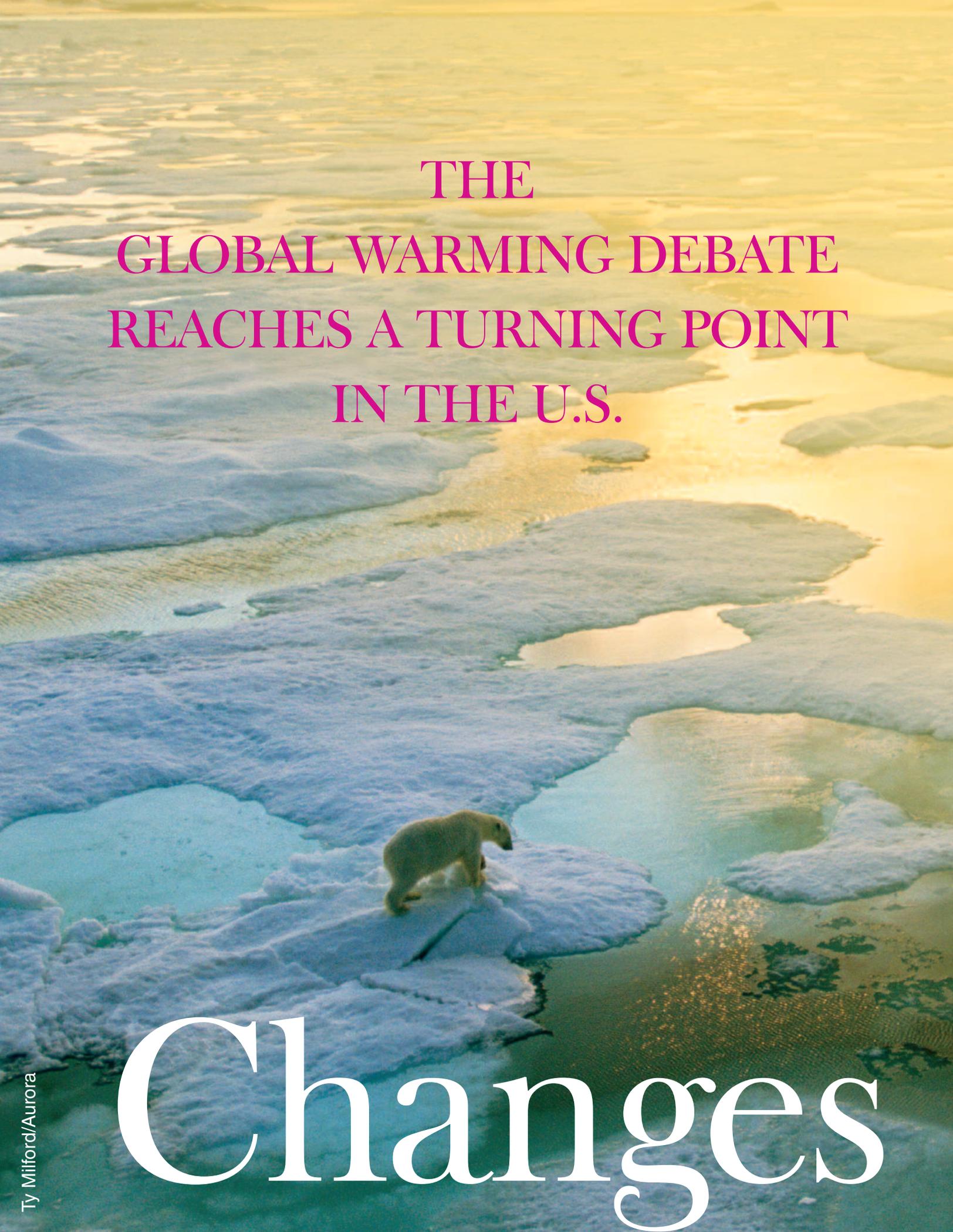
The facts about early childhood “really jump off the page,” noted James E. Rohr, chairman and CEO of PNC Financial Services Group, on introducing Hughes. “We’ve seen the results—and results are what it’s all about. So what needs to happen to make this program happen?”

“This is where money and policy come together,” said Marguerite Sallee, president and CEO of America’s Promise—The Alliance for Youth. “Business alone can’t solve the problem, government alone can’t solve the problem.”

“We’re a big country, bigger than England, so it takes a long time to penetrate the public consciousness,” said Kolb of the Committee for Economic Development, at the conference and also to *The New York Times*. “The British get it. The French get it. We’re the largest economy in the world, and it’s outrageous that we don’t get it yet. But I’m optimistic.” ■

**Web sites for more information:** [www.pewtrusts.org](http://www.pewtrusts.org); [www.ced.org](http://www.ced.org) (Committee for Economic Development); [www.pncgrowupgreat.com](http://www.pncgrowupgreat.com) (PNC Grow Up Great); [www.surestart.gov.uk](http://www.surestart.gov.uk) (England’s pre-K program).

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THE  
GLOBAL WARMING DEBATE  
REACHES A TURNING POINT  
IN THE U.S.

Changes

When the environmental ministers of 22 nations met to discuss climate change in Ilulissat, Greenland, last August, they didn't have to go far to find evidence that global warming is affecting the Arctic.

Ilulissat, a rugged village of 5,000, is home to one of the Arctic's most stunning glaciers, a massive, 10,000-year-old, 3,000-foot-thick wall of ice that completely fills a nearby fjord. Five kilometers wide, the iceberg-choked front of Ilulissat glacier is one of Greenland's top tourist destinations and its only UNESCO World Heritage site.

It's also vanishing at a shocking pace.

Over the past four years, the massive glacier has receded by more than six miles, as

Greenland's average temperatures have increased by about 2 degrees Fahrenheit. The ice in the glacier has been flowing nearly twice as fast as it did in the late 1960s because Green-



The comma butterfly (*Polygonia c-album*) is moving ever-farther north in England, according to British lepidopterists.

land's gargantuan ice sheet melts in the heat.

"We are seeing massive melting, and it was very hard not to assign it to global warming," says Robert W. Corell, Ph.D., a senior fellow at the

# in the Air

By Colin Woodard

American Meteorological Society, who led a helicopter-borne tour of the area. “Greenland is melting far more rapidly than anyone imagined possible just three or four years ago.”

**C**orell should know. He’s the head of the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment, an unprecedented four-year study of the entire Arctic region involving 225 scientists from a dozen nations. The study’s conclusions, published in 2004, leave little doubt that global warming is real and that its effects are already under way. Average winter temperatures have increased by as much as 4 to 7 degrees Fahrenheit in the past 50 years across much of the region, while the extent and thickness of sea ice have been reduced significantly. With the Arctic warming at twice the speed of the planet as a whole, half of the Arctic summer ice is expected to melt, along with much of the Greenland ice cap, by century’s end.

The effects of global warming are already being felt by people who live in the far north. Melting permafrost has damaged roads, apartment buildings, pipelines and airport runways in northern Russia, while ice roads across the Alaskan tundra are now passable only 100 days a year, down from 200 just 30 years ago. Inuit communities in northeastern Canada that rely on ringed seal and polar bear for food have seen both species diminish, along with the summer sea ice.

At the other end of the planet, parts of Antarctica are also experiencing the effects of a warming climate. Around the Antarctic Peninsula, the ranges of cold-loving Adelle penguins are shrinking as sea ice becomes less extensive, and some colonies are plagued by ticks, whose eggs are surviving the milder winters. Glaciers 10,000 years old have been retreating, and several ice shelves have collapsed, including the 650-foot-thick Larsen-B

shelf that was the size of Rhode Island and disintegrated in a few days in 2002.

“The speed of the collapse surprised everybody,” says glaciologist Robert A. Bindschadler, Ph.D., of the NASA Goddard Space Flight Center, who expects the larger Larsen-C ice shelf to collapse in the near future. As soon as the ice sheets collapsed, the glaciers on the land behind them began flowing rapidly into the sea, not unlike those at Ilulissat.

