

ALSO

*Public Pensions:
Promises with a Price*

*Understanding What
It Means to be Muslim*

FALL 2013 | VOL. 15, NO. 3

Trust

The Pew Charitable Trusts

A Sea Change

America's new focus on its waters
PLUS: **Leon Panetta** on the world's oceans



The Art and Beauty of Compromise

THOMAS JEFFERSON, IN AN 1824 LETTER TO LOUISIANA CONGRESSMAN Edward Livingston, wrote, “A government held together by the bands of reason requires much compromise of opinion.”

At The Pew Charitable Trusts, we help address some of society’s most difficult challenges through research and action that is evidence-based, nonpartisan, and results-oriented. As such, our work, too, is “held together by the bands of reason.” And what Jefferson observed about government is equally true of Pew’s efforts: Reason requires dialogue and principled compromise. The art and beauty of informed compromise, sometimes lost today, is that it can help diverse parties achieve mutual goals without abandoning their core values. This is why Pew brings people of varying interests together, to find shared purpose and common ground—for that is how and where meaningful results are achieved.

This issue of *Trust* reports on three examples of Pew’s work in which the power of knowledge led to education, informed decisions, and real progress.

A decade ago, the Pew Oceans Commission issued a landmark report that changed how we view our nation’s coastal waters. The commission brought together leaders from science, fishing, conservation, government and academia. Not surprisingly, these experts in their fields often disagreed. Participants brought to the table a perspective from their own experience about how to protect the oceans. But through their meetings and public hearings, the commission members built mutual respect, which in turn developed trust in each other and an openness to constructive compromise.

This led to two important agreements. The first was a shared acknowledgement that economic sustainability requires environmental sustainability. The second was a series of recommendations for which the commission’s chairman, the gifted public servant Leon Panetta, won unanimous support. They included restoring America’s fisheries, promoting education and research about ocean ecology, preserving our coasts, and establishing new ocean protections.

In the decade since the commission issued its report, the spirit of cooperation and respect that guided its deliberations has brought significant victories for America’s citizens. The commission gave new urgency to protecting the oceans, spurred creation of the nation’s first ocean policy to emphasize conservation, and helped win bipartisan support in Congress for limits on fishing that were based on science. The United States now

has some of the best-managed ocean waters because of our science-based catch limits. And today Pew is taking this

example of accomplishment to the world stage with the launch of the Global Ocean Commission at Oxford University.

The pursuit of compromise and shared goals is also at work in state capitols and in our cities. Policymakers throughout the nation are grappling with large, underfunded pension plans promised to state and local public employees—a problem fraught with potential conflict. But Kentucky has shown that workable solutions are possible. After years of stalemate, lawmakers there created a bipartisan commission to study the state’s underfunded public pensions. Pew served as an adviser to the task force, whose members refused to be disagreeable even when they disagreed. The Republican-controlled Senate favored replacing the defined-benefit plan (a traditional pension) with a defined-contribution plan (such as a 401[k]). The Democratic-controlled House of Representatives argued that was too risky for workers. But with technical assistance from Pew, the two sides came together and

Pew brings people of varying interests together to find shared purpose and common ground.

created a hybrid plan, borrowing the best elements of both kinds of pensions. The reform package is expected to save Kentucky and its localities billions while protecting the retirement security of current and future workers.

To make progress like this possible, the first step often is understanding diverse points of view. This knowledge can lead to tolerance, civility, and reasoned dialogue. The Pew Research Center’s religion and public life project, for example, has studied the attitudes, beliefs, and practices of the world’s 1.6 billion Muslims. It surveyed 38,000 people in face-to-face interviews in 39 countries, and the responses provide new insights into the unity and diversity of the Muslim community. Even more important, the study is helping build understanding of a growing faith in the United States.

Fact-based compromise is more than an ideal—it is an indispensable tool for bringing together the best minds, moving past misunderstanding, and solving problems. That is why for The Pew Charitable Trusts, bridging the differences that divide us and searching for the solutions that bind us will always inform our work and give expression to our values.

REBECCA W. RIMEL
President and CEO

The Pew Charitable Trusts

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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

PRESIDENT AND CEO
REBECCA W. RIMEL

SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT
FOR COMMUNICATIONS
MELISSA SKOLFIELD

SENIOR DIRECTOR,
EDITORIAL
ED PAISLEY

EDITOR
DANIEL LEDUC

EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS
ANAHI BACA
BENJAMIN ORLANDO

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS
JOHN BRILEY
CAROL HUTCHINSON
MICHAEL REMEZ

PHOTO EDITOR
KATYE MARTENS

DESIGN/ART DIRECTION
DAVID HERBICK DESIGN

One Commerce Square
2005 Market Street, Suite 2800
Philadelphia, PA 19103-7077
Phone 215-575-9050

901 E Street NW, 10th Floor
Washington, DC 20004-2037
Phone 202-552-2000

On the Internet:
www.pewtrusts.org

Trust

FALL 2013 | VOL. 15, NO. 3

The Pew Charitable Trusts
© 2013 The Pew Charitable Trusts
ISSN: 1540-4587

→ Contents



10



18

6 A Sea Change

A decade ago, the Pew Oceans Commission found that America's oceans were in crisis. What has happened since? *By Doug Struck*

10 Q & A: Leon Panetta on the World's Oceans

The former chairman of the Pew Oceans Commission says, "We've got a great treasure in our oceans, and we have a responsibility to protect that treasure."

14 Promises to Pay

Pew helped shed light on the billions of dollars in unfunded pension benefits promised to the nation's state and local public employees. Now, it's helping states do something about it. *By Robert Teitelman*

18 To Be Muslim

The Pew Research Center interviewed more than 38,000 Muslims around the globe to provide a deeper understanding of the beliefs and political views of members of the world's second-largest religion. *By Deborah Horan*

2 BRIEFLY NOTED

New rules for imported foods and other news

24 NEWS

Healthier Snacks for School Menus

26 ON THE RECORD

The Global Middle-Class Surge

28 PEW PARTNERS

The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation has worked with Pew for a decade

30 LESSONS LEARNED

Evaluating Pew's campaign to address the problems of military and overseas voters

32 RETURN ON INVESTMENT

Some of Pew's recent accomplishments

36 DISPATCH: St. Lawrence Island

Bottleneck in the Bering Strait

INSIDE BACK COVER

END NOTE

Racial Divides Remain

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

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

Briefly **NOTED**



Produce like this being unloaded in Philadelphia would be subject to new rules requiring importers to verify it was safe.

New Rules for Imported Foods

Americans receive about 15 percent of their food from overseas—about half of all fresh fruits, a fifth of fresh vegetables, and 80 percent of seafood—and the U.S. Food and Drug Administration has proposed new rules to make that food safer.

One rule would require, for the first time, that importers verify that the food they import is safe. The other would set criteria for third-party auditors who

could be engaged by food companies in certain circumstances to make sure imports are safe.

Along with the release of the draft rules on produce and processed foods in January 2013, the publication of the proposed food import rules this past summer means that finalization is near for the key rules needed to put the FDA Food Safety Modernization Act in effect. The law, which Congress passed in

2010, was the first significant overhaul of the nation's food safety laws in seven decades. Enactment of the law and its implementation and funding have been a top priority of The Pew Charitable Trusts. Pew worked with policymakers, consumer advocates, and the food industry to advance the legislation, which was considered a successful demonstration of bipartisanship in Washington.

The need for rules about imported food shows how much Americans' cooking and eating habits have changed since the nation began regulating food safety. The food supply is increasingly global-

ized—the 15 percent of food now imported is double the proportion of imports from just a decade ago.

“The release of these draft rules means we are one step closer to a safer food supply, thanks to the bipartisan FDA food safety law. Once they’re in place, the rules will ensure that foreign foods are held to the same high safety standards as American products,” says Sandra Eskin, who directs Pew’s food safety project. “This will better protect all of us.”

FDA attempts to keep tabs on food imports but manages to inspect only 1 to 2 percent of what comes through the nation’s ports and borders. The new rules would require importers to confirm that their foreign suppliers are producing safe food through various means, such as audits, testing, and record review.

Pew is continuing to study the draft rules to ensure they meet the goals of the new food safety laws. They mark “an important improvement over the current weak import system,” says Erik Olson, who oversees Pew’s food programs.

—DANIEL LEDUC

For more information, go to pewtrusts.org/foodsafety.

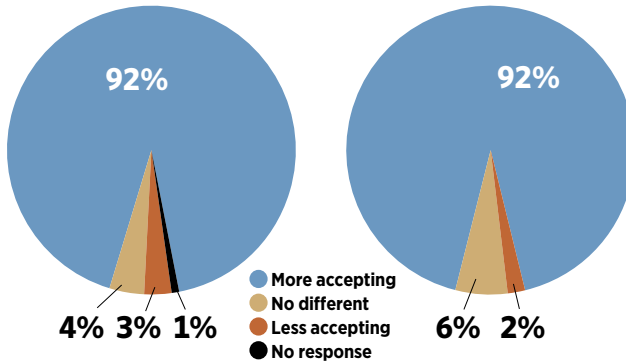
Acceptance for LGBT People is Growing But...

Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender adults see American society as more accepting of them in recent years—and they expect that movement to continue—but many still feel stigmatized, according to a recent survey by the Pew Research Center.

The Arc of Social Acceptance

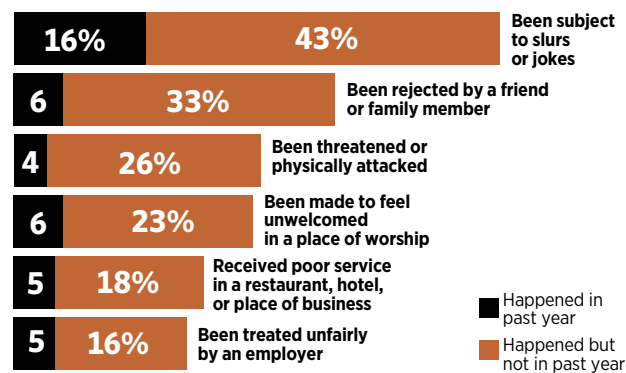
Percent of LGBT adults who say that, compared with 10 years ago, society is now.... of LGBT people

Percent of LGBT adults who say that, 10 years from now, society will be of LGBT people



Perceptions of Discrimination

Percent of LGBT adults who say that they have because of their sexual orientation or gender identity



The survey found that 92 percent of LGBT adults say society is more accepting of them today than 10 years ago. An equal 92 percent say they expect the public will be more accepting 10 years from now. Still, despite the optimism, just 19 percent say there is a lot of acceptance for LGBT people today. A majority—59 percent—says there is some, while 21 percent say there is little or no acceptance.

The center conducted its first national survey of LGBT adults in April at a time of great national debate about gay rights and just ahead of two U.S. Supreme Court rulings that bolstered the legal basis for same-sex marriage.

The report includes examples of the stigmatization faced by many LGBT adults. About 4 in 10 say that at some point they were rejected by a family member or close friend because of their sexual orientation or gender identity;

58 percent say they have been subject to slurs or jokes; and 29 percent say they have been made to feel unwelcome at a place of worship.

“For the LGBT population, these are the best of times. But that doesn’t mean they are easy times, or that their lives are uncomplicated,” says Paul Taylor, executive vice president of the Pew Research Center. “Many are still searching for a comfortable place in a society where acceptance is growing but still limited.”

Survey respondents attribute more accepting attitudes about LGBT Americans to a variety of factors, such as people knowing and interacting with others who are LGBT, advocacy on their behalf by high-profile public figures, and more LGBT adults raising families.

The report also presents details about the LGBT experience in the United States. For example, just 56 percent say they have told their mother about their sexual orientation or gender identity; fewer—39 percent—have told their father. The survey finds that 12 is the median age at which lesbian, gay, and bisexual adults first felt they might be something other than heterosexual. For those who are certain about their orientation or gender identity, the realization came at a median age of 17.

The report looks at differences among groups within the LGBT population, as well as attitudes among group members as a whole on a range of topics, such as political affiliation, the importance of various policy issues, and the friendliness of various institutions—including political parties, the media, and the Obama administration—to LGBT Americans.

The survey was administered online, a survey mode that researchers say

tends to produce more honest answers on sensitive topics than do other less anonymous modes of survey-taking.

—MICHAEL REMEZ

For more information, go to pewresearch.org/lgbt.

Reimagining Benjamin Franklin's Home for the Next Generation

The Princess phones are gone, replaced by computer animation and interactive exhibits. A dark ramp is history, replaced with a well-lit, welcoming staircase and modern glass. Original objects are displayed, helping to bring a great man to life. And the revamped and reimagined Benjamin Franklin Museum is receiving visitors in Philadelphia.

Built for the nation's bicentennial more than three decades ago, the underground museum had fallen into disrepair in recent years. It was once considered to be cutting edge: Visitors could listen to recordings of the "Founding Fathers" on the phones. Lately, however, it had become difficult to find one that worked. Other exhibits were painfully outdated as well. The building at Franklin Court, the former site of the statesman's 18th-century home, was plagued by leaks.

