American Outlook

Spring/Summer 2011

REAGAN and the Midwest

A Centennial Celebration 1911-2011

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President Theodore "Teddy" Roosevelt

Louis H. Levey

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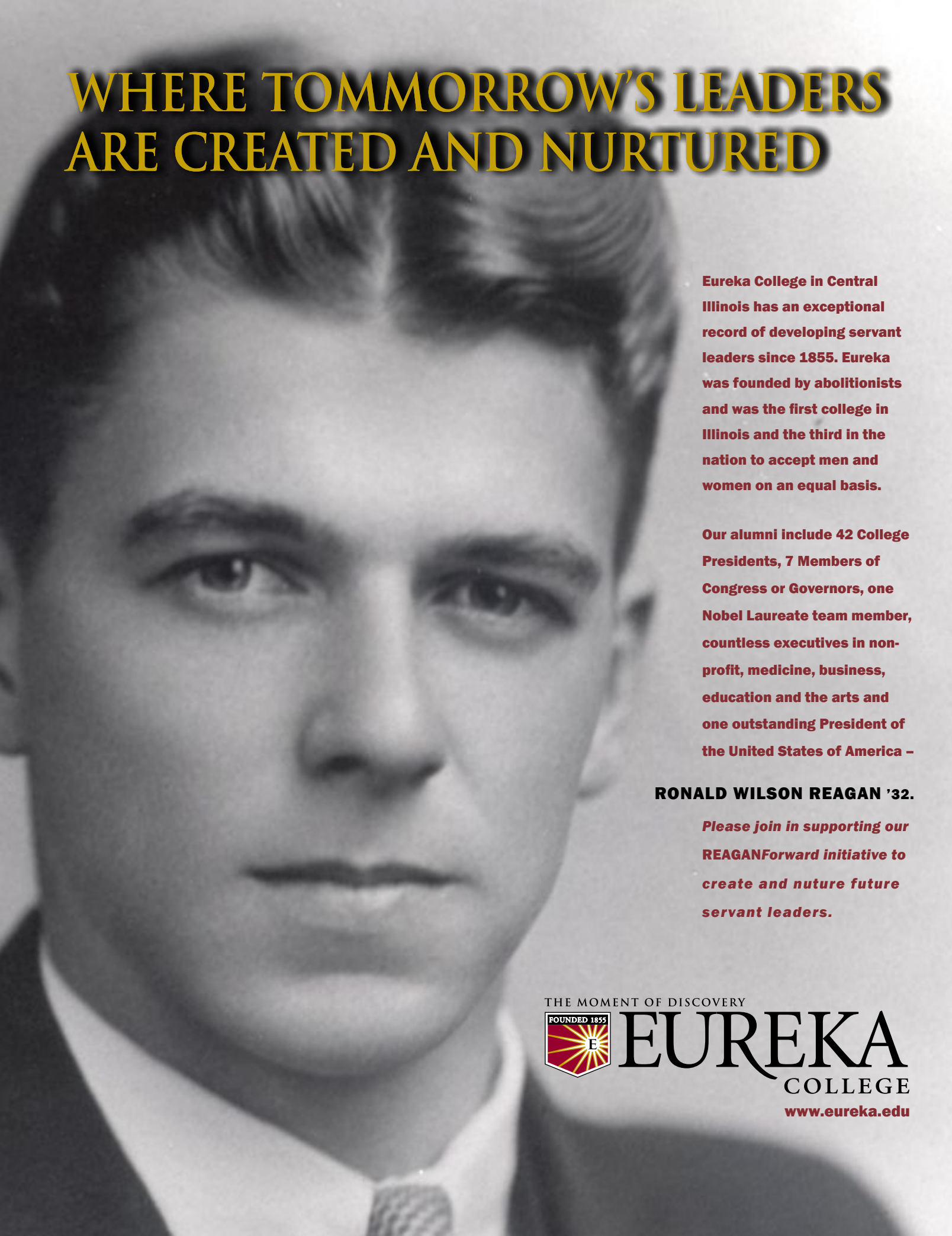

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THE ROOTS OF REAGAN'S LEADERSHIP

By Peter Hannaford

Reagan Library

One day last year I gave a talk at the University of Virginia on the subject of President Ronald Reagan's comprehensive strategy for bringing the Cold War to a successful conclusion. When the floor opened for questions, I expected them to be about that topic. Instead, the first was, "Can you tell us the source of Reagan's character?"