Raymond Weyiouanna walks along the beach where his house once stood. He lives on Shishmaref Island, in the Chukchi Sea, off Alaska. A violent winter storm hit the area in 1998 before the sea ice had formed and took 20 feet off the island. There is no end in sight for the erosion.



Art Wolfe/Getty Images



© Ashley Cooper/Photopact/Corbis

Nor are the effects limited to the poles. Just weeks before Hurricane Katrina hit New Orleans, the journal *Nature* published new research showing that Atlantic hurricanes have more than doubled in power since 1970, fueled by warmer water and atmospheric conditions. In the United States, scientists have seen a shift in the geographic ranges of plants, animals and insects, and an alteration in the flowering times of plants and animal breeding seasons, both in line with rising temperatures.

A decade ago, scientists were still uncertain as to whether increased temperatures could be attributed to greenhouse gas emissions from vehicles, power plants, farms and industry, but that is no longer the case. “It is now evident that human activities are already contributing adversely to global climate change,” the U.S. National Academy of Sciences and 18 of its foreign counterparts said in a joint statement issued in 2001. “Business as usual is no longer a viable option.”

“The preponderance of evidence suggests that the warming of the past 50 years has mostly come from greenhouse gas emissions, and everything we’re seeing in the Arctic is 100 percent consistent with that,” Corell says. Whether humans are implicated in the observed warming of the planet, he adds, “is an argument that is over.”

In much of the world, this scientific consensus has prompted policy makers to take action to curb emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases or to prepare for the predicted effects. To date, 141 nations have ratified the Kyoto treaty, which limits emissions from 35 industrialized countries, including Japan, Canada, Russia and members of the European Union. Authorities in Venice and the Netherlands have

spent billions upgrading flood defenses to take into account the expected effects of global warming on storms, sea levels and rainfall patterns. Tuvalu, a low-lying nation in the South Pacific, has negotiated special migration treaties to allow its population to flee to New Zealand if rising seas put their country under water.

In the United States, however, the current administration and Congress have rejected the Kyoto protocol and several other efforts to require reductions in greenhouse gas emissions.

Despite inactivity at the federal level, there is a quiet sea change taking place within the country, with increasing numbers of policy makers, journalists, corporate executives, religious leaders and ordinary citizens recognizing that global warming is real and demanding action to address its causes.

“Compared to five years ago, there’s been a wholesale change in public understanding of what the problem is and what the solution might be,” says Eric Heitz, president of the Energy Foundation in San Francisco, which has been helping promote state global-warming policies. “Suddenly people are saying, hey, this is serious and there’s something we can do about this.”

Those working to address climate change say the shift in attitudes is due to a variety of factors: the certainty of the scientific evidence, dire images of retreating glaciers and collapsing ice shelves, and the adoption of the Kyoto treaty by much of the rest of the world, which is forcing many multinational corporations to plan for a world in which greenhouse gas emissions are constrained. Add to that a perceived increase in erratic ecological and weather activity, including an increasing number of intense hurricanes, reduced ski seasons and increased wildfires, and many people have begun rethinking the dangers of a changing climate.



The march of the Antarctic’s penguins is being decimated—by as much as 50 percent, according to some estimates—due to warming in their natural environment, which scientists link to global warming.

Significantly, religious leaders are becoming increasingly vocal about climate change, adding a moral imperative for action. In 1990, Pope John Paul II declared that the greenhouse effect had reached “crisis proportions” as a consequence of human activity. The senior figure in the Orthodox Christian world, Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I, has gone further, saying that it is a sin “for humans to degrade the integrity of the Earth by causing changes in its climate” and that followers of the Abrahamic traditions have a religious obligation to tend and protect the earthly environment.

In the past few years, U.S. religious leaders have begun to follow suit. Under the umbrella of the National Religious Partnership for the Environment, more than 60 Catholic, Jewish, evangelical and mainstream-Protestant organizations have been working to weave environmental stewardship into American religious life.

“Climate change was seen early on as the preeminent environmental challenge for people of faith,” says Paul Gorman, executive director of the partnership. “It encompasses the totality of creation on Earth, dramatizes the imperative of human stewardship and intergenerational responsibility, and inextricably links protection of the environment with protecting the poor. All of these things are central to biblical theology and social teachings.”

The religious groups are making their feelings known, both to their adherents in the pews and policy makers elsewhere. The U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops published a pastoral statement calling for action on global warming, while the editors of *Christianity Today* and more than 20 leading evangelical figures signed a 2004 covenant calling on followers to become engaged in key environmental problems, including climate

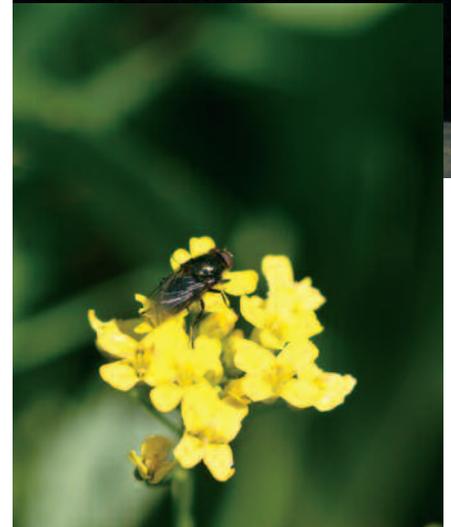
change. Other members of the National Religious Partnership have established interfaith climate change campaigns in 18 states.

And in February, 86 evangelical Christian leaders launched the Evangelical Climate Initiative with a statement to fight global warming; signers included the presidents of evangelical colleges, officials from human-services organizations like the Salvation Army, and megachurch pastors, like Rick Warren, D.Min., author of *The Purpose-Driven Life*.

“It’s a deep religious insight and conviction that has moved this thing along,” Mr. Gorman says. “Unless we approach these issues from the standpoint of our deepest convictions and values, we’re not going to have the strength and power to overcome the inertia and the opposition to change.”

While religious leaders are taking a moral stance on the issue, an increasing number of corporate leaders believe that confronting global warming makes good long-term business sense. Forty-one companies have joined the Pew Center on Global Climate Change’s Business Leadership Council, which encourages government action on the issue, including General Electric, Boeing, Cinergy and DuPont, forestry-products giant Weyerhaeuser, and three major oil companies: Sunoco, BP and Royal Dutch Shell.

“One of the things these companies are looking for is certainty,” explains Eileen Claussen, the Pew center’s president. “Many of their businesses require long-term capital investments, factories and other expensive equipment that could be rendered uncompetitive or obsolete if greenhouse gas emissions cease to be free and unregulated. With Europe, Japan and other countries already regulating such emissions, many companies feel that it is not a question of if, but



Climate change is affecting the blossoming and distribution patterns of *Draba aurea*, among other flora, in the work of biologist David W. Inouye, Ph.D., at the University of Maryland.





© Reuters/Corbis

Sunset over an oil refinery in Kaohsiung, Taiwan, the day before the Kyoto Protocol took effect, on February 16, 2005. The protocol is an international treaty obliging signatory countries to reduce the amount of greenhouse gasses or engage in emissions trading.



The Central American harlequin frog is one of the 110 or so species of harlequin frogs (*Atelopus*), an estimated 67 percent of which have disappeared. The loss is linked to outbreaks of the chytrid fungus, driven by global warming. The fungus blocks the frog's respiratory skins. Once widespread in Costa Rica and western Panama, this species now persists in one remaining Costa Rican site and in a handful of others in Panama.

how the United States will ultimately achieve reductions.

"Some regulations provide the flexibility and certainty that is friendly to business, and some do not," Claussen points out. "Many of these companies would like a seat at the table when these policies are discussed."