The Pew Charitable Trusts has a long record of supporting Philadelphia's historical and cultural attractions, including the Liberty Bell Pavilion, the National Constitution Center, the Independence Visitor Center, and the Barnes Foundation museum.

So Pew worked with philanthropist H.F. Lenfest, the William Penn Foundation, and the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, as well as the city, state, and federal governments, on a three-year effort to restore the Franklin



The Benjamin Franklin Museum reopened in Philadelphia to introduce a new generation of visitors to the Founding Father.

museum which reopened at the end of the summer. *Philadelphia Inquirer* architecture critic Inga Saffron, for one, was pleased with the result, writing, "Just as the experts predicted, everything is different. But different is also better."

—CAROL HUTCHINSON

For more information, go to pewtrusts.org and click on "Philadelphia Region."

Interpol Targets Illegal Fishing

The Snake is a 230-foot fishing vessel that authorities say boasts a lengthy record of illegal fishing. The ship changed names at least a dozen times over the past decade, registered under the flag of at least eight countries, and now has made history as the first ship designated with a "Purple Notice" from Interpol.

The international police organization's designation is a "most wanted" notice to port officials and other enforcement agencies to be on the lookout for the ship and gather more information

million metric tons of fish taken from the oceans each year. Those responsible also are often involved in other illegal activities such as drug and arms smuggling and human trafficking, according to law enforcement officials.

Fishing vessels are especially tough to track because, unlike merchant ships or even automobiles, they are not required to have unique and permanent identifying numbers. They can—as authorities said the Snake has done—change names and registration quickly.

"This is the first time Interpol's network has been used to combat illegal fishing," says Lisbeth Berg-Hansen, Norway's minister of fisheries and coastal affairs. "Cooperation through Interpol is a new tool in the fight against fisheries crime, and I am glad that Norway has been able to take a leading role in this cooperation."

The Purple Notice reports that the Commission for the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources and the South East Atlantic Fisheries Organization have blacklisted the Snake, which means it can be denied fishing

about it to aid investigations into illegal fishing. The notice is part of Interpol's continued focus on illegal fishing, called Project Scale, which is a partnership among the agency, the government of Norway, and The Pew Charitable Trusts. The Norwegian government requested the Purple Notice.

Illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing is a significant environmental, security, and economic threat. This illicit activity results in 26

permits and port entry.

“This type of response—alerting authorities to suspect fishing vessels—is exactly what Pew envisioned when we decided to support Project Scale,” says Tony Long, who directs Pew’s illegal fishing project.

—JOHN BRILEY

For more information, go to pewenvironment.org/endillegalifishing.

A Portrait of Jewish Americans

Jewish identity in America is changing, with an increasing number of Jews saying they are not religious, marrying outside the faith, and not raising their children Jewish.

The findings come from the first major survey of American Jews in more than a decade, conducted by the Pew Research Center. It finds that Jews in the United States overwhelmingly say they are proud to be Jewish and have a

strong sense of belonging to the Jewish people, but that the percentage of adults who call themselves Jewish has declined by about half since the late 1950s and is currently less than 2 percent. The number of Americans with direct Jewish ancestry or upbringing who consider themselves Jewish but also describe themselves as atheist, agnostic, or having no particular religion is rising and is now about 0.5 percent of the U.S. adult population. More than 1 in 5 Jews—22 percent—describe themselves as having no religion.

Ninety-three percent of Jews from the World War II generation describe themselves as Jewish on the basis of religion. By contrast, slightly fewer than 7 in 10 Jews in the youngest generation of U.S. adults, known as the millennials, identify as Jews by religion, and 32 percent say they have no religion and identify as Jewish based on ancestry, ethnicity, or culture.

“Differences by generation are very stark,” says Alan Cooperman, deputy director of Pew’s religion and public life project. “Older Jews are Jews by religion. Younger Jews are Jews of no religion.”

The shift reflects what is happening in the broader U.S. public. Pew surveys find that Americans as a whole are shunning any religious affiliation. The 22 percent of Jews who say they have no religion is similar to the 20 percent of the overall public who answer “none” when asked about religious affiliation, and the 32 percent of Jews ages 18-29 who say they have no religion is the same as the percentage of all millennials who say “none.”

The survey finds that when Jews of no religion are compared with religious Jews, they “are not only less religious but also much less connected to Jewish organizations and much less likely to be raising their children Jewish.”

—DANIEL LEDUC

For more information, go to pewresearch.org/jewish-americans

Peril and Promise of a Longer Life

The concept of old age is changing. Americans today routinely live longer than did previous generations, and some futurists predict that medical advances eventually could allow people to remain healthy and productive to age 120 or more.

But many Americans see peril as well as promise in such possibilities, according to a recent survey by the Pew Research Center. Fifty-six percent say they personally would not want medical treatments that slow aging and allow people to live “to at least 120 years”; 38 percent say they would. Still, 68 percent say other people would want medical treatments that slow their aging; 27 percent say most would not.

Asked about the consequences for society if new treatments could slow the aging process and allow people to live longer, 51 percent say that would be bad for society; 41 percent say it would be good.

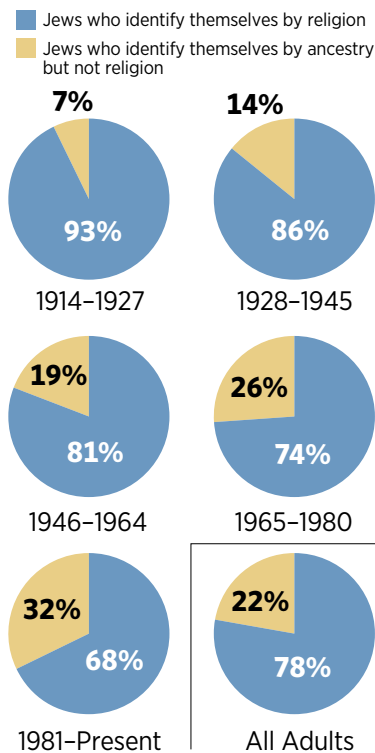
Cary Funk, a senior researcher with Pew’s religion and public life project, says the survey grew out of discussions with religious leaders, bioethicists, and others about the morality of biomedical advances—for the first time seen as in the realm of the possible—that could lead to significant extensions of life.

How long do Americans want to live? Sixty-nine percent cite an age between 79 and 100. The median ideal life span is 90 years, about 11 years longer than the current average U.S. life expectancy, which is 78.7 years. On balance, the public tends to view medical advances that prolong life as generally good—63 percent of respondents—rather than as interfering with the natural cycle of life—32 percent.

—MICHAEL REMEZ

For more information, go to pewforum.org/living-to-120.

Jewish Identity By Generation



At Sea Changing

A decade ago, the Pew Oceans Commission found that America's oceans were in crisis. What has happened since?

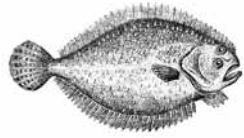
BY DOUG STRUCK

The Atlantic Ocean laps ashore at Cape Elizabeth, ME. The Pew Oceans Commission spurred creation of the nation's first conservation-based ocean policy.

ge



Photograph by Mauricio Handler/National Geographic/Getty Images



John McMurray is a strapping fellow with a gray-salted beard who grins widely when plucking huge fish from the sea. He has been fishing for big ones since he was 10. Now 42, he runs a fishing charter boat. In July, however, he left the 33-foot *One More Cast* docked for the day in the Atlantic off Oceanside, NY, and went to Washington to show a Senate subcommittee a picture of his son.

Oliver, 4, had gone with his dad for the first time to fish for summer flounder, also known as fluke. On his first drift, with his line on the bottom, he hooked a 28-inch flounder, and hauled it aboard with his dad's help. "Now, that," McMurray recalls telling the senators, holding up a photo of a fish almost as long as his son, "is what a rebuilt fish stock looks like."

McMurray for years had rarely found summer flounder worth chasing. They were so overfished that the only ones he caught "were so small if you held them up to the light, you could see through them." But after tough regulations cut fishing for flounder in 2000, they have grown large and abundant and now make up a good chunk of McMurray's charter boat hauls. "If you give the fish a chance, it'll come back," he says.

The flounder is just one example of how U.S. fishery managers are giving fish a chance by imposing stronger restrictions based on science. That approach was one of the key recommendations made a decade ago when the Pew Oceans Commission delivered a 144-page indictment of our treatment of the oceans—a report that helped

Doug Struck is a former *Washington Post* foreign correspondent who writes about science and the environment and teaches journalism at Emerson College in Boston.

focus public opinion on the plight of the seas and what's in them. Now the United States has one of the best fish management systems in the world.

The Pew Oceans Commission recommendations in 2003, followed by a similar report the next year by the U.S. Commission on Ocean Policy, sounded alarms for the well-being of a resource that had been taken for granted. The environmental movement, ignited by Rachel Carson in the 1960s and in full bloom by the 1970s with the first Earth Day and idealistic new laws, had focused attention on pollution, air quality, and inland waters. The seas were considered almost too big to fail.

"Nobody really paid attention to what was happening to that great resource and the damage that was occurring," says Leon Panetta, the former California congressman and White House chief of staff who chaired the Pew commission before returning to Washington to head the CIA and the Department of Defense. "I think we changed the conversation, because I think people throughout this country now recognize that our oceans were in trouble."

The 18 commissioners assembled by Pew were a diverse group that included elected officials from coastal regions, scientists, fishermen, and conservation-

ists. They conducted hearings across the country, solicited expert advice, and in the end reached a strong consensus. "The oceans are in crisis and reforms are essential," the commission declared. "Our sense that no one owns this vast realm has allowed us to tolerate no one caring for it. . . . We are squandering this bounty."

The Pew Oceans Commission found that wetlands were retreating and that coastal waters were choked with oil, toxic chemicals, and farmland runoff. New residential and industrial developments were sending pollution into the seas. Nutrients had spawned dead zones in the water. Coral was dying. Invasive species and escapees from fish farms were pushing wild stocks aside. Thirty percent of the regulated fish species were overfished. Cod and sardine populations had collapsed; haddock, yellowtail flounder, halibut, swordfish, Pacific red snapper—all were in danger. And fish and birds were fleeing from fouled waters.

The report offered a list of recommendations that addressed nearly every facet of mankind's interaction with the oceans. It said that the nation needed a sustainable oceans policy and that Congress should create an independent oceans agency. Coastlines should be protected and coastal waters cleaned. It called for a series of marine sanctuaries. Fishing limits should be set through scientific evidence to sustain fish. Wetlands should be restored, rivers cleaned, and pollution controlled. Urban and residential development near the coast should be curbed, and the Army Corps of Engineers should be ordered to protect, not rework, the environment.

The recommendations were far-reaching and ambitious, and they threatened the status quo. They soon became mired in competing interests. From seaside developers to commercial fishermen to sportsmen to sunbathers, all had their own views of how the oceans should be used.



The results 10 years later: *The Oceans*

The results, a decade later, are decidedly mixed. The commission recommended, for example, funding for basic ocean research be doubled. Progress toward that goal has lagged; money to study the effects of ocean acidification on the \$2 billion shellfish industry dropped to \$23 million in 2011 from \$29 million in 2008. Scientists are scrambling to find financing for their research.

“Funding is getting more and more scarce, particularly for environmental work,” says Kenly Hiller, a young biologist who is trying to raise cash through an online crowd funding site to study nitrogen runoff at Cape Cod, MA. She pleaded for \$6,000 on the site microryza.com when government spending cuts in March delayed her EPA-financed fellowship.

The commission pushed for an over-

arching national policy on the oceans to try to bring sense to an area governed by 140 laws and a multitude of agencies. It was a “hodgepodge” in “disarray,” the commission said, and a policy was needed so that oceans would be used in a way that would sustain them for future generations. But years of effort to get Congress to pass such a national oceans policy failed. Finally, President Barack Obama issued an executive order in 2010. Among other steps, it instructs the federal agencies that make decisions affecting the seas to work together, to employ science to guide deliberations, and to improve coordination with regional and state agencies.

“It has not been smooth sailing,” says Jane Lubchenco, who was a member of the commission and served as head of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration from 2009 until early this year. “There is significant backlash by vested interests who feel threatened by an integrated approach.”

Red snapper in the Gulf of Mexico have rebounded in the past five years because of measures that helped to end overfishing.

But “as a result of the commission, we now have a national oceans policy that lays out those principles” of sustainability, she says. The president’s executive order “has its focus squarely on stewardship. And it creates a National Ocean Council and regional councils as well as a mechanism for working across federal agencies. The importance of that should not be underestimated.”

Many of the problems pointed out by the commission have worsened in the past decade. A data-based effort called the Ocean Health Index calculated in October that the health of the oceans rated a score of only 65 out of 100. The index did not exist 10 years ago, but Benjamin S. Halpern, a professor of marine conservation at the University of California, Santa Barbara, who is one

of the authors of the index, says many problems have become more acute, though some have improved.

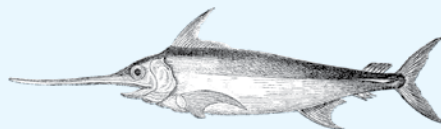
“I would say the two biggest problems are habitat loss with degradation in coastal areas, and overfishing,” he says. Rampant development, wetlands loss, agricultural and urban runoff, and resource exploitation all have an impact on the oceans, and growth in population has made many of those problems worse. More than half of all Americans live in a coastal county, a 40 percent increase since 1970.