I replied, "In a word: Illinois."

The characteristics we associate with Ronald Reagan—self-reliance, self-confidence, optimism, modesty, loyalty, tolerance, good humor, determination, and reverence for God—all came from his forebears, his parents, his teachers and coaches, clergy, the circumstances of his youth, and the culture of the rural Middle West. The Irish, Scots, English, and others who settled the fertile farmland of northwestern Illinois brought with them values ingrained over a long period of time. Most had worked the land and felt attached to it, though they were tenant farmers. They took hard work for granted, along with thrift, family loyalty, and self-reliance. Owning their own land in America was a goal.

In Reagan's case, it began with his great-grandparents. On the Reagan side, they fled the Irish Potato Famine, ending up in Illinois' New Haven township. His great-grandfather learned about the Homestead Act. He filed a claim, knowing that if he made the land productive in four years, it would be his. In the 1860 Census, he was listed as a farmer owning real estate. His son worked on the family's land and then moved to Fulton where *his* youngest son John (known as "Jack") was born and was to become Ronald Reagan's father.

Ronald Reagan's great-grandfather on his mother's side landed in Nova Scotia from Scotland and then made his way to Illinois. His son married a young woman who came to America to work as a domestic after her parents died. Their daughter Nelle was to be Ronald Reagan's mother. She was bright, energetic, and imbued with a

Ronald Wilson Reagan was born as a blizzard swept the region. At the sight of his new 10-pound son, Jack is quoted, "For such a little bit of a Dutchman, he makes a hell of a lot of noise."

strong drive to help people through her religion.

As a young man, Jack discovered a liking for alcohol. Despite his ability to charm the town's young women, most parents disapproved of him. Nelle, however, was determined to put aside the objections. She and Jack married in 1904. Nelle became used to Jack's weekend drinking. She seemed to understand that what Jack was seeking was recognition that he was a worthwhile person. She decided they needed to leave Fulton and persuaded Jack to move to Tampico, 26 miles away. There he was hired by a local dry goods store.

They rented a flat above a bakery. Their first son, John Neil, was born there in 1908. A Catholic priest came to baptize the infant. Jack, a Catholic, had said nothing about this to Nelle, a dedicated member of the Christian Church, a schismatic Presbyterian denomination. Nelle agreed to the baptism, but made Jack promise that once their children were old enough they could choose their own religion.

Jack was a good shoe salesman, but his career never seemed to gel. This led to a number of moves: briefly to Chicago, then Galesburg, then Monmouth, then back to Tampico, where his original boss offered to give him a promotion and then part ownership in a store in Dixon.

They made the final move—to Dixon—in 1920.

On February 6, 1911, Ronald Wilson Reagan was born as a blizzard swept the region. At the sight of his new 10-pound son, Jack is quoted as having said, "For such a little bit of a Dutchman, he makes a hell of a lot of noise." Thus Ronald acquired the nickname "Dutch." It stuck with him until he reached Hollywood 26 years later.

With Jack's good humor and sense of egalitarianism and Nelle's religious training that all people were created equal, the boys grew up in a household free of envy or prejudice. Looking back on his childhood years later, Ronald Reagan said, "We were pretty poor, but so was everyone else we knew, so we didn't think of ourselves as poor."

When Ronald was four or five, Nelle began to teach him to read by having him follow her finger as it went down the page while she recited. One evening Jack saw him look at the day's paper and asked him what he was doing. "Reading," he said and read aloud a story from the paper. His fifth grade teacher, Nellie Darby, who had a strong influence on him, remarked on his great ability to remember dates and places.

Once settled in Dixon, the boys developed hobbies and enjoyed sports. "Dutch" also began to realize he was

Although Reagan—known affectionately as "Dutch—got to Eureka College on an athletic scholarship, he played fifth string varsity his first year because of poor eyesight.

nearsighted. He gravitated to football because the other players were merely nearby blurs, while in baseball he couldn't see the ball coming straight at him.

On one Sunday drive in the country he tried on his mother's glasses and was astonished to find he could read signs and make out features in the landscape. She had him fitted with a pair of large black-rimmed glasses. He loved seeing things—and going to the movies. He especially liked Westerns and sports films and also began checking out two books a week from the town library.