Some companies now regard global warming as an important business opportunity. Toyota can't keep up with demand for its popular Prius and expects to sell a million such hybrid-engine vehicles a year by the end of the decade, while General Electric is developing lower-emission locomotives and aircraft engines. Royal Dutch Shell has invested more than \$1 billion in renewable energy and opened the world's first hydrogen filling station in Reykjavik, Iceland, three years ago. BP is running a pilot project in Algeria to see if carbon dioxide from natural gas production can be sequestered in subterranean reservoirs, where it won't add to the greenhouse effect.

**T**he combined influence of science, business and religious leaders has helped to inform and advance global warming policies on Capitol Hill. Last summer, the U.S. Senate passed a resolution recognizing the actuality of global warming and urging mandatory emissions reductions. The chamber also approved an amendment to the president's energy bill that provides tax incentives for utilities and other companies that adopt technologies that reduce greenhouse gas emissions. The amendment called for more federal research on climate change.

Frustrated with waiting for a federal response, many states have taken the issue into their own hands. The furthest progress has been made in the Northeast, where the six New England states, along with Delaware, New Jersey and New York, are working

together to establish a region-wide greenhouse emissions cap-and-trade system for power plants. (“Cap and trade” gives companies flexibility in meeting emission standards. They may cap their own emissions at a level designated by a regulator or beat those levels and sell permits for the difference to other companies.) If it becomes fully operational in 2009, the Northeast Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative will reduce power plant emissions by 10 percent from 1990 levels by 2020. In addition, member states plan to implement policies to address other sources of greenhouse gas pollution in the coming years.

The initiative is “the most important concrete thing that’s happened in addressing global warming in this country,” says Dale Bryk, a senior attorney at the Natural Resources Defense Council in New York. “These states are out there and have woken up to the fact that they can showcase themselves as leaders on a global problem.”

On the West Coast, the governors of California, Oregon and Washington are working to develop a similar cap-and-trade plan and encourage the introduction of fuel-efficient vehicles. California’s Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger has been leading the way. Last June, he signed an executive order which would reduce his state’s greenhouse gas emissions by 80 percent below 1990 levels by 2050. “I say the debate is over. We know the science, we see the threat, and the time for action is now,” Schwarzenegger said at the time. “California is going to be the leader in the fight against global warming.”

Inspired by the other states, New Mexico and Arizona have also taken steps to develop cap-and-trade plans of their own, while Pennsylvania and Maryland attend meetings of the northeastern program as official observers. “In theory, there’s no reason why these states couldn’t join

Bill Curtainger/National Geographic Image Collection



Poisonous jellyfish are reportedly more abundant in southern Europe, a combination of the overfishing of their predators, an enriched food supply from sewage and fertilizers, and warmer sea waters linked to climate change.

one or both of the regional regimes or why plants in the Northeast and West couldn’t one day trade emissions allowances with one another,” says Bryk, who has been assisting many of the states in developing their plans. “Things would get cheaper and cheaper as the trading area expands.”

The state-based initiatives are expected to increase pressure on Washington to take action. “If you have a working model in place somewhere like the Northeast, it may show that enacting climate policies is not the end of the world,” says Lea Aeschliman, former public utility commissioner and frequent Trusts adviser. “These mandatory state- and regional-level policies can serve as an example for federal action and create a climate where federal action is inevitable.”

“It’s really up to the states to get the ball rolling,” agrees Frank Gorke, an energy advocate at the Massachusetts Public Interest Research Group who has been supporting the Northeast’s cap-and-trade effort. “What we are doing here will put the rest of the country in a much better position to tackle these problems.”

The speed and effectiveness of future global warming efforts may be tied to the extent to which the general public expresses an interest in the issue. “People will need to feel as strongly about doing something about global warming as they did in the past about acid rain, air pollution and toxic-waste dumps,” says Angela Ledford, director of Clear the Air, a national public education campaign that receives support from the Trusts. “That’s the level of commitment that there will have to be to get the nation to take significant action.”

Despite progress on the issue, skeptics remain. An avowed but fully-footnoted fiction even entered the discussion. Physician and author Michael Crichton’s 2004 novel, *State of Fear*, is set against a backdrop of presumably flawed global-warming science and exaggeration, and climate-change critics cited the book in making their case. Crichton himself testified last September before the U.S. Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works, where he questioned the rigor of climate science and called for independent govern-



A resident of the mountains of the American West and southwestern Canada, the American pika has been forced to higher elevations due to warmer temperatures. An estimated 7 of 25 known groups of pikas may have already become extinct, according to archaeologist Donald K. Grayson, Ph.D., of the University of Washington.



Effects of climate change: In lower altitudes of the Colorado Rocky Mountains, robins have been arriving 14 days earlier than they did in 1981. Yet they have to wait 18 days longer for bare ground to appear, and climate models predict increased winter snowfall. The birds may be facing a collision course in finding food. Courtesy of biologist David W. Inouye, Ph.D., of the University of Maryland.

Josh Landis



A portion of ice the size of Jamaica broke off the Ross Ice Shelf in Antarctica in 2000, and then a fragment broke off from that. The size of Luxembourg and known as B-15A, it is called the world's largest known free-floating object.

ment verification of the research.

“The critics give some cover to elected officials who do not want to do something about this issue, whether it is because of campaign contributions or political support from others in industry,” says Claussen. “I think we’re starting to get through to some of those people who hear the skeptics’ arguments and don’t know what to think. That’s a group we have to reach.”

“The science is clear, and the number of industry-supported scientists that are willing to stand up and refute it is diminishing,” adds Gorke at MassPIRG. “Their arguments that the problem doesn’t exist are largely discredited. Now the debate is more about what to do to start solving it.”

**For information on the Trusts’ work in global climate change, go to [www.pewtrusts.org](http://www.pewtrusts.org).**

*Journalist Colin Woodard is the award-winning journalist and author of *Ocean’s End* and *The Lobster Coast*. He lives in Portland, Maine, and has a Web site, [www.colinwoodard.com](http://www.colinwoodard.com).*

Photographic Services, Royal Dutch Shell



A car that runs on hydrogen fuel cells at a pump at the Benning Road hydrogen retail station in Washington, D.C. Shell operates the station in partnership with General Motors.

# SEEKING NEW VOTERS

By Lester W. Baxter

## THE NEED

Over the years, the board of The Pew Charitable Trusts has been concerned that America's democracy would be in trouble unless serious action was taken to increase the civic engagement of young people, particularly as voters.

In 2003, the Trusts made increasing voter turnout among young adults the centerpiece of a strategy for addressing youth civic engagement. Two grants to George Washington University totaling \$8.9 million established the New Voters Project (NVP), a partnership between the university's Graduate School of Political Management and state Public Interest Research groups, to conduct a nonpartisan, multi-state, multi-year voter registration and mobilization effort.

The New Voters Project was designed to address the steady decline in youth voting. In 1972, the first presidential election in which 18-year-olds were eligible to vote, 52 percent of eligible youth between the ages of 18 and 24 voted. By the 2000 presidential election, this figure had declined to 36 percent. Youth's turnout in midterm elections has been worse, dropping from 25 percent in 1974 to 19 percent in 2002.

Young people's diminishing involvement is not just a generational or life-cycle problem; it reflects a cycle of neglect. When young people do not vote or participate in the political process, campaigns, parties and advocacy groups are less likely to court them.

While political leaders and advocates pay attention to other constituencies, they do not frame issues in a way that will resonate with young people, nor do they make young people the object of their mobilization efforts.

Whether empowering citizens to go to the voting booth or mobilizing them to sign a postcard, campaign professionals and issue organizers ignore young people. And young people, in turn, ignore *them*.