The United States this year scored a 67 on the Ocean Health Index, placing it 75th among countries on a scale that is based on a variety of ocean uses and trends over the past five years. The score is “not a 20 or a 30, but I don’t think anyone will celebrate that as a job done,” Halpern says.

Overlaying all of these problems is the changing climate. Oceans were once seen as an ally, perhaps even a savior, for a warming world: A third of the carbon dioxide produced by humans since the beginning of the industrial revolution has been absorbed by the oceans. But 10 years ago, the Pew commission pointed to the emerging science that the oceans themselves were changing.

Since the report’s release, scientists have found that the seas are heating up, species that can move are starting to migrate to cooler waters, and those that can’t are suffering. In addition, the carbon dioxide absorbed by the oceans is making the water more acidic, which in turn hinders the growth of coral, shellfish, plankton, and algae. Coral beds, habitat for one-quarter of all marine species, are dying.

Joshua Reichert, who helped create the Pew Oceans Commission, acknowledges that climate change threatens to overshadow many of the problems that were the panel’s focus. “Up until recently, the most serious problem af-



“We’ve got a great treasure in our oceans, and we have a responsibility to protect that treasure.”

After representing coastal California in Congress and serving as director of the Office of Management and Budget and as White House chief of staff, **Leon Panetta** chaired the Pew Oceans Commission, which issued its recommendations a decade ago. Since then, he has served as CIA director and secretary of defense. He now leads the Panetta Institute for Public Policy at California State University, Monterey Bay, where he spoke recently with Christopher Mann, a senior staff member for the commission who today is a director of environmental initiatives for The Pew Charitable Trusts. Excerpts of their conversation:

Pew: What was the state of the nation’s oceans before the Pew Oceans Commission began its work?

Panetta: This country largely took our oceans for granted. So much of our Earth is covered by the oceans, and everybody assumes they’ll always be there. Nobody really paid attention to what was happening to that great resource and the damage that was occurring. Look at the great Midwest—what was happening in the Mississippi River was having an effect in the Gulf. So it wasn’t just the coastlines. It was

not only our fisheries. We were seeing increasing pollution, dead zones where there were no fish because of pollution. Coastal development was ignoring the impact on the oceans as well. I think we changed the conversation, because I think people throughout this country now recognize that our oceans were in trouble. For the first time, we started a discussion that said, “We can’t take our oceans for granted.”

Pew: What, for you, were the commission’s key recommendations, and how did you reach them?

Panetta: We had some very good members representing the environmental community, the fishing community, people who came from public service, a really good cross section. We worked our way through some of the tough issues, and the most important thing that we were able to focus on was the state of our fisheries. We also looked at the relationship between the ocean and the land. What’s happening on land and in our rivers determines a lot of what happens in our oceans. In addition to that ecosystem kind of look, we recommended that we expand the marine reserves and develop a national system of marine reserves. Lastly, we recommended developing a national ocean policy. We’ve got a great treasure in our

oceans, and we have a responsibility to protect that treasure.

Pew: The Pew Oceans Commission brought together diverse constituencies, many of which did not agree on the future management of the ocean and sometimes even what the problems were, and yet you forged a consensus for some powerful recommendations that are still relevant today. How did that happen?

Panetta: Almost in every job I've had—and this includes the Pew Oceans Commission—I felt it was important that people operate as a team. That we have some common concerns, we know there are some real issues out there. So first and foremost, you have to identify those

others hear it. I very much believe that the key to success of the Pew Oceans Commission was the fact that fishermen spoke about their needs, environmentalists spoke about their concerns, people who ran cities talked about their concerns on coastal development. Then if you try to take their concerns into consideration as you move toward recommendations, you can move the ball forward, and the fact that you've been able to fully participate in that process buys you into the process itself.

Pew: What do we need to focus on in the future?

Panetta: The focus of our commission was really on the oceans that border on the United States, but our oceans don't

fisheries?' And almost every country talked about diminishing resources, the concern they had with regard to their oceans. You could see, in area after area, the impact of pollution, the impact of human behavior. I think what needs to be done is, we need to bring in the international community so that others realize that they have a responsibility like the United States does to changing the way we approach our oceans and developing the kind of rules on sustainable fisheries, developing research, developing better attitudes toward pollution, human behavior, coastal development. All of that needs to be addressed by the international community, because our oceans are truly global.

Pew: Pew is now supporting the Global Ocean Commission at Oxford University. What challenges does it face?

Panetta: The Pew Oceans Commission made clear that what we're interested in is restoring a resource so that people can have an economic livelihood and be able to sustain it. You take these issues globally and you're going to run into the same kind of issues. Countries are going to be very suspect that the purpose of that commission is to shut down one of their important livelihoods, one of their important sources of food. It's really incumbent on these countries to recognize that this is not about trying to somehow shut those resources down. It's about how we make them sustainable so they'll be there for the future. It's going to take some work, but I'll tell you this: These countries may well be ready for it, because they are seeing firsthand what's happening to their fisheries, what's happening to the quality of the food that they get from our oceans. And I think there's enough concern that you could very well have the international community very much participate in this effort. ■

problems that we're confronting and get a consensus on that. And then, as you start to ask, "What kind of recommendations, what kind of actions should we take?" you need to listen. The fact is, there are people that have different ideas here, but you should listen to them. Understand where they're coming from, understand what their concerns are, and let them speak to their concerns and let

just stop at our international boundaries. The fact is, all oceans relate to each other in terms of resources and in terms of the quality of water and the effect of the currents. I saw this as secretary of defense—going abroad to Asia, the Middle East, and getting a chance to see the effect on the oceans there. Even though I was talking defense issues, I asked, "What's happening with your



PHOTOGRAPH BY MARTIN KLIMEK

Watch the extended interview with Secretary Panetta at pewtrusts.org/oceans-panetta.

fecting ocean health has been the staggering amount of fish and other marine life being taken out of the world's oceans each year," says Reichert, who oversees Pew's environment work. "But that problem is soon to be eclipsed by rising temperatures and increasing acidity levels, which will have a devastating impact on ocean life." Climate change, he says, presents "a dreadful scenario."

The results 10 years later:

The Fish

The shorter-term threat in the seas is to fish, which help feed 7 billion people and which are the focus of both commercial and recreational industries in this country. For decades, the United States made feeble attempts to control overfishing, even as it watched cod and flounder disappear from New England, red snapper from the Gulf of Mexico, and rockfish from the Pacific.

Congress called for regulating fishing in 1976 in the Magnuson-Stevens Fishery Conservation and Management Act, led by Senators Warren Magnuson (D-WA) and Ted Stevens (R-AK). When that did not work, lawmakers toughened the rules—but not the enforcement—in 1996 with the Sustainable Fisheries Act. The Pew Oceans Commission looked at the pattern of setting quotas and limits and found that they were sometimes arbitrarily fixed, often not enforced, and frequently altered under pressure from fishermen and the fishing industry.

Fishing quotas should be set to sustain fish for future generations, the commission concluded, not to protect economic or political interests. The estimates of fish stocks should be based on good science, not fishermen's hunches. In 2006, Congress responded: It said the fish estimates had to be determined by science, and stocks that were battered had to be

allowed to regrow, with strict curbs on overfishing.

Heidi Marotta is at the heart of that process. She works with the Northeast Fisheries Science Center, part of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, to help sample fish off the Atlantic coast. Aboard the NOAA research vessel *Gloria Michelle*, based in Woods Hole, MA, she lays out some specimens of her work on a wooden sorting table: spotted flounders, a slithery squid, a butterflyfish, and a long, snakelike cutlassfish.

With a deft paring knife and electronic marker, Marotta demonstrates how she can rapidly enter the species, weight, length, and sex of her sampling prey into an onboard computer and quickly slice some crucial parts—an eardrum, tail, or spine—that will go to a lab to determine the specimen's age.

The 72-foot *Gloria Michelle* is a former Gulf Coast shrimp boat that was seized by federal authorities with its hold full of 16 tons of marijuana instead of shrimp. Lt. Anna-Liza Villard-Howe is now captain of the boat, part of the NOAA fleet of research vessels that includes 17 large ocean-going ships and about 400 smaller vessels. On fish surveys, Villard-Howe drops a net with a mouth 90 feet wide and 6 feet tall, weighted to drift 150 fathoms—900 feet—to the bottom. After pulling the net for 20 minutes, scooping the groundfish that hover there, she hoists the dripping haul to the deck. Marotta and a team of scientists swarm over the writhing catch to measure and process the specimens.

Commercial fishermen are often wary of the NOAA work, Villard-Howe says, and they complain that scientists are setting limits too low for their livelihoods. "Fishermen tell me we are doing it all wrong, we are in the wrong place, using the wrong gear," she says. "But the ones who take the time to learn what we are doing and why are generally on our side."

When the scientists get back to their labs, they pore over the data, dissect the fish parts, look at surveys from other places and other years, and look at other fish—prey and predators—to come up with an estimate of the size, maturity, and trajectory of the stock.

Elsewhere, government-funded observers are riding fishing boats to count what's caught. Dock recorders are weighing and registering the catch brought back by commercial boats. And the fishermen themselves are reporting their hauls.

All of that information feeds into a calculation that seeks to model what is happening to the fish under the surface, and how many can be taken from a particular population without depleting it. The recommended quota that emerges from this calculation then goes to state or regional fish management bodies, which include sport and commercial fishermen. They set the fishing rules based on that limit and adopt plans to rebuild overfished stocks.

The law passed by Congress in 1996 and strengthened in 2006—after the blue-ribbon reports by the Pew Oceans Commission and the U.S. Commission on Ocean Policy and after lawsuits by conservationists to enforce it—requires that the catch quotas for any stock found overfished be stringent enough to try to rebuild the stock within 10 years if it is biologically possible. "We've made a lot of progress," says Lee Crockett, director of Pew's U.S. oceans program. "Since 2000, there are 33 fish stocks that have been rebuilt."

According to NOAA's 2012 report to Congress, 70 other stocks are listed as either undergoing overfishing—with the fish being caught more quickly than they can reproduce—or already overfished, meaning they have been depleted to unhealthy levels. But by June 2012, NOAA said science-based catch limits had been set for all 500-plus species that it manages. Although these limits apply



A fishing boat on Bristol Bay in Alaska. After being in crisis, the United States now has one of the best fish management systems in the world.

only in federal waters, many states have adopted similar science-based methods.

Outside the 200-mile U.S. exclusive economic zone, it's a different story. There are few rules on the high seas, and industrial trawlers from many countries—including the United States—feast on the big species that range far across the oceans: bluefin and yellowfin tuna, swordfish, large sharks, and marlins. High-tech electronic sensors find the fish, and lethal hydraulic machinery harvests them with an efficiency that gives the fish stocks little chance.

In 1950, fishermen pulled 17 million tons of fish from the sea; in 2010, the 3 million fishing boats worldwide caught 77 million tons, according to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. The agency found that nearly 9 in

10 fish stocks it examined were either “fully exploited” or “overexploited.” Pew supported this year’s creation of the Global Ocean Commission at Oxford University to assess threats to the world’s seas, just as the Pew Oceans Commission did domestically a decade ago.

“If you look at the fisheries, they are not as healthy as they were,” Reichert says. “The numbers of vessels out there, the number of hooks in the water every day, and the absence of government regimes have aggravated the problems that have been steadily building since the latter part of the 19th century. But I think there is now much greater awareness of the problems we face. The management regimes are getting better. These things don’t turn around overnight.”

The process is slowly gaining converts, some reluctant. Terry Alexander, 52, a fourth-generation commercial fisherman in Cundy’s Harbor, ME, longs for the old days. “I had 40 to 50 cousins and uncles who used to go out. There

were plenty of boats and plenty of fish. Now I’m the last of the clan,” he says.

“There are a few of us who still live off of fishing. We invested a whole lot of money to stay,” he says. “But there’s not enough fish. That’s the bottom line. There’s not enough fish. We have to have management, and we completely understand that. Sometimes we have to make some really tough choices.”

McMurray, the charter boat captain, agrees there is pain. “It’s a tough business. Every regulation they put into effect, you think it’s going to destroy your business,” he says. But he adds that without fish, there’s no business.

Because of the limits on summer flounder fishing, he told the senators in July, “I see more flounder than I have ever seen in my 13 years as a captain, or my 25 years as a saltwater angler. This is one fishery,” McMurray said, “where I don’t have to stress about abundance levels.” ■

For more information, go to pewenvironment.org/Americas-oceans.



Pew first helped shed light on the billions of dollars in unfunded pension benefits promised to the nation's state and local public employees. Now, it's helping states do something about it.

ILLUSTRATION BY BRIAN STAUFFER

Promises to Pay

BY ROBERT TEITELMAN



At the end of 2007, ominous economic clouds were gathering. Earlier in the year, the meltdown of subprime real estate signaled an end to a historic housing boom. Stock markets slid and in December, the National Bureau of Economic Research declared that the economy had slipped into what would become known as the Great Recession.