To break that cycle of neglect, NVP undertook two activities to demonstrate that young people will vote when asked to do so. First, NVP worked to increase youth voter turnout in six states by five percentage points, using nonpartisan, grassroots, voter-registration and mobilization techniques, many of which had been field-tested in earlier, smaller-scale, get-out-the-vote efforts funded by the Trusts and others. Working with an advisory committee that included prominent social scientists, NVP selected six states for activity: Colorado, Iowa, New Mexico, Nevada, Oregon and Wisconsin.

Second, NVP focused on drawing greater attention to young people as an important constituency for campaigns, candidates and relevant organizations.

The election of 2004 proved to be exciting for the youth vote. According to the Census Bureau, while turnout among the general population increased by four percentage points, the turnout of voters ages 18 to 24 increased by 11 over 2000. The Trusts commissioned an evaluation to better understand the effects of the New Voters Project during the 2004 election cycle. Researchers at the University of Maryland's Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE), a Trusts grantee, conducted an analysis of state-level turnout using publicly available Census Bureau data.

Diana Owen, Ph.D., associate professor of political science at Georgetown University, conducted a content analysis of 2004 and 2000 media coverage to determine if journalists paid more

attention to the youth vote. She also examined whether political party officials, candidates, political consultants and voter-mobilization groups were beginning to view youth as a constituency that warranted increased attention and outreach.

## SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

### THE YOUNG VOTERS

NVP met both of its objectives during the 2004 election cycle. First, youth voter turnout increased by 14 percentage points in the six NVP states (from 39 percent to 53 percent), well beyond the five-percentage-point increase NVP originally anticipated. Among the evaluation's key findings:

- Youth turnout increased markedly in each NVP state over 2000: 18 percentage points in Colorado, 18 in New Mexico, 15 in Iowa, 13 in Nevada, 12 in Wisconsin, and eight in Oregon.
- Compared to the overall 14-percentage-point increase in the NVP states as a group, the remaining 44 states increased 10 points (36 to 46 percent), and the country as a whole, 11 (36 to 47 percent).

Even though youth turnout increased markedly in each state where NVP was active, it also went up substantially elsewhere. Thus the evaluators could not conclusively attribute changes in turnout to NVP's efforts. Yet, they noted, because of the scope of NVP's activities, NVP likely played an important role in the turnout level in its states.

### THE MEDIA

Second, NVP helped draw greater attention to youth during the 2004 election, with greater newspaper coverage and a more positive tone

than in 2000. In order to better understand how the media covered the youth vote, Owen and her team conducted a content analysis of youth-voting news from 2000 and 2004. The researchers looked at coverage in the six NVP states, in six comparison states and among the top 25 national newspapers. Reviewing almost 2,700 articles, they found:

- Articles about youth voting more than doubled in 2004 over 2000. And the NVP states as a group garnered 60 percent more articles than the comparison states in 2004.
- Across the board, youth voting received more positive coverage in 2004 than in 2000. And the coverage in NVP-state newspapers was more positive in 2004 than the articles from the comparison states.
- Comparing 2004 to 2000 in NVP states, headline coverage doubled; more than twice as many articles were devoted entirely to youth; editorials increased 75 percent; and letters to the editor increased more than tenfold. Editorial coverage was equal.
- Coverage in 2004 was generally more substantive than in 2000. Nonpartisan youth-voting organizations were frequently mentioned, as were their events and activities, with NVP earning the greatest number of mentions in the six NVP states. Coverage calling for youth to get involved climbed in the NVP states. More stories included statistics about youth in 2004, particularly in the national papers.

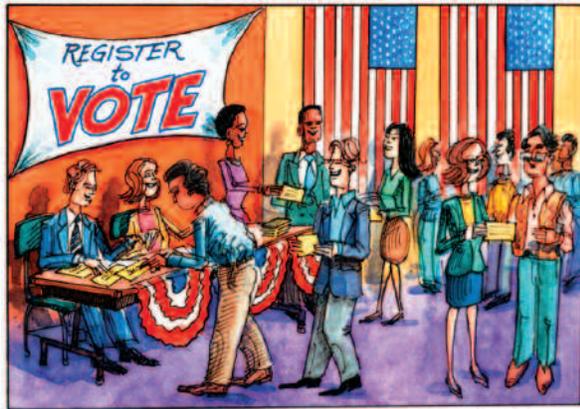
#### **THE ELECTED OFFICIALS AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS**

Did NVP's key audiences, including politicians and their consultants, notice any of the above changes, and, if so, are they beginning to change their

attitudes about youth as a constituency? According to their interview responses, more than 70 percent felt that the youth vote was an important media story in 2004, and 70 percent correctly perceived that media coverage of youth increased from 2000 to 2004.

Further, 45 percent judged the overall tone of media coverage of the youth vote in 2004 to be positive. Only 15 percent perceived the overall tone of coverage to be negative.

Determining whether these improvements in coverage and youth's



Peter Bonol/Getty Images

substantially higher turnout at the polls in 2004 are beginning to change the way that political professionals and politicians think about youth is a challenge. There is no survey-based information about the attitudes of these audiences prior to the 2004 election, making it difficult to gauge whether their responses to the post-election interviews reflect a change.

Anecdotal reports from the field suggest that some in these audiences see youth as important; (at least in the sense that all potential voters are important); however, because youth can be difficult to reach (e.g., they move more frequently and rely more on cell phones than land lines) and are less likely to vote than older adults, politicians have not typically treated youth as an accessible and responsive constituency.

More than 60 percent of those interviewed considered youth an important set of voters to reach. Roughly half said that their organizations were

strongly interested in youth as voters. Yet subjects were split when asked about their candidates' level of interest in the youth vote, either during or after the 2004 election: About 30 percent reported a strong interest, another 30 percent reported a weak interest, and the final 40 percent reported some level of interest in young voters by their candidate. Thus, at least during the 2004 election and its immediate aftermath, the views of respondents about the benefits of engaging youth as a constituency are mixed.

Among those interviewed, NVP earned a reputation as a reliable organization that provided trustworthy and valued information to the respondents' organizations and to the press. They also said that NVP helped generate positive coverage of youth voting. Respondents praised NVP's grassroots focus and successful events and believed its peer-to-peer approach to voter mobilization was the most effective way to reach youth.

#### **RECOMMENDATIONS**

*The youth voting community needs strategies for maintaining politicians' interest in youth (and vice versa) between election cycles.*

*The community would benefit from innovative approaches for reaching youth beyond the college campus.*

*Most aspects of NVP's communications strategy were quite effective and could be productively emulated by others.*

#### **CONCLUSION**

The evaluation suggests that NVP and others played an important nonpartisan role by bringing many more young adults into the political process and ensuring that the press and key audiences noticed. Sustaining and building on the progress in youth voting evident in 2004 is a challenge facing all those concerned about the nation's civic life. ■

*Lester Baxter is chief evaluation officer at the Trusts.*



**ADVANCING POLICY SOLUTIONS**

**Environment**

*Conservation of Living Marine Resources*

I. American Littoral Society  
Highlands, NJ  
To strengthen environmental protections for the Northwest Hawaiian Islands Marine Sanctuary, \$500,000, 1 yr.  
Contact: Jay W. Nelson  
907.632.1733  
[www.littoralsociety.org](http://www.littoralsociety.org)  
II. To secure new environmental control technology on proposed liquefied natural gas terminals in the Gulf of Mexico, \$220,000, 1 yr.  
Contact: Steve Ganey  
503.230.0901  
[www.littoralsociety.org](http://www.littoralsociety.org)

United States Public Interest Research Group Education Fund  
Washington, DC, \$1,000,000, 1 yr.  
To support the Conserve Our Ocean Legacy Campaign to provide public education on key issues that are of importance in maintaining and potentially strengthening the conservation provisions of federal fishing policies.  
Contact: Gene Karpinski  
202.546.9707  
[www.uspirg.org/uspirgeducationfund.htm](http://www.uspirg.org/uspirgeducationfund.htm)

The University of British Columbia  
Vancouver, BC, \$1,650,000, 18 mos.  
The Sea Around Us Project.  
Contact: Daniel Pauly, Ph.D.  
604.822.1202  
[www.seaaroundus.org](http://www.seaaroundus.org)

**T**he Sea Around Us project has collected, refined and organized data on the world's fish catches back to 1950. By mapping and comparing global catches over time, it has compellingly demonstrated what has happened to fisheries worldwide and what their current status is. The project has had an impact on the



*The Lobsterman (1937)* by Andrew Wyeth, watercolor on paper, 22.5"x29." The Philadelphia Museum of Art is featuring a Wyeth retrospective, with some 100 works, including this one, representing seven decades of the artist's career, through July 16.