During this time, The Pew Charitable Trusts was examining the pension and retiree health care promises states had been making to their retirees, and whether enough money was being set aside to meet those promises. On Dec. 17 came the 73-page Pew report, “Promises with a Price: Public Sector Retirement Benefits,” that warned of growing dangers in public-sector retirement benefits. The conservative estimate of state retirement liabilities starting in fiscal 2006 and stretching over the next three decades—for pensions, health care, and other retirement benefits—amounted to \$2.73 trillion. Although the states had put away 85 percent of the bill—that was the good news—they still owed \$731 billion. More importantly,

the report pointed out, those national numbers showed great variation state to state. Twenty states had put aside less than 80 percent and at least five had experienced “troubling drops in their funding ratios.” And, as the report warned, the seemingly good economic times of the previous decade had led states to boost benefits and reduce contributions.

Pensions, with their arcane accounting and financial complexities, do not often stir interest from the public and politicians, which explains some of the inaction. But it was a sign of profoundly uneasy times that “Promises with a Price,” with its state-by-state numbers and explanations of the range of factors that affect the health of pensions and other retirement benefits, received widespread media attention and put the retirement crisis on the already crowded agenda of deteriorating fiscal problems as 2008 dawned.

“Promises with a Price,” the first of a succession of Pew reports on retirement benefits in the states, highlighted a problem that had been building, as silently as a financial bubble, for years. It was one that was about to get far worse. The implosion of the markets hammered pension investments, driving down returns. State governments mired in recession-related fiscal woes cut contributions. Health care costs continued rising, and every month more baby boomers retired and began to collect their long-awaited benefits.

By February 2010, that difference between what the states had put away and what they would eventually have to pay out elicited another report, the eye-opening “The Trillion Dollar Gap: Underfunded State Retirement Systems and the Roads to Reform,” which garnered even greater attention.

Those early reports on retirement benefits have led Pew to a much deeper and more policy-oriented involvement with the problem, providing technical support in states where policymakers are struggling to cope with ballooning liabilities. In at least one state, Kentucky, Pew has been able to use its

expertise to help forge a bipartisan agreement on what needs to be done. Efforts in other states and cities continue.

“Offering a strong retirement system is essential for helping states and cities recruit and retain a talented workforce,” says David Draine, a senior Pew researcher on pension issues. “Pew has always wanted to help governments be more effective and efficient, and attracting top workers is central to that.”

Tackling retirement benefits involves several challenges: the complexity of the problem and the difficulty of getting a firm grasp—particularly in terms of data—on its sheer scope and variety. With the exception of the occasional short recession, market performance during the 1980s and the run-up in dot-com stocks in 2000, was spectacular, and fund coffers, fueled by beneficial demographics, swelled. Most state retirement funds invested heavily in the stock market. As “Promises with a Price” noted, “Because equity investment was a relatively new phenomenon in the 1990s [for pension funds], decision-makers may have ignored the idea that what goes up also comes down.”

The technology bust in 2001 was a warning about the fragility of the system, but it was one few heard. It wasn’t just the sharp market downturn and recession that followed. That had occurred before with markets swinging briskly back into recovery. This time the recovery did come, but the rapid growth that had marked the ’80s and ’90s was running out of gas. And, as “Promises with a Price” pointed out, states had spent the surplus of the ’90s on benefit increases, leaving no cushion against an economic downturn. “In some states, retiree benefits have been vulnerable to a buy-now, pay-later mentality,” the report said. “In bad budget times, retirement benefits become easy substitutes for salary increases because states can put off the bills. In good times, feelings of legislative largesse can create new retirement benefit policies that have costly long-term price tags.”

States hobbled by mounting budget woes, particularly as taxes were cut, also found it easy to cut the outlays their own actuaries told them they needed to contribute annually to keep their funds healthy. A less-than-robust recovery put even greater pressure on states. The funding hole, year by year, deepened.

The public attention stirred by Pew’s first reports, and the deteriorating pension situation, convinced the institution’s leadership that more could be done than just research, reporting, and compilation of data. “We saw a steady softening of conditions in 2008,” says Kil Huh, an early member of Pew’s pension group who is now director of state and local fiscal health research. “At some point we began to think that there

was something we could do to help lawmakers.” Lori Grange, now a senior director of emerging issues for Pew who was overseeing the work at the time, recalls how “The Trillion Dollar Gap” led to more active conversations between Pew and state officials, organizations such as the National Conference of State Legislators, and the media. More reports followed.

States slowly began to address the challenge. “After 2008 or so, there were a series of reforms in some states,” says Gregory Mennis, who now directs Pew’s pension work. In fact, some 43 states between 2009 and 2011 made changes, mostly benefit cuts or increased employee contributions. “But they were very incremental,” he says. “Policymakers needed to think about this in a more comprehensive way.”

Thus began the migration of Pew’s retirement project from a set of reports to a more ambitious education and policy initiative. The early benefit reports are crammed with suggestions, some very detailed; and later reports simplified the presentation with a letter grade format. For instance, hybrid and cash balance plans—which try to combine the strengths of defined benefit and defined contribution plans—made their appearance in “Promises with a Price.” Such plans—which offer workers the safety of a defined benefit plan with lower risk while providing the state the greater cost certainty of a defined contribution plan—would later fuel bipartisan compromise in Kentucky. “The Trillion Dollar Gap” included a section that looked at what it called “the groundswell for reform” driven by budget problems and a growing awareness of a gap between public defined benefit and private defined contribution plans. The report examined the difficult politics of addressing retirement costs, offered a menu of reforms, and analyzed states that had performed well.

In 2011, Pew and the Laura and John Arnold Foundation began to talk about areas of mutual interest. The foundation, launched in 2008, targets projects that promise to create “transformational change.” By the beginning of 2012, Arnold and Pew began to partner on retirement benefits and policy assistance to the states.

“We recognize that each state has unique policy preferences and budget challenges,” says Mennis. “There is no one-size-fits-all solution.”

Kentucky had pushed through some reforms in 2008. Like many states, Kentucky had a surplus as late as 2002. But by 2010, Pew rated Kentucky as one of the worst-off of the states (joined by Connecticut, Illinois, and Rhode Island, which was already tackling its own wide-ranging reforms), with less than 55 percent of its liabilities funded, a result of years of partial funding and falling returns. The 2008 reform, which focused on cutting benefits for new workers, did not solve the problem; in 2012, the shortfall amounted to \$23.6

Robert Teitelman is a veteran financial journalist who was the founding editor-in-chief of *The Deal* and previously was editor of *Institutional Investor* magazine.

billion, more than twice Kentucky's annual tax revenue.

Kentucky, like many states, suffered from political gridlock. David Adkisson, CEO of the Kentucky Chamber of Commerce who had begun warning of pension problems in 2006, notes that Kentucky was one of only three states with divided two-house legislatures: Democrats controlled the House of Representatives, Republicans the Senate. Democrats stressed protecting older workers, a concern that focused on the continuation of the defined benefit plan. Republicans

“We recognize that each state has unique policy preferences and budget challenges. There is no one-size-fits-all solution.”

sought predictability and lower costs through a 401(k) approach. The two sides were at an impasse.

Finally, in 2012, driven by a strong desire to reach a long-term solution that both sides could agree on, a senior Democrat in the General Assembly introduced legislation to create a bipartisan task force that would investigate the problem and make recommendations for reform.

“Around then we introduced ourselves to them,” says Draine. The first meeting of the task force took place in July in Frankfort, Kentucky's small-town capital in the heart of bluegrass country. Draine and the team made presentations on Pew's research on the states. “We were optimistic at the start,” he says. “There was the usual blame and relitigating of the past. But there was an interest in discussing policy. We tried to help them through that. We wanted to make the process open and transparent.”

In August, the task force assembled all the interested groups—unions, business, taxpayers—to offer suggestions, with recommendations due by year's end.

“Pew brought the stakeholders to the table,” says Adkisson. “Pew attracted them because of its expertise and prestige and because of the nonpartisan way it operated. The plan that emerged was not what we were advocating. But we became convinced that it would address the problem.” Damon Thayer, the Senate majority leader and co-chair of the task force, describes Pew's contribution as indispensable. “Pew brought a level of credibility that allowed us to get the bill through a divided General Assembly,” he says. “I don't think it would have happened otherwise.”

The task force developed a set of recommendations, voting 11-1 for a proposal that included renewed full pension payments in the next budget; a requirement to pay for any future cost-of-living adjustments when they are offered; and a hybrid cash-balance plan, in which new workers would get an individual retirement account with a 4 percent guaranteed return and a share of any investment returns above that. The plan went to the General Assembly and debate began after New Year's. The biggest challenge was how to pay for

it. That was addressed when legislators agreed on \$100 million in new annual revenue—an increase in various taxes and fees and a reduction in spending on roads—and the legislation passed the House and Senate resoundingly on March 26, 2013.

Kentucky Governor Steve Beshear, a Democrat, signed it into law on April 4.

For Kentuckians, the reforms are a start, but it will take many years to

return the system to full health, and the cost will be steep; the state is still short some \$34 billion. For Pew, the effort meant a long and active engagement with the state's problems and politics, much of it on the ground. But the end of the Kentucky effort is just the start elsewhere. Many other states, and increasingly cities—Pew's research includes an in-depth look at the retirement challenges facing 61 major American cities—continue to struggle, resulting in cost increases that can crowd out needed public investments and government services and push salary freezes and layoffs of public-sector workers. Among the hardest hit: Illinois, with a shortfall of \$100 billion; Pennsylvania and Connecticut; as well as a number of major cities, including Charleston, WV, with only 24 percent of its costs funded; and Chicago, New Orleans, and Philadelphia (cities are particularly far behind on funding health care liabilities, meeting only 6 percent of their obligation). And, of course, there is bankrupt Detroit.

In many states and cities, the complexity and scale of the reform task seem daunting. Not surprisingly, some stakeholders want to solve the pension crisis with only tax increases, and others want to use only benefit reductions. A long-term answer demands democratic consensus and compromise. Pew has found that deals made behind closed doors—a common approach—are often counterproductive, because they fail to get public buy-in. “Pew's style is independent and nonpartisan and committed to transparency,” Draine says. “Our job is to ask the right questions and present options.”

Given the size of the benefit hole, that should be a role with a very long run. ■

 For more information, go to pewstates.org/pensions.

The Pew Research Center interviewed more than 38,000 Muslims around understanding of the beliefs and political views of members of the world's

To Be Muslim

By Deborah Horan

In Iraq,

millions of Shia pilgrims trek to the shrine of Hussein, the slain grandson of the Prophet Muhammad. In Turkey, Sufis spin in trancelike meditation as they pray to God in unison. In West Africa, men chant, "There is no God but God," sometimes for hours, to commune with the Divine. And in Nigeria, Sunnis celebrate a major religious holiday with a parade of the Emir on horseback.

What unites these groups and Muslims around the globe is their belief in God and the Prophet Muhammad, as well as fasting and almsgiving. But the world's 1.6 billion Muslims are not monolithic in their commitment to their faith; their views



UIG VIA GETTY IMAGES

the globe to provide a deeper second-largest religion.

The Sufi tradition of Islam includes whirling dervish dances such as these performed in Istanbul.



on politics and democracy, women's rights, and what practices are acceptable in Islam; or even who counts as a Muslim.

The Pew Research Center captures this diversity in a groundbreaking survey. It is notable for its sheer size and the wealth of comparative data it provides on what it means to be a Muslim at a time when the importance of Islam is on the rise in world affairs. The center quantifies—often for the first time—the opinions of Muslims about Islam from Senegal to Indonesia and most countries in between where Muslims make up a majority or significant minority. The survey illuminates attitudes that help to explain the underlying drivers of cohesion and conflict. And it paints a picture of a religion that varies greatly in its lived experience from country to country. The work of the center creates a rich repository of Muslim attitudes toward their own religion, giving voice to millions of people who adhere to a faith that is often misunderstood, particularly in the West.

Researchers from the center's project on religion and public life analyzed data collected through face-to-face interviews with more than 38,000 Muslims in 39 countries and territories in the Middle East, Africa, Europe, and Asia. The survey asked about Islamic law, called Sharia, marriage and divorce, religious extremism, the Sunni-Shia divide, belief in the imminent return of Jesus, and much more. The resulting wealth of opinion underscores both the unity and the diversity of the world's second-largest religion, which is growing in the United States.

The survey finds that Muslims' commitment to their faith also varies greatly by region: Religion matters most in the lives of Muslims in Africa, South Asia, and Southeast Asia, where more than 9 out of 10 Muslims in most countries surveyed rank highly the importance of faith in their lives. This percentage drops significantly in Central Asia and Europe, perhaps suggesting a lasting imprint from communism in former Soviet and Eastern Bloc countries. In Albania, for instance, just 15 percent of Muslims say religion is "very important" in their lives.

The survey finds that majorities support enshrining Sharia in all regions except Europe and Central Asia. Sharia refers not only to divine law, but also to Islamic jurisprudence, and offers moral guidance for nearly all aspects of life. Experts say many survey respondents likely equate Sharia, derived from the Arabic word for "path," with justice and righteousness, especially in their personal and family life. At the same time, majorities of Muslims in most countries consistently say democracy, rather than a strong leader, is best suited to solve their country's problems.