Hunter Museum of American Art, Chattanooga, Tenn.  
Gift of the Benwood Foundation ©Andrew Wyeth.

public's perception of the health of the world's fisheries and indirectly on U.S. and international fisheries policy.

The Sea Around Us scientists will refine their evaluations on smaller geographical scales by reconstructing accurate information about catches, including discarded bycatch and illegal catches, for many countries lacking such records. The data will be expanded from a focus on the biological aspects of fisheries to a wide range of socioeconomic indices, including measures of fishing effort and costs, enabling economic analyses of different fisheries.

The team will use the information to rank the countries of the world in terms of fisheries-management performance and the seriousness of their efforts to rebuild their marine ecosystems.

University of Miami  
Coral Gables, FL, \$3,240,000, 3 yrs.  
For the Pew Institute for Ocean Science.  
Contact: Ellen Pikitch, Ph.D.  
212.756.0042  
[www.pewoceanscience.org](http://www.pewoceanscience.org)

Water Keeper Alliance, Inc.  
Tarrytown, NY, \$250,000, 2 yrs.  
For the Chesapeake Bay Environmental Enforcement Project to support a number of legal actions aimed at reducing nitrogen and phosphorus pollution in the bay.  
Contact: Steve Fleischi  
914.674.0622 x20  
[www.waterkeeper.org](http://www.waterkeeper.org)

*Global Warming and Climate Change*  
The Energy Foundation  
San Francisco, CA, \$1,250,000, 1 yr.  
For the State and Regional Climate Initiative to promote the adoption of state and regional policies to reduce greenhouse gas emissions through nonpartisan research and analysis, public and policy-maker education and outreach.  
Contact: Marcus Schneider  
415.561.6700 x134  
[www.ef.org](http://www.ef.org)

The National Religious Partnership for the Environment, Inc.  
Amherst, MA, \$320,000, 2 yrs.  
For the Interfaith Climate Campaign to broaden public support for action to curb climate change by educating people of faith across the spectrum of American religious life.  
Contact: Paul Gorman  
413.253.1515  
[www.nrpe.org](http://www.nrpe.org)

Pace University  
New York, NY, \$1,000,000, 6 mos.  
For the Clear The Air Campaign to build public support for a national program to reduce greenhouse gas emissions through public education, nonpartisan research and

analysis, and outreach to the media.  
Contact: Angela Ledford  
202.887.1715  
[www.cleartheair.org](http://www.cleartheair.org)

*Old-Growth Forests and Wilderness Protection*  
American Prairie Foundation  
Bozeman, MT, \$60,000, 1 yr.  
To support American Prairie Foundation's effort to create a multimillion-acre conservation area in northeast Montana.  
Contact: Sean Gerrity  
406.587.4002  
[www.americanprairie.org](http://www.americanprairie.org)

Campaign for America's Wilderness  
Durango, CO, \$3,600,000, 1 yr.  
For general operating support.  
Contact: John Gilroy 585.249.0978  
[www.leaveitwild.org](http://www.leaveitwild.org)

National Environmental Trust  
Washington, DC, \$4,500,000, 1 yr.  
For general operating support.  
Contact: Philip E. Clapp  
202.887.8810  
[www.net.org](http://www.net.org)

The Partnership Project, Inc.  
Washington, DC, \$500,000, 1 yr.  
For general operating support.  
Contact: Julie Waterman  
202.772.0229  
[www.saveourevironment.org](http://www.saveourevironment.org)

**Health and Human Services**  
*National Program*  
Georgetown University  
Washington, DC, \$1,300,000, 1 yr.  
Center on Alcohol Marketing and Youth

Prairie and grassland ecosystems, like this in the American west, are icons of biological productivity, yet they are often degraded when they are put to other uses.



Jack Kilgerman

To reduce underage youth exposure to alcohol advertising.  
Contact: David H. Jernigan, Ph.D.  
202.687.1019  
[www.camy.org](http://www.camy.org)

Johns Hopkins University  
Baltimore, MD, \$3,000,000, 2 yrs.  
For the Genetics and Public Policy Center to facilitate public- and private-sector oversight mechanisms that will ensure the safety and accuracy of reproductive genetic tests.  
Contact: Kathy L. Hudson, Ph.D.  
202.663.5976  
[www.dnapolicy.org](http://www.dnapolicy.org)

NCSL Foundation for State Legislatures  
Denver, CO, \$250,000, 1 yr.  
For the Strengthening Child Welfare Financing and Court Oversight project to educate state policy makers about the Pew Commission on Children in Foster Care's recommendations and undertake activities to improve foster-care financing of state systems and court oversight.  
Contact: Jack Tweedie, Ph.D.  
303.856.1546  
[www.ncsl.org](http://www.ncsl.org)

National Council For Adoption  
Alexandria, VA, \$310,000, 1 yr.  
For the Adoption Leader Engagement Project to educate the public, judicial leaders and policy makers on the importance of the recommendations of the Pew Commission on Children in Foster Care to the adoption community, and on the need to advance court and foster-care financing reforms.  
Contact: Thomas Atwood  
703.299.6633  
[www.ncfa-usa.org](http://www.ncfa-usa.org)

National Indian Child Welfare Association, Inc.  
Portland, OR, \$250,000, 1 yr.  
For the Ensuring a Better Future for Tribal Children in Foster Care project, raising awareness among tribal leaders about the need to act on the recommendations of the Pew Commission on Children in Foster Care.  
Contact: David L. Simmons  
503.222.4044  
[www.nicwa.org](http://www.nicwa.org)

Occidental College  
Los Angeles, CA, \$3,000,000, 18 mos.  
Home at Last  
Contact: Miriam Krinsky  
323.980.1700  
[www.fostercarehomeatlast.org](http://www.fostercarehomeatlast.org)

**T**he mission of Home at Last is to support outreach and educational efforts, both nationally and in the states, that encourage action

on the financing and court recommendations of the Pew Commission on Children in Foster Care.

The project will work through partnerships with leading organizations experienced in working with judicial leaders and in effecting policy change for children in foster care. Through these partnerships, the project will generate important stakeholder support for reform of the federal financing and court systems to help foster children live in safe and permanent homes.

#### *Biomedical Research and Training*

Regents of the University of California, San Francisco  
San Francisco, CA, \$3,600,000, 4 yrs.  
To support the research activities of the 2006 class of the Pew Scholars Program in the Biomedical Sciences.  
Contact: Edward H. O'Neil, Ph.D.  
415.476.9486  
[www.futurehealth.ucsf.edu](http://www.futurehealth.ucsf.edu)

Regents of the University of California, San Francisco  
San Francisco, CA, \$595,000, 3 yrs.  
To support the research activities of the 2006 class of the Pew Latin American Fellows Program in the Biomedical Sciences.  
Contact: Edward H. O'Neil, Ph.D.  
415.476.9486  
[www.futurehealth.ucsf.edu](http://www.futurehealth.ucsf.edu)

University of Richmond  
Richmond, VA, \$2,500,000, 18 mos.  
For the Pew Initiative on Food and Biotechnology to help ensure that the federal regulatory system appropriately weighs the risks and benefits of agricultural biotechnology, now and in the future.  
Contact: Michael Fernández, Ph.D.  
804.289.8150  
[www.pewagbiotech.org](http://www.pewagbiotech.org)

#### *Other Projects*

United Way of Southeast Delaware County  
Chester, PA, \$60,000, 1 yr.  
For the 2005 Annual Campaign.  
Contact: Louis C. Mahlman  
610.874.8646 x103  
[www.uwdelco.org](http://www.uwdelco.org)

#### **State Policy Initiatives**

##### *Education*

Bryn Mawr College  
Bryn Mawr, PA, \$1,300,000, 4 yrs.  
To support an infrastructure that ensures the college's ability to offer high-quality science programs.