Deborah Horan is a Washington writer who covered the Middle East and has written about Muslim Americans for the *Chicago Tribune*.



Significant Regional Variations

The findings are described in two seminal reports published in August 2012 and April 2013. A third report based on the survey and focusing on the beliefs and practices of Shia Muslims is to be released this year. The first report, "World Muslims: Unity and Diversity," garnered attention worldwide for revealing the vast regional variation in Muslims' commitment to their faith and their views on who counts as a member of the Islamic faith, among other findings. The second, "World Muslims: Religion, Politics and Society," uncovers informative answers to questions about Sharia, democracy, politics, and the role of women in family and public life.

Many of the findings are roughly consonant with what



scholars of Islamic tradition say they expected but had never been able to quantify on such a large scale because of a lack of empirical data. “These polls are useful for both their global demographic breadth and their comprehensiveness in terms of the topics and themes,” says Peter Mandaville, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and director of the Ali Vural Ak Center for Global Islamic Studies at George Mason University. “You hear constantly that the Muslim world is very diverse. What came through is that there are quite intense regional variations.”

The survey, translated into more than 80 languages and dialects and representing about two-thirds of the world’s Muslims, was conducted in every nation with a Muslim population of more than 10 million except China, India,

Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen, which were excluded because of security considerations or concerns about interviewing women and men at home about potentially sensitive topics. For the same reasons, opinions in several smaller Muslim-majority countries also were not captured, including those in Libya, Turkmenistan, and countries on the Arabian Gulf. A separate survey was conducted later in Iran, bringing the number of countries polled to 40. Although some countries were excluded from the study, the

Muslims in Indonesia pray to mark the end of Ramadan, the month long fast that is central to Islam.



Five times each day, millions of Muslims, like these young Iraqi boys near Baghdad, face Mecca to pray.

results—from divergent views about Sharia to differences over women’s rights to varying attitudes toward violence in the name of Islam—provide empirical evidence that the survey represents a broad and deep picture of how Muslims see themselves and their societies in the modern world.

The work is notable not only for its global reach, but also for the depth of questions it asked about a range of topics, says Shibley Telhami, a senior fellow at the Saban Center at the Brookings Institution and a well-known pollster of Arab attitudes toward politics and media in the Middle East. “It is very extensive,” Telhami says. “The Pew work provides a comparative perspective that is very hard to find somewhere else.”

Such broad analysis is useful for those seeking to understand support for democracy in the world, says Bret Nelson, a research analyst at Freedom House, a watchdog organization that monitors levels of freedom around the globe. “Some of the brainier details are really fascinating,” he says. “They raise more questions, and give us more things to consider.”

The survey sought to penetrate attitudes toward Islam in terms of theology, ideology, belief, observance, politics, and personal status—and not just for a Western audience, says

Amaney Jamal, a professor of politics at Princeton University who advised the project. “We wanted to deconstruct this concept of Islam,” Jamal says. “It’s such a vast concept. We thought, ‘What does the world want to learn about Islam and what can we say that people in the Muslim world would be interested in reading?’” Some of the findings seemingly reflect the cries for political change that spread across the Middle East in 2011, just as the survey was getting underway. Surveys collected in Egypt, for instance, found 55 percent thought Islamist parties were better than other political parties.

The Pew Research Center’s project on religion and public life undertook such an ambitious poll as part of its global religious futures project, which is funded by The Pew Charitable Trusts and the John Templeton Foundation. The goal of the futures project is to study religion around the globe through surveys, demographic analysis, and other empirical research. “When you think about the politics of identity, it is very closely related to religion in many countries, to how people try to position themselves in the world,” says James Bell, who directs international survey research at the Pew Research Center. “Other international surveys have questioned Muslims about their faith, but none, I think, has delved as deeply into what it means to be a Muslim in today’s world.”

What it means to be a Muslim, it turns out, varies greatly depending on the norms of the country. The survey found that many opinions reflected prevailing cultural, legal, and political attitudes. In most countries where Islam is the officially favored religion, for instance, at least 7 in 10 Muslims support enshrining Sharia; the percentage drops to less than 3 in 10 in most countries where Islam is not the official religion. “That’s one indication that context matters,” says Bell. “It’s an interesting association. Whether it’s government responding or whether it’s culture shaping ... it’s not clear to us. All we can say is that there is a correlation.” Context also matters in how Muslims define the boundaries of their own faith. The survey finds that more Sunnis in countries with significant Shia populations consider Shia to be Muslim.

Careful Data Collection

The “World Muslims” survey expands upon an earlier poll that examined religion in 15 sub-Saharan African nations with significant Muslim populations and is described in the 2010 report “Tolerance and Tension: Islam and Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa.” Using that study as a base, the research team crafted additional questions, and asked them in late 2011 and early 2012 in 24 more countries and territories, including 21 in which Muslims constitute a majority.

Project organizers relied on 10 experts in Islamic tradition whose areas of knowledge spanned regions and sects, plus more than 20 specialists who contributed occasionally. With the advisers, Pew researchers spent a year and a half devising questions, which were then pretested in each country. A key challenge was to ask about delicate issues while taking into consideration nuances in language and culture, as well as political or religious sensitivities.

Questions were modified or dropped if they were deemed too delicate to broach. Asking about democracy was considered too risky in Morocco and Uzbekistan, while questions referencing Christianity—even those asking about the Muslim belief in the imminent return of Jesus, which is a central tenet in Islam—were omitted in Afghanistan out of fear that they could be mistaken for proselytizing, which is illegal. Any modifications to questions were noted in the report.

In each country, the project commissioned local survey

firms to review questions for clarity and cultural sensitivities, and to supply trained interviewers. To ensure that the surveys were statistically random, the local firms divided the country into regions, and then divided the regions again into administrative units. Neighborhoods within those units were chosen randomly, and houses on each street were also selected at random. In some countries, such as Afghanistan, village elders were given advance notice to ensure that pollsters were not met with suspicion. “You have to give a lot of thought to how data is collected,” Bell says. “Quality control is very important.”

The poll in Iran was conducted in early 2012, a few months after polling elsewhere concluded. The delay occurred because U.S. sanctions on Iran required the project to get special permission from the U.S. government to conduct work there. The most surprising finding: Only 40 percent of Iranian Muslims say religious figures should have a large influence on political matters.

Response to the survey was loudest in Indonesia, where the *Jakarta Post* ran an opinion piece questioning the finding that 72 percent of Indonesian Muslims favor adopting Sharia law. Pew Research followed up with a response that also ran in the *Post*. “We explained the scientific basis for our poll and why the findings were representative of Indonesian Muslims,” Bell says. “We also pointed out that the survey is unique in its ability to place Indonesian Muslims in a broad, global context.”

Project coordinators say they expect equally interesting

findings to be included in the next report, which will concentrate on Shia Muslims. The report will analyze opinions in several countries with significant Shia populations, including Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, and Afghanistan, and will delve into the differences within the sect as well as relations with Sunnis. And the Shia focus is just one potential angle. With answers to more than 100 questions collected, the survey provides a baseline that can be used to measure change in attitudes over time, or to research attitudes toward other aspects of Islam, such as mysticism. “This is such a rich data set,” says Princeton’s Jamal. “There are lots more things that can come out of it.” ■

Countries in the Surveys

The Pew surveys included 40 countries representing more than 67 percent of the world’s Muslim population.



For more information, go to pewforum.org/topics/muslims-and-islam.

Healthier Snacks For School Menus

The Kids' Safe and Healthful Foods Project helps win adoption of new, healthier standards for snacks sold in schools.

BY BURT EDWARDS

WHEN KIDS IN CINCINNATI'S PUBLIC schools get hungry for a snack these days, they have a lot of healthy choices: Fresh fruit, trail mix, and low-calorie drinks are all available. School officials say these snacks are being devoured by Cincinnati students, who are already getting the sort of snacks that should be available in nearly all schools next year.

In late June, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, which oversees school meal programs, released a new minimum nutritional baseline for snacks and beverages sold in a la carte lines, vending machines, and school stores—standards that encourage greater availability of whole grains, low-fat dairy, fruits, vegetables, and lean protein for students.

Children consume up to half of their daily calories in school, with a significant portion—an average of 112 extra calories daily—in the form of snacks. Yet, healthy snack options have been hard to find in many schools. According to recent research by the Kids' Safe and Healthful Foods Project, “the vast majority of secondary schools in 49 states do not sell fruits and vegetables in snack food venues.”

This collaboration between The Pew Charitable Trusts and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation works to improve nutrition standards for food available in America's schools. The snack rule follows updated federal standards for

Burt Edwards is a senior writer for *Trust*.

cafeteria meals at breakfast and lunch that took effect last fall. Nutritional meal standards had not been revised since 1995 and are now in line with the government's Dietary Guidelines for Americans, which are evidence-based recommendations intended to promote health. (See *Trust*, Spring 2012.)

There is strong public support for improving the school snack rule—a project survey last year found that 80 percent of the U.S. public backed the

“Improved snack food nutrition standards are an important step forward in improving kids' health.”

idea—but the guidelines had not been revised since the 1970s. Today, nearly 1 in 3 adolescents is overweight or obese, and young people are increasingly suffering from diabetes and high blood pressure.

“A lot has changed since the 1970s,” says Jessica Donze Black, who directs the Kids' Safe and Healthful Foods Project. “Research on what kids need to stay healthy has grown by leaps and bounds, the rate of childhood obesity has tripled, and the environment that students face in schools is dramatically different today. The Agriculture Department's improved snack food nutrition standards, though, are an important step forward in improving kids' health.”

The updated standards result from the 2010 Healthy, Hunger-Free Kids Act, which directed the Agriculture Department to develop nutrition standards for all foods sold in U.S. schools. The Kids' Safe and Healthful Foods Project helped build support for the legislation. The work continues, with the project engaging leading educators, nutrition experts, and key private-sector partners in the development of the rules that put the law into action.

Private-sector supporters include prominent members of the food industry, including snack food producers such as Mars, Inc. “We strongly support a new national school nutrition standard that will ensure children have access to high-quality nutritious snacks at school,” the company says in a statement. “Stronger school nutrition standards are an important element of a broader solution to address the health challenges facing the nation's youth.”

The legislation and resulting rules will accelerate a trend among some school districts that were already trying new and creative ways to serve healthier meals and to engage parents and their





Cincinnati's public schools are among the first in the country to embrace updated federal snack food standards and serve fresh fruit, trail mix, and low-calorie drinks.

kids. One of those is Cincinnati, a national leader in school nutrition efforts and among the first large school districts to offer healthier school lunches.

"We know we have kids going home to empty refrigerators and cabinets," says Jessica Shelly, the school system's food services director. "So we take the responsibility for making sure our students have access to healthy, tasty, and nutritious food options throughout the school day very seriously. This includes getting our kids to fill up on fresh fruits, vegetables, and lean proteins rather than high sugar and fat foods when it comes to providing both full meal and snack options."

Shelly works with community partners—including Cincinnati Children's Hospital, the Cincinnati Health Department, and the Greater Cincinnati Nutrition Council—to educate parents and the larger community about the importance of healthy eating habits. Her staff also talks with students and parents to determine healthy snack options that kids might want to eat to broaden the appeal of what's available and provide more choices.

"The key is choice and variety. We've

found that nothing makes a kid or teenager more defiant than when you say, 'This is your meal, now eat it,'" Shelly says. "If you just change the food in the vending machines and your students go around the corner to buy high-calorie snacks instead, you haven't really changed their eating habits, just their shopping patterns."

Donze Black says that is the challenge. "Simply pitting sugary and high-fat treats against healthy snacks just won't work," she says. "Kids like to choose what to eat, but we need to provide them with a range of healthy options so that any choice they make is a nourishing one."

As the rule takes effect, the Kids' Safe and Healthful Foods Project will continue its efforts to educate the public on the importance of nutritionally sound school meals and to help local school district officials think through ways to bring healthier snack options to students. "There's going to be trial and error in schools for which these nutrition standards are brand new," Donze Black says. "It is important to get it right. How do we include the right people in the

conversation? How do we choose foods that kids will still eat and enjoy? And ultimately, how do we market it to parents, students, and faculty so participation can be maximized? Fortunately, there are thousands of schools that have already answered these questions and can lead the way forward for thousands more."

Donze Black stresses the importance of school food administrators building partnerships with other community stakeholders as Cincinnati has done so successfully. This cooperation includes actively working with leaders in the public, private, and nonprofit sectors to tackle the challenge of improving food options in local schools.

"I see our efforts in the food services department as the rock that's thrown into the pond," says Shelly. "Changing snack options makes an impact in my schools, which ripple out to the homes, which spread out to the larger community, which then ripple out to the region as a whole. I'm hoping our overall school lunch and nutrition improvements efforts are contagious. It's about a lifestyle change, teaching our kids healthier eating habits that will last a lifetime." ■

 For more information, go to healthyschoolfoodsnow.org

Staff at The Pew Charitable Trusts and the Pew Research Center frequently contributes op-eds, essays, and articles to newspapers and other media organizations. This piece appeared in the *Wall Street Journal*.

The Global Middle-Class Surge

World-wide prosperity is rising, but Western values have gotten a mixed reception.

BY ALAN MURRAY

THE MASS UPRISINGS THIS SUMMER in Egypt, Turkey and Brazil are powerful reminders that the middle classes drive history. What remains unclear, however, is where they are driving it.

The world today is witnessing its third great surge of middle-class growth. The first was brought about in the 19th century by the Industrial Revolution; the second surge came in the years following World War II.

Both unfolded primarily in the United States and Europe.

The third seems likely to be the biggest and broadest. It has unfolded in China over the past decade but is rapidly spreading through Asia, Latin America, and even Africa. Some predict that within two decades, a majority of the world's population will have middle-class means and desires—for education, cellphones,

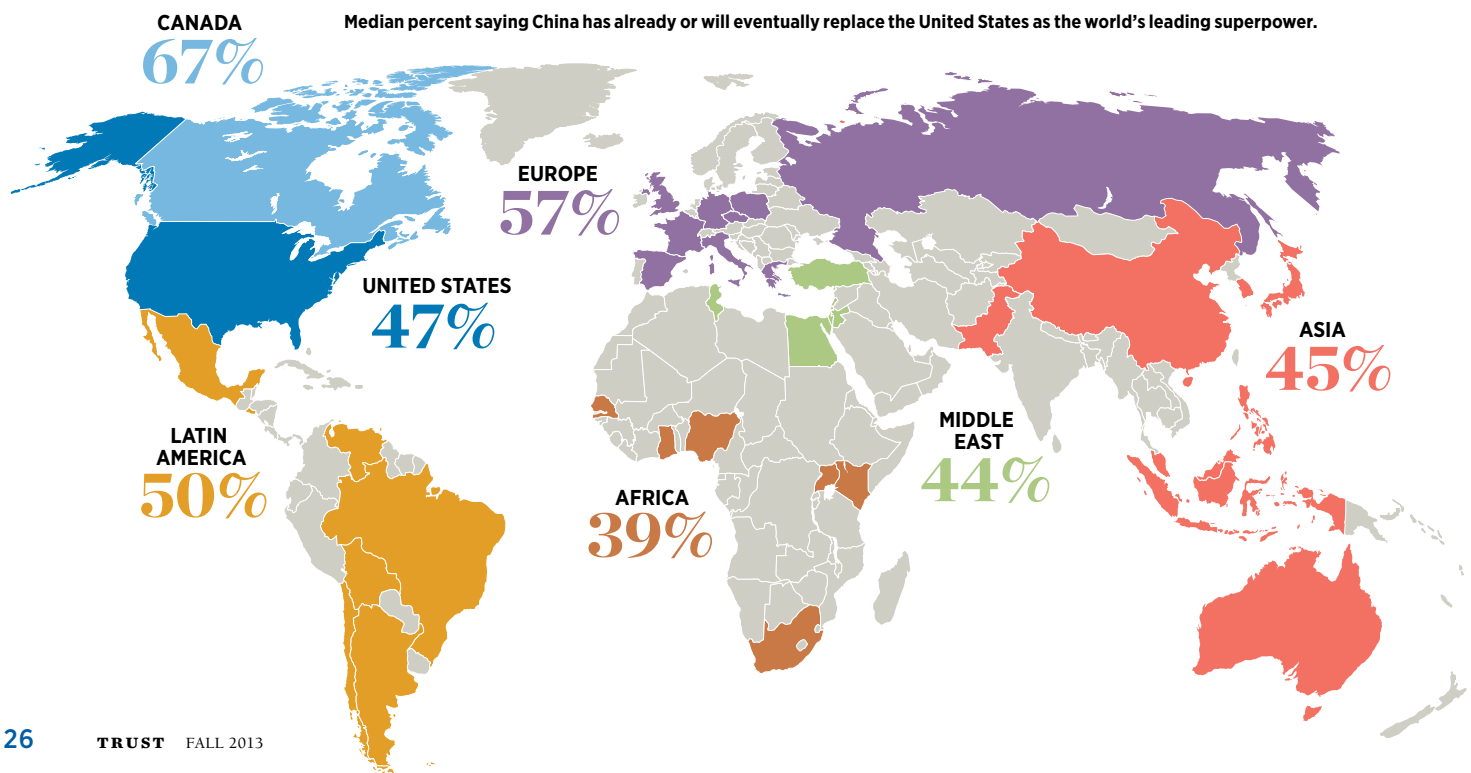
cars and, most important, the ability to focus on something other than basic food and shelter. It is these millions of people whose hopes and frustrations will shape the future.

Expectations among this group are running high. When the Pew Research Center surveyed nearly 40,000 people in 39 countries this spring, we asked the quintessential question of middle-class aspiration: Will children in your country be better off than their parents? Large majorities in most advanced economies said “no.” Only 33 percent of Americans think children will be better off than their parents. The number was 17 percent in Britain, 15 percent in Japan, and 9 percent in France.

But in China, 82 percent now expect their children to live better, and in Brazil, 79 percent think the same way. Majorities in Chile, Malaysia,

Will China Become the World's Leading Superpower?

Globally, the United States remains more popular than China. But people around the world believe that the balance of power is shifting.





Home sales were up in Shanghai this fall as the Chinese middle class expands.

Venezuela, Indonesia, the Philippines, Nigeria, Ghana, and Kenya believe that the next generation will be better off than the current one.

There is little question that this new middle class will change the world. Less clear is how they'll do it. The all-too-easy assumption in the West has been that these new entrants to the middle-class club will embrace the same values their predecessors did. But evidence on that is mixed.

Many hoped the "Arab Spring" would mean progress toward adopting Western ideas about democracy and human rights. But subsequent events in Egypt—with the recent protests fueled largely by middle-class discontent—revealed how tenuous such hopes may be. Pew surveys in Egypt show that there is public support for democratic rights and institutions, but less support for notions like

women's rights, a civilian-controlled military, and the separation of religion and government. Throughout the Arab world, our research based on available public records shows that the Arab uprisings have led to more restrictions on religion, not fewer.

Another interesting question is to whom or to what these emerging middle-class populations will look for role models. Again, the evidence is mixed. In the emerging countries we surveyed, most people believe that the United States is still the world's leading economic power. But as a group, they had a somewhat more favorable opinion of China than of the U.S.

In Malaysia, for instance, 81 percent of those surveyed had a favorable opinion of China, compared with only 55 percent who had a positive view of the U.S. In Indonesia, 70 percent had a favorable opinion of China, compared with 61 percent for the U.S. Even in America's own hemisphere, 65 percent of Brazilians had a favorable opinion of China, not far behind the 73 per-

cent for the U.S. Argentines and Venezuelans gave China more positive marks.

Those favorability measures, of course, paint with a broad brush. The people in emerging markets specifically give the U.S. high grades—and higher than China's—for respecting the personal freedoms of its citizens. But the gap between perceptions of the U.S. and China on these issues was much smaller in emerging countries than it was in the developed countries. In the emerging countries, a median of 65 percent said the U.S. respected personal freedoms, while 41 percent said the same about China.

In developed countries, 79 percent said the U.S. respected personal freedoms, compared with only 14 percent for China.

When people in emerging countries were asked whether it was a good thing that U.S. and Chinese ideas were spreading throughout their countries, the gap got even smaller. A median of 37 percent in the six countries where we asked this question—South Africa, Brazil, Mexico, Chile, Argentina and Venezuela—said it was good that U.S. ideas were spreading, while 32 percent said the same about Chinese ideas. And in the same countries, a median of 51 percent said they liked U.S. ways of doing business, while 42 percent said the same about China.

What all this means is that the new global middle classes will transform societies, economies, and political institutions in ways hard to predict. Unlike the middle-class surges of the 19th century and the post-World War II era, this one will not necessarily be rooted in Western values. ■

Alan Murray is president of the Pew Research Center.

Reprinted from *The Wall Street Journal* © 2013 Dow Jones & Company. All rights reserved.

Collaborations Built on Common Ground

The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation has worked with Pew for a decade to protect the environment and conserve wild lands. The partnership continues with an important addition to an ambitious agenda: the future of American democracy.

BY DANIEL LEDUC

WHEN LARRY KRAMER BECAME president of the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation a year ago he arrived with a question: How had the United States become so politically polarized?

Getting an answer to a question that big would take a sophisticated approach. He knew the California-based Hewlett Foundation, which seeks to solve social and environmental problems in the United States and abroad, had enjoyed a longtime partnership with The Pew Charitable Trusts and with the Pew Research Center, a Washington-based “fact tank” that provides information on the issues, attitudes, and trends shaping America and the world.

So when Kramer had breakfast this year with Alan Murray, who recently left a top position at the *Wall Street Journal* to become president of the research center, it was not surprising that they soon were talking about joining resources and expertise to dig into the question of what political polarization means for the country.

Both men are keenly interested in the democratic process. Kramer is an acclaimed constitutional scholar and was dean of Stanford University’s law school before becoming president of the

Daniel LeDuc is the editor of *Trust*.

Hewlett Foundation in 2012. Murray had chronicled the partisan divisions of the past three decades with growing unease while at the *Journal*. Part of the reason he came to the research center was its reputation for nonpartisan polling and analysis that provide reliable and trustworthy information that is

“I have a strong bias in favor of working with others. That’s how you are most effective. You have to have partners, and Pew is a very strong partner.”

accepted by all sides in the frequently divisive world of political debate. Kramer and Murray knew that leveraging their organizations’ interests and resources could help illuminate answers critically important to American democracy.

The outcome of their breakfast meeting was that the Hewlett Foundation, joined by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, is now supporting a survey of 10,000 voters to be conducted next year by the Pew Research Center. The center regularly polls voters, but the new survey will be much bigger and will create a broad, new portrait of the nation’s political

landscape. Talking to such a large cross section of the electorate will allow analysis of subgroups of voters not achievable through the typical national polls that are often only 10 to 20 percent of that size, and it should provide new insights into American political opinion.

“I have a strong bias in favor of working with others. That’s how you are most effective,” Kramer says. “You have to have partners, and Pew is a very strong partner. It’s a high-quality organization.”

Hewlett has worked with Pew for a decade on environmental issues, cultural projects, and global survey research. Campaigns to preserve the boreal forest of northern Canada and protect U.S. wilderness and western lands—longtime goals of the Hewlett Foundation—have seen enormous success. Canadian officials have protected or pledged to protect 350 million acres of the boreal, ensuring that critical wildlife habitat is preserved and forests essential to how the Earth breathes and cools itself are maintained. Seeing the potential to build upon those accomplishments, Hewlett and Pew have recently

agreed to renew their partnership, joined by Ducks Unlimited and the Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, with a multi-year shared commitment to continue to work together on those conservation priorities even as Hewlett branches into new areas such as, in Kramer’s words, “fixing the democratic process.”

“The Hewlett Foundation is an inspirational partner, and Larry is a gifted and visionary leader,” says Pew President Rebecca W. Rimel. “We are inspired by what we have already accomplished together and enthusiastic about our goals for the future.”

All of the work shares a method for



Waiting to vote last November: Hewlett is considering a collaboration with Pew to help states make voter registration more accurate and improve access to polling information.

success that Kramer says illustrates the complementary philosophies of the Hewlett Foundation and Pew: an intense focus on achievable objectives, with goals clearly outlined and results measured. He says Pew's roots as a grant-making foundation until becoming a nonprofit policy organization a decade ago makes it "a partner that understands both sides of the street—grantmaking and how to do the work."

Kramer says Pew staff provides expertise in the policy arenas in which the organizations share an interest, as well

as experience in effective communications and capability in advocacy that has a proven record.

In addition to Pew's political survey, Kramer is also exploring opportunities to collaborate with The Pew Charitable Trusts' election initiatives project that seeks to improve the administration of U.S. elections. Pew is working to help states implement efficient, cost-effective, research-based solutions that make voter registration more accurate and improve access to information. "Pew's election work has

already accomplished a great deal, and I'm a big fan," Kramer says.

It has been widely recognized for more than a decade that the U.S. system for administering elections badly needs improvement. Among other problems, voters frequently still face Election Day delays because of a lack of basic information on the location of polling places, questions about eligibility, and long lines that sometimes leave citizens standing for hours. In past years, Pew has championed federal and state legislation to ensure that military and overseas voters are able to cast timely ballots (see Page 30), and more recently Pew has created initiatives that make voting more accessible by putting information online and improving the accuracy of voter rolls (see *Trust*, Winter 2013). Some 25 million people looked up information about the 2012 election using the Voting Information Project, a joint initiative of Pew, Google, and other partners, and more than 300,000 people registered to vote as a result of Pew's partnership with several states to bring registration practices into the 21st century.

Like those achievements, virtually all of Pew's work is based on deep research, grounded in facts and driven by a strong, nonpartisan approach. That is another essential facet of Pew's methodology that appeals to Kramer.

As he considers the national political divide, Kramer says, "there's a huge amount that we need to know before we can make the system better."