Contact: Suzanne Spain, Ph.D.  
610.526.5164  
[www.brynmawr.edu](http://www.brynmawr.edu)

Editorial Projects in Education, Inc.  
Bethesda, MD, \$500,000, 1 yr.  
Contact: Virginia B. Edwards  
301.280.3100  
[www.edweek.org](http://www.edweek.org)

**T**his grant supports the 10th year of Trusts support for *Quality Counts*, the widely-read annual assessment of state education which provides solid, objective data on K-12 reform efforts. These data help the public and policy makers understand their state's level of success, both in absolute terms and in comparison with other states.

The 10th edition will highlight trends in state performance over the past decade. And it will include new analyses. The report will assess changes in test scores over time, including achievement gaps among subgroups of students. It will grade states on key measures of educational quality and examine the correlation between educational environment and academic achievement.

Education Law Center, Inc.  
Newark, NJ, \$700,000, 2 yrs.  
For the Starting at Three project to collect and disseminate information on including preschool in state educational-adequacy litigation.  
Contact: Ellen Boylan  
973.624.1815 x42  
[www.startingat3.org](http://www.startingat3.org)

Philadelphia Academies, Inc.  
Philadelphia, PA, \$188,000, 1 yr.  
To connect public school youth to careers, expand business participation and further the Academies' partnership with the School District of Philadelphia.  
Contact: Lisa Nutter 215.546.6300 x109  
[www.academiesinc.org](http://www.academiesinc.org)

Public Interest Projects  
New York, NY, \$386,000, 1 yr.  
For Start Smart America to encourage businesses and leaders in the film and music industries to engage the public in support of quality prekindergarten for all.  
Contact: Julie Burton 202.332.1602  
[www.startsmartamerica.org](http://www.startsmartamerica.org)

The Institute for Educational Leadership, Inc.  
Washington, DC, \$100,000, 2 yrs.  
To publish a book, "Bringing Up America," that traces the evolution of the universal prekindergarten

movement in the United States.  
Contact: David L. Kirp  
510.642.7531

#### **Other Policy Initiatives**

Hudson Institute, Inc.  
Washington, DC, \$650,000, 2 yrs.  
Briefings on Democracy: Promoting Abroad and Strengthening at Home, two related series of roundtable discussions with senior congressional staff, opinion leaders and others to build consensus around issues related to promoting democracy abroad and strengthening democracy at home, and to report on the findings.  
Contact: Amy Kauffman  
202.223.7770 x442  
[www.hudson.org](http://www.hudson.org)

The Institute for College Access and Success, Inc.  
Berkeley, CA, \$1,200,000, 6 mos.  
For the College Student Debt project to raise awareness of the need to reduce the burden of college student debt and identify practical federal policy options.  
Contact: Robert Shireman  
510.559.9509  
[www.projectonstudentdebt.org](http://www.projectonstudentdebt.org)

#### **INFORMING THE PUBLIC**

##### **Information Initiatives**

National Public Radio, Inc.  
Washington, DC, \$250,000, 1 yr.  
In support of NPR's news programming.  
Contact: Melissa Gill 202.513.3261  
[www.npr.org](http://www.npr.org)

Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc.  
Harrisburg, PA, \$580,000, 18 mos.  
For IssuesPA/Pew Poll, a series of nonpartisan, statewide opinion polls on important issues facing Pennsylvanians.  
Contact: Karen A. Miller  
717.234.3151  
[www.issuespa.net](http://www.issuespa.net)

The Pew Charitable Trusts  
Philadelphia, PA, \$1,500,000, 1 yr.  
Listening to the Next Generation, exploring the evolving views of young Americans, and the consequences of those views for American democracy, through a series of television reports and related activities in other media.  
Contact: Tobi Walker 215.575.9050  
[www.pewtrusts.org](http://www.pewtrusts.org)

The Pew Research Center  
Washington, DC, \$3,900,000, 1 yr.  
Contact: Andrew Kohut  
202.419.4350  
[www.pewresearch.org](http://www.pewresearch.org)

The Pew Research Center provides reliable and nonpartisan information on contemporary issues and trends to citizens, journalists and policy makers. It does so by conducting opinion polling and social science research, news reporting and analysis, and public forums.

Now in its second year in operation as a subsidiary of the Trusts, the PRC will launch a series of national surveys exploring how Americans navigate their increasingly complicated lives by identifying patterns in family and work, personal finances, health care, aging, residential choices and other areas of importance.

This research focuses on behaviors—what people do and why they do it—rather than attitudes, and will track a broad range of everyday activities.

Combined with questions about people's general satisfaction with their lives, jobs and communities, these surveys will paint an evolving portrait of American society.

## Religion

World Affairs Council of Philadelphia  
Philadelphia, PA, \$50,000, 1 yr.  
United States and Islam Project  
Contact: Buntzie Ellis Churchill  
215.561.4700  
[www.wacphila.org](http://www.wacphila.org)

The World Affairs Council of Philadelphia will convene a one-day symposium to explore the evolving relationship between the United States and the Islamic world, including the impact of the export of America's democratic values to the Middle East.

The conference will gather prominent politicians, foreign officials and experts on perhaps the most critical topic affecting U.S. foreign policy.

An ideologically balanced group of speakers will offer their perspectives on the nature of political Islam and how America—and the West more broadly—should respond.

## SUPPORTING CIVIC LIFE

### Culture

#### *Philadelphia Cultural Leadership Program*

The program rewards nonprofit arts and culture groups in the five-county area for excellence in their programming, operations and fiscal management.



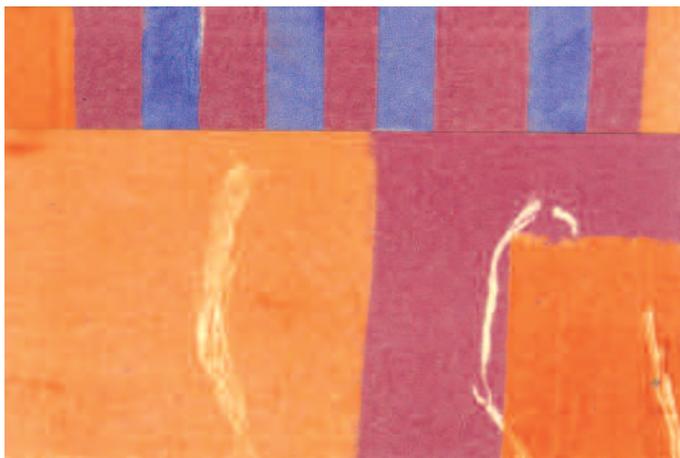
From the Samuel S. Fleisher Art Memorial (top down): by Paul DuSold, James Mundie and Ron Rumford. For the whys and wherefores of these 4"x6" works of art, see the inside back cover.

Abington Art Center  
Jenkintown, PA, \$81,000, 3 yrs.  
In support of general operations.  
Contact: Laura E. Burnham  
215.887.4882  
[www.abingtonartcenter.org](http://www.abingtonartcenter.org)

Conservation Center for Art and Historic Artifacts  
Philadelphia, PA, \$176,000, 3 yrs.  
In support of general operations.  
Contact: Ingrid E. Bogel  
215.545.0613  
[www.ccaha.org](http://www.ccaha.org)

Samuel S. Fleisher Art Memorial, Inc.  
Philadelphia, PA, \$108,000, 3 yrs.  
In support of general operations.  
Contact: Thora Jacobson  
215.922.3456 x17  
[www.fleisher.org](http://www.fleisher.org)

Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania  
Philadelphia, PA, \$216,000, 3 yrs.  
In support of general operations of the Annenberg Center for the



Performing Arts.  
Contact: Michael J. Rose  
215.898.6701  
[www.AnnenbergCenter.org](http://www.AnnenbergCenter.org)

#### *Philadelphia Center for Arts and Heritage*

The University of the Arts Philadelphia, PA, \$579,000, 1 yr.  
In support of operating the Philadelphia Center for Arts and Heritage, which houses the Philadelphia Cultural Management Initiative and the Trusts' six Artistic Initiatives: Dance Advance, the Heritage Philadelphia Program, the Pew Fellowships in the Arts, the Philadelphia Exhibitions Initiative, the Philadelphia Music Project and the Philadelphia Theatre Initiative.  
Contact: Melissa Franklin  
267.350.4921  
[www.pcah.us](http://www.pcah.us)

In housing the Trusts' six Artistic Initiatives and the Philadelphia Cultural Management Initiative, the Philadelphia Center for Arts and Heritage will more fully integrate two purposes of the Culture program's line of work: the creation of high-quality arts and heritage programs through the Artistic Initiatives and the strengthening of the management and governance infrastructures necessary to sustain these kinds of programs in the long term.

With the initiatives located at one site, the lines separating cultural disciplines—distinctions that are commonly accepted by arts practitioners and funders but are not particularly meaningful to modern audiences—will gradually blur. In addition, the center will tangibly reinforce the indisputable link between strong management practices and high-quality programs.

The University of the Arts Philadelphia, PA, \$1,050,000, 1 yr.  
In support of Dance Advance to enhance the creation and presentation of dance by Philadelphia-area companies, artists and presenters.  
Contact: Bill Bissell 267.350.4971  
[www.danceadvance.org](http://www.danceadvance.org)

The University of the Arts Philadelphia, PA, \$1,454,000, 15 mos.  
In support of the Heritage Philadelphia Program to provide historic sites and museums with grants and technical assistance.  
Contact: Barbara Silberman  
267.350.4951  
[www.heritagephila.org](http://www.heritagephila.org)



Philadelphia's Boathouse Row, in Fairmount Park, received new, energy-efficient LED lighting, which is expected to be virtually maintenance-free for 25 years and reduce the electricity bill from \$8,000 to \$1,000 per year. The Trusts-supported project was a joint effort of, among others, PECO, an Exelon Company; the Fairmount Park Commission; the Schuylkill Navy of Philadelphia; and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 98.

The University of the Arts Philadelphia, PA, \$1,111,000, 15 mos. In support of renewal of the Pew Fellowships in the Arts, a program that awards financial support to individual artists. Contact: Melissa Franklin 267.350.4921 [www.pewarts.org](http://www.pewarts.org)

The University of the Arts Philadelphia, PA, \$1,235,000, 15 mos. In support of the Philadelphia Exhibitions Initiative, an artistic development program that provides funding for public art exhibitions and publications in the five-county Philadelphia region. Contact: Paula Marincola 267.350.4931 [www.philexin.org](http://www.philexin.org)

The University of the Arts Philadelphia, PA, \$1,192,000, 1 yr. In support of the Philadelphia Music Project to enhance the creation and presentation of music activities by Philadelphia-area nonprofit music organizations. Contact: Matthew Levy 267.350.4961 [www.philadelphiamusicproject.org](http://www.philadelphiamusicproject.org)

The University of the Arts Philadelphia, PA, \$1,178,000, 1 yr. In support of the Philadelphia Theatre Initiative to enhance the creation and presentation of theater activities by Philadelphia-area nonprofit professional theaters and artists. Contact: Fran Kumin 267.350.4941 [www.philadelphiaatreinitiative.org](http://www.philadelphiaatreinitiative.org)

#### Support for Regional Culture

WHYY, Inc. Philadelphia, PA, \$180,000, 3 yrs. For arts reporting on WHYY-91FM. Contact: Kenneth Finkel 215.351.2052 [www.whyy.org](http://www.whyy.org)

#### The Pew Fund for Health and Human Services in Philadelphia

OMG Center for Collaborative Learning Philadelphia, PA, \$1,700,000, 2 yrs. For capacity-building support to health and social service organizations in the Philadelphia region. Contact: Gerri Spilka 215.732.2200 [www.omgcenter.org](http://www.omgcenter.org)

#### Civic Engagement

The University of Maryland Foundation, Inc. College Park, MD, \$1,320,000, 18 mos. For the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement. Contact: William A. Galston, Ph.D. 301.405.6347 [www.civicyouth.org](http://www.civicyouth.org)

The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement is the preeminent research center for the study of civic engagement of Americans between the ages of 15 and 25. Founded in 2001, CIRCLE is central to the Trusts' commitment to support youth political participation and underscore the voting potential of young people.

CIRCLE will have several activities under this grant. It will continue to track youth voting through the 2006 elections, collaborating with the Trusts-supported Young Voters Clearinghouse at George Washington University to identify and commission other research that explores effective ways to encourage young people to register and vote.

It will replicate the Civic Index study, a set of indicators of Americans' civic and political engagement, originally developed under a Trusts grant to George Mason University. And it will produce and regularly update fact sheets on youth engagement (or disengagement) and, through

the 2006 elections, update its fact sheets describing youth-voter registration and turnout rates.

#### Civic Initiatives

The College of Physicians of Philadelphia Philadelphia, PA, \$500,000, 2 yrs. For general operating support. Contact: Arthur K. Asbury, M.D. 215.563.3737 x258 [www.collphyphil.org](http://www.collphyphil.org)

Council on Foundations, Inc. Washington, DC, \$50,000, 1 yr. For general operating support. Contact: Robert Wiggans 202.467.0479 [www.cof.org](http://www.cof.org)

Fairmount Park Conservancy Philadelphia, PA, \$50,000, 1 mo. In support of a project to improve the lighting of Boathouse Row, one of Philadelphia's most recognizable nighttime scenes. Contact: Mary C. Ferrell 215.790.3653

Fund for Philadelphia, Inc. Philadelphia, PA, \$100,000, 1 yr. To prepare a study on how best to address parking and traffic needs created by planned developments on the Benjamin Franklin Parkway. Contact: Karen Leslie-Garrison 215.683.2053 [www.fundforphiladelphia.org](http://www.fundforphiladelphia.org)

The Greater Washington Educational Telecommunications Association, Inc. Arlington, VA, \$750,000, 3 yrs. In support of "America's Best Idea: Our National Parks," a five-episode public television series that will tell the story of the national parks and their history. Contact: Craig Impink 703.998.2608 [www.weta.org](http://www.weta.org)

Hispanics in Philanthropy San Francisco, CA, \$250,000, 3 yrs. In support of the Funders' Collaborative for Strong Latino Communities initiative to strengthen the capacity and leadership of Latino nonprofits in the Philadelphia area. Contact: Chris Cardona 646.602.2905 [www.hiponline.org](http://www.hiponline.org)

Independence Visitor Center Corporation Philadelphia, PA, \$1,000,000, 1 yr. For the Independence Mall Revitalization Project to complete Independence Mall, a \$300-million redevelopment project in Independence National Historical Park designed to better educate Amer-

icans about the extraordinary individuals and events that launched America as a free and independent nation, and about the enduring ideas that have sustained it to the present day.