Next year's survey from the Pew Research Center will be a starting point and build upon two decades of analysis by the center. Murray says working with partners often improves how the center does its work. "Good partners like Hewlett help us sharpen our research agenda," he says, "and ensure our studies are directly relevant to society's most pressing concerns." ■

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

Making Every Vote Count

An evaluation of Pew's campaign to address the problems of military and overseas voters

BY LESTER W. BAXTER AND GLEE I. HOLTON

IN 1952, PRESIDENT HARRY S. TRUMAN asked Congress to improve the absentee voting program for Americans serving in the military. “When these young people are defending our country,” he said then, “the least we at home can do is make sure they are able to enjoy the rights they are being asked to fight to preserve.”

Truman made this appeal during an era of paper ballots that were shuttled by a combination of domestic, military, and international mail systems. As a result, some ballots did not arrive in the United States in time to be counted. More than a half-century later, despite advances in technology, the problem persisted: One in four ballots requested by uniformed and overseas voters was not counted in the 2008 election cycle, primarily because the voting laws at the federal level and in many states did not provide enough time for those living or stationed overseas to request and cast their ballots.

That same year, The Pew Charitable Trusts launched the military and overseas voting project, with the goal of identifying and addressing the most pressing problems facing military and overseas voters in order to expand access and improve the accuracy of elections.

In January 2009, Pew released a report, “No Time to Vote,” that documented the challenges of moving ballots

to and from overseas voters. It recommended a number of solutions, including permitting the electronic transmission of election materials, eliminating the requirement that military voters submit notarized ballots, and allowing enough time for ballots to travel between voters and election offices. Although its recommendations were not new, the report attracted the attention of state and federal officials because of its clarity and because of the credibility of Pew, an organization with a reputation for high-quality, objective analysis.

According to an independent evalu-

ation commissioned by Pew's planning and evaluation unit, “No Time to Vote” motivated Senator Chuck Schumer to champion the issue of overseas voting. Sen. Schumer, a Democrat from New York, enlisted Senator Bob Bennett, a Republican from Utah, and other members of Congress in an effort that led to introduction of the Military and Overseas Voter Empowerment Act. The evaluation found a parallel between the recommendations in “No Time to Vote” and the act. Pew and its partners led the advocacy effort for the legislation, testifying before Congress and meeting with lawmakers and their staffs. In October 2009, Congress passed the legislation, and President Barack Obama signed it into law.

The evaluation concluded that the influence of “No Time to Vote” on Sen. Schumer was decisive in triggering federal action on the issue and that Pew and its partners played an important role in development and passage of the Military and Overseas Voter Empowerment Act.

Lessons for the Future

The evaluation of Pew's military and overseas voting project provided several lessons that could guide other projects:

- A measured start can set the stage for later progress. Pew's staff made a deliberate decision not to push for quick change. The evaluation noted that the staff's early field work allowed Pew's name and staff to become associated with thoughtful election work and perspectives.
- Well-prepared campaigns pivot rapidly to new opportunities. When the staff of Senator Charles Schumer contacted Pew's team, the evaluation showed, the team immediately understood the significance of having a senator champion the issue. Pew switched from a state focus, as originally planned, to a federal effort that quickly rallied support for national legislation with letters, testimony, technical assistance, and media outreach.
- A clear exit strategy is important. Past experience has shown that exit planning should begin well before the anticipated end date, be shared with key partners early on, involve select partners in the process, and be clear about the decision to leave a field, because partners sometimes delay their own plans in the hope that a project will be extended.

Lester W. Baxter is the senior director and Glee I. Holton is a director in Pew's planning and evaluation department.



U.S. soldiers, serving as peace keepers in Kosovo, on the eve of last November's election.

Even with the passage of federal legislation, inconsistent state regulations remained in place. These rules continued to pose problems for overseas voters, because they govern the election process for state and local officials. So more than a year before federal officials acted, Pew began work with the Uniform Law Commission to promote voting reforms across the states. The commission, a nonprofit association that provides states with nonpartisan model legislation on critical areas of state law, had never worked on election issues, but Pew persuaded it to enter the field.

Developing a uniform act typically takes nearly three years, but Pew's financial and technical support allowed the commission to approve a uniform elections act in less than two years, in July 2010. Because the federal law was in place by then, the commission was able to include that law's core elements in the uniform law and extend its application to the states. The uniform act, for example, expanded the voters covered to include members of the National Guard and

ensured that provisions for military and overseas voters in the federal law applied to state elections. The evaluation found that Pew's contributions to development of the uniform act were decisive.

One in four ballots requested by uniformed and overseas voters was not counted in the 2008 election, primarily because voting laws did not provide enough time for them to request and cast their ballots.

Once the act was drafted, the commission and Pew worked together to decide which states would benefit most from adopting the model law. By the time the evaluation was completed in October 2012, 10 states had passed uniform laws, and four others had introduced legislation. Pew targeted its advocacy efforts on the six states with the largest population of military and

overseas citizens. Of the six, California and North Carolina had enacted legislation, Tennessee had introduced it, and Florida, South Carolina, and Texas had adopted policies that reflected Pew's core recommendations.

In summary, the evaluation found that the voting project conducted an effective campaign that highlighted the plight of overseas voters; used solid research to identify clear solutions; and built a diverse coalition of national organizations and spokespeople to push for reform. These successes triggered passage of the federal Military and Overseas Voter Empowerment Act, which reflected the straightforward solutions emphasized in Pew's research. With guidance and funding from Pew, the Uniform Law Commission subsequently developed the Uniform Military and Overseas Voters Act, establishing a legal framework for the consistent adoption of voting reforms across states. Taken together, these achievements are some of the most substantive changes to U.S. election laws in the past decade. ■

For more information about Pew's planning and evaluation unit, go to pewtrusts.org and click on "About Us."

The Pew Charitable Trusts' program investments seek to improve policy, inform the public, and stimulate civic life through operating projects managed by Pew staff, donor partnerships that allow us to work closely with individuals or organizations to achieve shared goals, and targeted grantmaking. Following are highlights of some recent Pew work. To learn more, go to www.pewtrusts.org.

Return on Investment

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

New Caledonia creates shark sanctuary

New Caledonia established comprehensive and permanent shark protections throughout the waters under its jurisdiction. The 480,000-square-mile area, approximately the size of South Africa, sustains a spectacular array of marine life, including 50 species of sharks. The move was a result of growing global momentum for shark conservation created by Pew's global shark conservation campaign.

New fisheries protections for the Indian Ocean

The Indian Ocean Tuna Commission has banned fishing vessels from retaining, landing, or storing oceanic whitetip sharks. The decision complements earlier conservation measures for whitetips enacted by the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora, which regulates international trade through a list of protected species. These two actions make the oceanic whitetip the world's most protected shark. The steps stemmed from a global campaign by Pew's shark and international policy teams. The tuna commission also prohibited purse seine fishing vessels from

setting their nets around whale sharks and required tuna fishing vessels to protect silky sharks by using nonentangling devices to attract fish.

Australia expands Indigenous Protected Areas

Australia created three new Indigenous Protected Areas in the Northern Kimberley region. Pew's Outback program played a significant role in guiding the establishment of the Bardi Jawi, Dambimangari, and Balanggarra areas. When connected with the existing Wilinggin and Unguu areas, the parcel will protect more than 17 million acres of the Kimberley's ecologically and culturally significant lands—a region approximately the size of West Virginia.

No-take marine reserves make coral reefs more resilient

A study by Pew marine fellow Peter Mumby found that no-take marine reserves may make coral reefs six times more resilient to climate change and related disturbances, such as coral bleaching. The study focused on areas of reefs in Belize where fishing is prohibited. Parrotfish in these reefs eat algae, preventing the organisms from overtaking a reef system. Coral formations with abundant numbers of these fish are more

likely to recover from disturbances than reefs that have been compromised by an unhealthy predominance of algae.

■ IN THE STATES

Three states enact bipartisan corrections reform

With technical assistance from Pew's public safety performance project, Kansas, West Virginia, and Oregon passed bipartisan legislation that reforms sentencing and corrections.

- In Kansas, a new law will focus resources on offenders who are most likely to commit new crimes, require supervision after release for a larger percentage of offenders, and provide swift and certain sanctions for probation violations. It will reduce the need for 841 prison beds over the next five years, saving the state more than \$56 million and averting an estimated \$125 million in prison construction.
- In West Virginia, a new law strengthens supervision, limits how long parole and probation violators can spend in prison, and invests in programs proven to reduce substance abuse. It will reduce a projected increase of 1,400 inmates, saving \$87 million by 2018 and averting an estimated \$200 million in prison construction.
- In Oregon, a new law revises sentencing policies to focus prison space on



ENVIRONMENT

New river herring protections

Fishery managers in New England and the mid-Atlantic have capped the amount of river herring and shad that industrial-scale trawlers can catch at sea each year. Federal officials declared river herring and shad as “species of concern” because of dramatic population decreases brought by dams on coastal rivers and overfishing at sea. With the caps in place, there are now limits on the incidental catch of river herring from North Carolina to the Canadian border. Pew and its partners in the Herring Alliance provided key technical and policy advice to regional fishery management councils, delivered testimony, and conducted outreach to council members.

directed a total of \$28 million to cost-effective programs. The model helps policymakers evaluate programs so that effective ones are supported, achieving a better return on tax dollars. Iowa and New Mexico expect to achieve returns of as much as \$38 for every \$1 allocated to the programs. Nine additional states and California’s Santa Barbara County are now partnering with Results First to analyze their budgets.

serious, violent criminals and boosts crime prevention by strengthening the community corrections system and investing in victim services and law enforcement. It will save \$326 million over the next decade and is projected to avert all anticipated prison growth in the next five years.

Rhode Island passes tax incentive evaluation law

Rhode Island passed a law making the state one of the few to regularly measure the benefits and costs of tax credits, deductions, and exemptions meant to stimulate job and business growth. Pew advised the legislation’s sponsors, help-

ing them apply and build on lessons identified in “Evidence Counts,” Pew’s national study of evaluation practices for tax incentives. Under the law, the governor’s budget proposal must include a recommendation to continue, reform, or end each incentive reviewed, encouraging policymakers during budget deliberations to consider empirical evidence based on evaluations.

States begin targeting effective programs for support

Using the Pew-MacArthur Results First Initiative cost-benefit analysis model, lawmakers in Iowa, Massachusetts, New Mexico, New York, and Vermont

Three states pass online voter registration bills

With bipartisan support, Virginia, West Virginia, and Illinois passed legislation creating online voter registration that will improve the accuracy and efficiency of voter rolls. Pew’s election initiatives team provided expert assistance to policymakers in Virginia and West Virginia.

HEALTH

Pew biomedical scholars earn distinctions

Pew selects biomedical scholars early in their careers who demonstrate promising work to advance human health.

Their contributions to science have been consistently recognized as their careers progress. Richard Scheller, a 1985 scholar, won the Albert Lasker Basic Medical Research Award. James Lupski, a 1990 scholar, has been elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Seven Pew scholars—Peter Baumann, '03; Michael Dyer, '04; Nicole King, '04; Tirin Moore, '04; Dyché Mullins, '00; Michael Rape, '07; and Rachel Wilson, '05—have been named Howard Hughes Medical Institute investigators.

Pew's biomedical scholars also publish in top-tier scientific journals. Kevan Shokat, a 1996 scholar, led a study published in the journal *Cell* on the ability of the chemical kinetin to reverse cell mutation common to Parkinson's disease. His laboratory demonstrated the effectiveness of the active ingredient in over-the-counter wrinkle creams to slow or stop the effects of Parkinson's on brain cells.

Pew convenes experts to improve medical devices

Pew brought together more than 20 of the nation's foremost thought leaders from hospitals, health plans, government, and the medical device industry to address shortcomings in the detection of problems with medical devices such as artificial joints and defibrillators. The meetings, conducted in partnership with the Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association's Technology Evaluation Center and the MDEpiNet Science Infrastructure Center at Weill Cornell Medical College, will inform recommendations to the U.S. Food and Drug Administration on improving medical device registries, databases of information on patient outcomes associated with specific products. The recommendations address how registries can cost-effectively provide accessible, transparent, and high-quality safety data.

■ THE ECONOMY

Report rates transparency of bank checking account policies

A Pew report, "Checks and Balances: Measuring Checking Accounts' Safety and Transparency," evaluated the safety and transparency of checking account policies at the nation's largest banks, rating "best" and "good" consumer protection practices on disclosure, overdraft policies, and dispute resolution for each one. The research attracted attention from the Consumer Finance Protection Bureau—the regulatory agency that Pew is encouraging to adopt policies to increase checking account safety and transparency—as well as from several financial institutions and the media. After the report's release, BB&T, the ninth-largest bank by deposit volume, became the 20th institution to adopt Pew's model one-page summary to simplify the disclosure of fees and terms.

New rules for large banks

Federal banking regulators adopted new global capital requirements and proposed new rules to strengthen limits on leverage for the nation's largest financial institutions. The Systemic Risk Council, formed by Pew and the CFA Institute, was instrumental in pushing for increased requirements through public statements and meetings with senior regulators.

■ PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Few see adequate limits on government surveillance

Amid increased scrutiny of the National Security Agency's surveillance program, a Pew survey found that a majority of Americans—56 percent—

say that federal courts fail to provide adequate limits on the telephone and internet data the government is collecting as part of its anti-terrorism efforts. An even larger percentage—70 percent—believes that the government uses this data for purposes other than investigating terrorism. Nonetheless, the public's bottom line on government surveillance is narrowly positive; 50 percent approve of the government's collection of telephone and internet data as part of anti-terrorism efforts, while 44 percent disapprove.