Contact: William W. Moore 215.925.6102 [www.independencevisitorcenter.com](http://www.independencevisitorcenter.com)

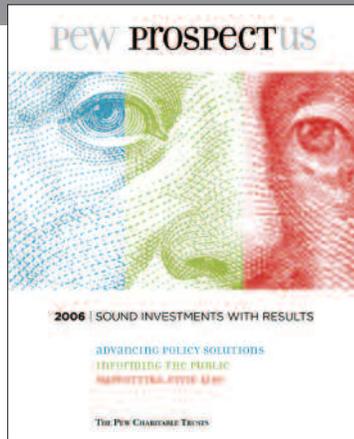
National Trust for the Humanities Washington, DC, \$75,000, 1 yr. For Landmarks of American History and Culture Workshop, two week-long Philadelphia-based workshops to educate 100 school-teachers on the life, political evolution and civic legacies of one of our nation's founding fathers, Benjamin Franklin. Contact: Michael Poliakoff 202.606.8500

Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania Philadelphia, PA, \$300,000, 3 yrs. In support of the Student Voices Philadelphia Schools Project, which encourages students to vote and participate in civic life. Contact: Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Ph.D. 215.898.7041 [www.student-voices.org/philadelphia](http://www.student-voices.org/philadelphia)

United Service Organizations, Inc. - Pennsylvania and Southern New Jersey Philadelphia, PA, \$100,000, 1 yr. Operation USO 21 Contact: Dorothy J. Stanhope 215.365.8889 [www.libertyuso.org](http://www.libertyuso.org)

The United Service Organization delivers comfort and assistance to members of the military and their families. With the increasing deployments and return of troops, Liberty USO, which serves Pennsylvania and South Jersey, has outgrown its headquarters at Philadelphia International Airport.

At present, the airport service center, which was fully outfitted by a grant from the Trusts two decades ago, serves approximately 3,000 military personnel and their families each month. Liberty USO seeks to construct a modern hospitality facility to provide enhanced services, including upgraded shower and sleeping facilities, additional computer stations, a better-equipped cafe and a separate area for children.



**B**enjamin Franklin's life's interests parallel much of the Trusts' program work, so, in this year that celebrates his 300th birthday, it seems fitting that he provide the theme of the Trusts' 2006 *Pew Prospectus*. The annual is on line at [www.pewtrusts.org](http://www.pewtrusts.org), with hard copies available by request.

**T**he report *Mapping State Cultural Policy: The State of Washington* begins with several surprisingly basic questions: What is "culture"? What is "culture policy" and "state culture policy"? What is "mapping"? And why Washington state?

J. Mark Schuster, Ph.D., the study's editor, took nothing for granted, and for good reason. The report, the first of its kind, addresses two forms of state activity that people might not ordinarily connect. One is funding for "the arts, humanities, heritage and allied forms of culture" (including preservation agencies and arts and humanities councils). The other is funding for activities, like tourism marketing or good local transportation, that, though not defined as arts support, help the public participate in the cultural scene.

As the report makes clear, many public policies, overt and implied, influence cultural activity. Thus, though there might not be an articulated "state culture policy," it exists *de facto*, and policy makers should understand it if they are to appreciate how culture not only makes an aesthetic contribution but also plays an important economic role.

Examining this complex mix was the task of the pilot project Mapping State Cultural Policy, supported by the Trusts at the Cultural Policy Center at the University of Chicago and directed by Schuster, professor of urban cultural policy at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Through interviews and review of legislation, policy and program documents and budgets, he and his team undertook the mapping. This involved cataloguing and, more importantly, analyzing and interpreting the topography of cultural policy in Washington—clarifying the intention of policy that is both explicit (as in legislation and strategic plans) and implicit (inferred from actual practice).

The state was chosen for several reasons: its demographics, its "shift to a more knowledge-based economy," the interest of state officials in the results, and "specific institutional characteristics," which tend to diffuse power among many agencies and departments. The last, of course, made the terrain irregular at best.

One demographic difference revealed how intricate the research was. Washington is home to 29 federally recognized Native American tribes, and Schuster's group discovered a "gulf in perspectives" between them

and state documents on what *culture* means with respect to natural resources. To the state, it means "traditional places, historic sites and archaeological resources"—seemingly a broad definition, the report notes. But to Native Americans, it is narrow, because they consider culture to be interwoven in their lives. One tribal liaison offered the example of salmon, an edible commodity to most people: "For tribes, salmon is art, religion, ceremony, a way of life—food is just a small part of that."

The study made transparent the many streams of activity that add up to a cultural policy and presented a sound account of the strengths and weaknesses of the total "ecology" of cultural policy—information that ought to help policy makers and other leaders.

And how might other states benefit from the study? According to Schuster, by using the Washington example to assess their own "opportunities, issues and constraints," and then develop "smart practices" that "build upon local knowledge and conditions to create a better policy fit."

For a copy of *Mapping State Cultural Policy*, contact the Cultural Policy Center at the University of Chicago at <http://culturalpolicy.uchicago.edu>.

## LETTERS

*To readers of "States United" (in the winter '05-'06 Trust) who asked this question, Sue Urahn, director of State Policy Initiatives, replies.*

**Q:** What is the difference between the Pew Center on the States and the Trusts' project Stateline.org?

**Urahn:** Stateline.org is part of the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan "fact tank" that provides information and takes no position on the issues. Stateline's specialty is in gathering news on state policy innovations and trends, and since 1999, when it was established, it has certainly helped nourish public debate of impor-

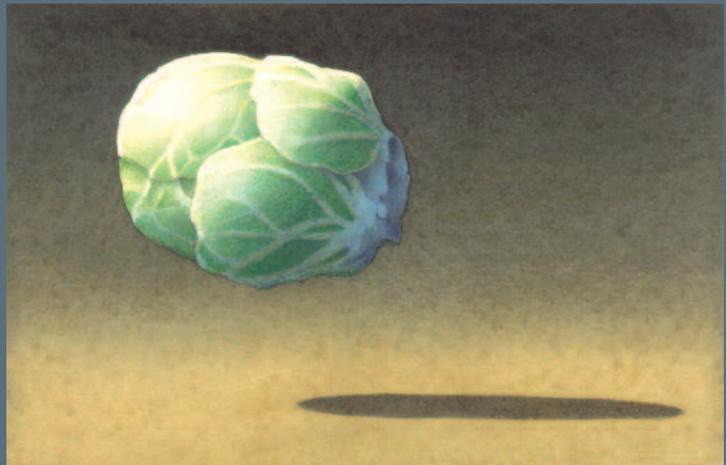
tant state-level issues. It is unequivocally impartial, neutral.

Facts are also the basis of the Pew Center on the States' work, but its goal is to help states advance effective policies in the public interest by supporting public education and advocacy efforts. For the Pew Center on the States, knowledge compels action.

*We welcome comments on stories, address corrections or requests for back issues. Simply contact the editor at 2005 Market Street, Suite 1700, Philadelphia PA 19103; or transmit your message by fax to him at 215.575.4890; or through e-mail to [mledger@pewtrusts.org](mailto:mledger@pewtrusts.org). The text of Trust is always available at [www.pewtrusts.org](http://www.pewtrusts.org).*



Stewart Shils



David Wiesner

**E**ach the size of a postcard, these works of art (and the three on page 30) were among the hundreds offered in 2004 at an unusual fund-raiser for the Samuel S. Fleisher Art Memorial in South Philadelphia. They were put up on the walls for sale, first come, first served, for only \$50 each—but with a catch: They were exhibited anonymously. Only after they were purchased did the buyer learn the artist’s name. And that name might have belonged to an already recognized artist or to an emerging talent.

The event, called *Dear Fleisher-4 x 6 Inches of Art*, was so successful that Fleisher is doing it again. On October 15 the school plans to mount some 750 “mini-masterpieces” by more than 500 area artists at its century-old location at 719 Catharine Street. For details, go to [www.fleisher.org](http://www.fleisher.org).



Larry Spaid



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high-quality preschool is vital.**

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