Breadwinner moms

A Pew Research Center analysis finds that a record 40 percent of households with children now include mothers who are either the sole or primary provider for the family. The share was just 11 percent in 1960. These "breadwinner moms" are made up of two distinct groups: 5.1 million (37 percent) are married mothers with higher incomes than their husbands, and 8.6 million (63 percent) are single mothers. The public is conflicted about the gains women have made in the workplace, and most Americans—64 percent—say the rising number of children born to unmarried mothers is a "big problem."

Arab Spring adds to global restrictions on religion

A new study finds that in the year when much of the Arab Spring uprisings occurred, the Middle East and North Africa continued to have the highest levels of restrictions on religion, with social hostilities involving religion increasing markedly and government restrictions remaining high. Globally, the share of countries with high or very high restrictions on religion rose from 37 percent in the year ending in mid-2010 to 40 percent in 2011, a five-year high.



PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Rising share of young adults live in their parents' home

A new analysis finds that in 2012, 36 percent of the nation's young adults ages 18 to 31 were living in their parents' home. This is the highest share in at least four decades and represents a slow but steady increase over the 32 percent of people the same age living at home prior to the Great Recession in 2007. At the end of the recession in 2009, 34 percent lived in their parents' home. Three years later, a record 21.6 million millennials lived in their parents' home. Of these, at least a third and perhaps as many as half were college students.

Nonprofit journalism—a growing but fragile part of the U.S. news media

An analysis of 172 active nonprofit digital news outlets launched since 1987 found that the sector is showing some signs of economic health, and most leaders of those outlets express optimism about the future. Many organizations, however, also face challenges to their long-term finances. More than half of those surveyed identified business, marketing, and fundraising as the area of greatest staffing need, and nearly two-thirds cited finding time to focus

on the business side of the operation as a major challenge.

PHILADELPHIA

Poll finds public has low opinion of city schools

A Pew Philadelphia research initiative survey found that Philadelphians have a very low opinion of their city's financially distressed public schools and that most residents think the problems brought on by budget cuts will drive families to seek other educational options or leave the city. Only 18 percent

of Philadelphians say the schools are doing a good or excellent job. Seventy-eight percent describe the schools as "only fair" or poor, and 52 percent rate them as poor. As a result of the district's budget difficulties, 48 percent say they expect families to seek other education options within the city, and 23 percent expect families to start leaving.

Report examines property tax delinquency

Based on an analysis of more than 100,000 delinquent properties, the Pew research initiative estimates that Philadelphia has a realistic chance of collecting 30 percent of the \$515 million it is owed in back taxes, penalties, and interest—assuming it steps up enforcement efforts. Among 36 cities studied in the report, "Delinquent Property Tax in Philadelphia: Stark Challenges and Realistic Goals," Philadelphia had the fifth-highest delinquency rate in 2011. The report finds that cities that impose strict timetables for seizing delinquent properties tend to have low delinquency rates; Philadelphia is not one of these, however.

Support for the arts

- With support from the Pew Center for Arts and Heritage, the Pennsylvania Ballet presented award-winning choreographer William Forsythe's "Artifact Suite" at the Philadelphia Academy of Music. The *San Francisco Chronicle* praised the work as "a vision of ballet for the twenty-first century."
- Ryan Trecartin, a 2009 Pew fellow in the arts, created a new work composed of freestanding sculptural theaters and extensive video components, to be exhibited at the 55th Venice Biennale, the world's most prestigious international arts festival. ■

ST. LAWRENCE ISLAND, ALASKA

Bottleneck in the Bering Strait

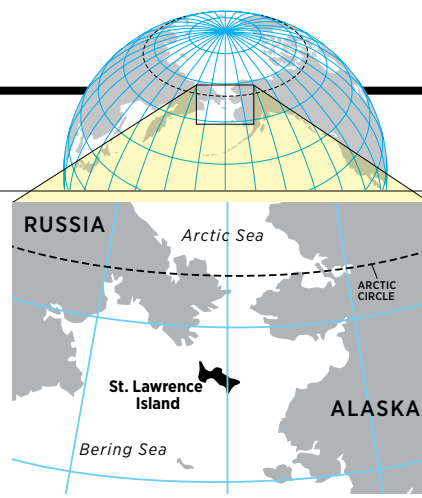
BY HENRY P. HUNTINGTON

THE FOG IS THICK. WE CANNOT SEE our destination, the Penuk Islands, three rocky lumps a few miles east of St. Lawrence Island, in the northern Bering Sea. So we resort to age-old methods of listening for waves breaking on a shore, while watching puffins, cormorants, and murrelets to see where they are heading. The sounds and the birds confirm that we are on the right track, perhaps a mile away. Martin Robards from the

island that is ice-bound half the year.

The rapid loss of Arctic summer sea ice is leading to an increase in northern shipping traffic. The Bering Strait is the bottleneck between the Pacific and Arctic Oceans, and St. Lawrence Island sits just south of the Strait, right in the path of the vessels heading from Europe to East Asia, or from northern Alaska to southern destinations.

For hunters who rely on the sea,



For more information, go to pewenvironment.org and search for "Dispatch."

boats are, reducing the likelihood of collisions and aiding when rescues are necessary. On the way back from the Penuks, we encounter miles-long rafts of crested and least auklets sitting on the sea surface. As our boat approaches, they take to the air, and I begin to understand how flocks of birds can blacken the sky. While birds and eggs are popular food items, marine mammals are the main source of local food for the 1,400 people who live on St. Lawrence. The northern Bering Sea is home to Arctic species in winter and sub-Arctic species in summer, making it especially rich in both abundance and diversity of marine life.

Commercial shipping poses a threat to this abundance, through disturbance of birds and mammals and, potentially, through oil or fuel spills. Our work with the St. Lawrence Island Yupik and other peoples in the region will help us identify areas to be avoided by ships, and other measures to promote safety and environmental well-being, such as the AIS system we are testing as well as speed restrictions, shipping lanes, and better charting.

For now, watching puffins fly past in the fog, we are happy just to be on the water, enjoying the beauty of an area that few people see in person, and reminding ourselves of why it is important to conserve the sea and the way of life it supports. ■



Leaving St. Lawrence Island with guide Perry Pungowiyi at the helm.

Wildlife Conservation Society and I are here in our guide Perry Pungowiyi's 18-foot skiff to better understand how increased commercial shipping will affect the wildlife and people of this region. The St. Lawrence Island Yupik have been here for millennia, and on the Penuk Islands, the bones of whales and walrus sit on the tundra, leaving no doubt as to how people live on a treeless

oil tankers and cargo vessels are a new worry—for the health of the ocean and for the safety of people in 18-foot motorboats. The nonprofit Marine Exchange of Alaska built and operates the Automated Identification System, or AIS, that track ships. Most commercial vessels are required to have AIS transmitters, but they can also be carried by small ones, such as Perry's skiff. Other vessels, as well as receiving stations on shore or on satellites in space, can see where the AIS-equipped

Henry P. Huntington is a senior officer for The Pew Charitable Trusts, where he directs the science work of its Arctic programs.

→ **End Note**



Racial Divides Remain

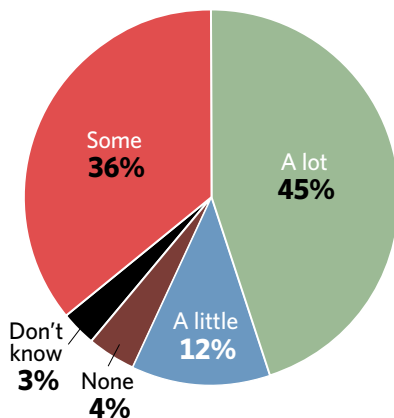
As summer ended, thousands gathered in Washington to mark the 50th anniversary of the March on Washington and Martin Luther King's "I

Have a Dream" speech. In a national survey marking the occasion, the Pew Research Center found that King's goal remains elusive and that many

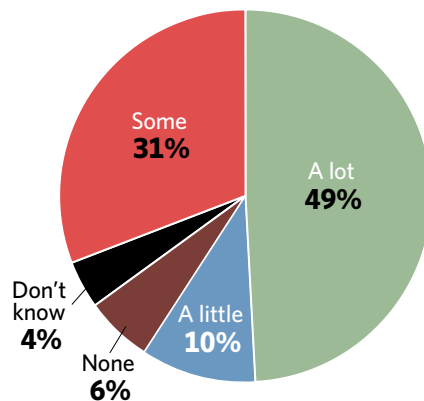
Americans say racial disparities persist. The survey found that blacks are more downbeat than whites about progress toward a color-blind society. The poll's findings are echoed in the findings of the center's analysis of U.S. government data on indicators of well-being and civic engagement, including personal finance, life expectancy, educational attainment, and voter participation which look at equality of outcomes rather than equality of opportunity. ■

Still a Long Way to Go

How much progress toward racial equality has the United States made?



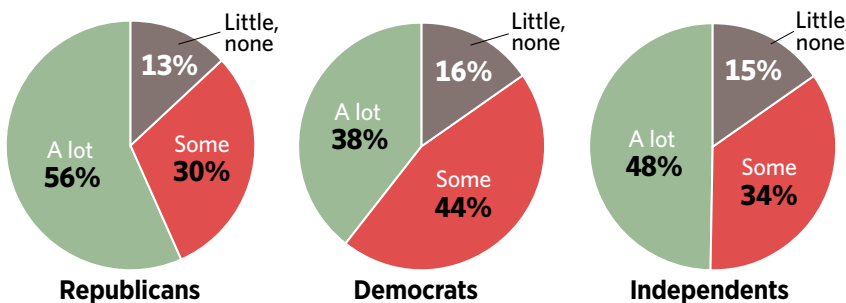
How much more needs to be done?



Read the full report at pewresearch.org/kings-dream

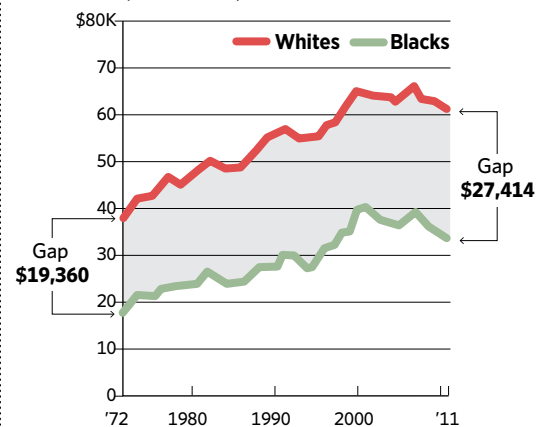
Political Party Viewpoints

Percent in each group who say the United States has made progress toward racial equality in the past 50 years:



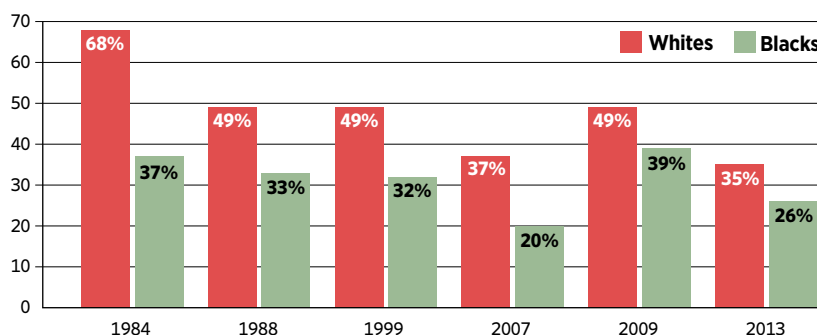
Widening Gaps

MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME (2012 dollars)

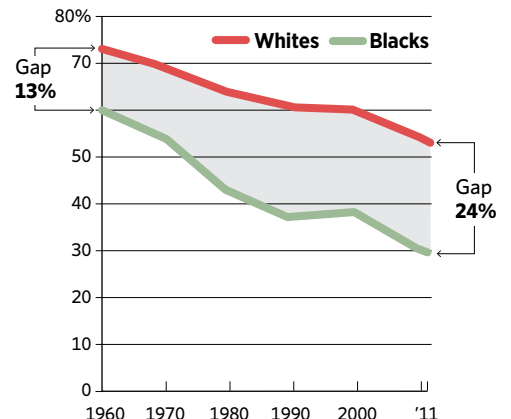


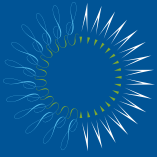
A Divide on Perceptions

Percent who say black people's situation is better than five years ago



MARRIAGE RATE





THE
PEW
CHARITABLE TRUSTS

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

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



What unites Muslims around the globe is their belief in God and the Prophet Muhammad, as well as fasting and almsgiving. But the world's 1.6 billion Muslims are not monolithic in their commitment to their faith; their views on politics and democracy, women's rights, and what practices are acceptable in Islam; or even who counts as a Muslim. —from "To Be Muslim," Page 18

An Iranian boy amid Muslims attending weekly Friday prayers in Tehran during Ramadan in July.