One evening, when he was 11, Ronald found his father passed out on the front porch. He managed to pull him into the house and to bed. Jack's drinking bouts became longer. He became cynical—which contrasted with the joking, storytelling side of his nature. Nelle, though, never wavered from her belief that alcoholism was a disease and its victims should not be condemned for something over which they had no control.

In 1922, after reading *That Printer of Udell's*, a novel of redemption and success through determination, Ronald asked his mother to have him baptized in the

Reagan, an excellent swimmer, appealed to the park concessionaires to hire him as a lifeguard.

Christian Church. Within two years, he was teaching a Sunday School class. His delivery and voice were much complimented by parishioners.

Summers and High School

When Dutch Reagan was 14, puberty set in. He went from being scrawny to tall, muscular, and good looking. Just as Nelle was constantly helping people in need of moral support, sports-loving Dutch found a more physical way to help people: saving lives. The YMCA had a swimming program at Lowell Park, on the swift Rock River. The Park Commission threatened to close the program after some drownings. Reagan, an excellent swimmer, appealed to the park concessionaires to hire him as a lifeguard. He worked 12 hours a day, seven days a week for seven summers—loving it. While he sat on his lifeguard stand, girls would flock around to talk with him. At the park, he carved a notch in an old log every time he saved a life—77 in all. His role as a lifeguard—always ready to save a drowning person—was something of a foretaste of his role in public life, standing ready to save a nation from drowning in domestic and foreign troubles.

During this time he discovered Margaret Cleaver. They became steadies through college. Margaret was the daughter of the Reverend Ben Cleaver, new pastor of the Christian Church and a man who would have a major effect on the young Reagan.

Public/Private Person

]Dutch admired Jack's opposition to racial and religious intolerance and his love of good stories. Nevertheless, Jack's drinking was an ever-present part of their lives and Dutch learned to cultivate both a private world for himself (i.e., coping with Jack's drinking) and a public one in which he was unfailingly polite and charming with people.

By the time he was a senior in high school, he found a perfect outlet for his public self: the school's drama club. Teacher B. J. Fraser, the club's adviser, found Dutch to be an apt pupil, fitting any role he was given. That year he had a taste of public speaking when he was chosen to be master of ceremonies at a Christian Endeavor conference in Moline.

Nelle wanted her boys to go to college. Dutch didn't have quite enough summer money saved to cover college expenses for a year. Still, he accompanied Margaret to Eureka College where she enrolled. He decided he would somehow talk the school into granting him a scholarship to cover his expenses. "I fell head over heels in love with Eureka," Reagan wrote later. His earnestness and determination persuaded President Bert Wilson and Athletic Director Ralph McKinzie to give him an athletic scholarship and a dishwashing job at a women's dormitory.

McKinzie was only a few years older than his football and basketball players. He'd been a star player in both sports. Despite Reagan's determination to make the football varsity his first year, McKinzie kept him on the fifth string, largely because of his poor eyesight. Where Reagan shone was in competitive swimming.

"Dutch" quickly absorbed the sense of solidarity that prevailed at Eureka, He later wrote, "We had a special spirit at Eureka that bound us all together, much as a poverty-stricken family is bound."

By then, however, times were not good in that part of Illinois. Further, cultural changes were sweeping the country. It was the era of "flaming youth." Eureka students did not go off the deep end, but they did like to dance and sought relaxation of the school's strict code of behavior. The president did just the reverse: he tightened the restrictions. This led to serious trouble.

Student Unrest

In November 1928, President Wilson failed to get trustee support to cut sports to save money. He offered his resignation. He also delivered a blistering condemnation of the morals of the campus and community. The trustees declined an alumni group's urging to accept the resignation. Right after the final football game, the students were to go home for Thanksgiving. Few did. Leslie Pierce, a football star, led a campaign to oust the president despite the board's vote. At 11:45 that night, Pierce and others rang the chapel bells for 15 minutes. Students and faculty came running, thinking there was a fire.

Pierce decided a freshman should set forth the students' demands because that class would have four years of staying power. Members of the Tau Kappa Epsilon house chose "Dutch." He later wrote, "I discovered that night that an audience had a 'feel' to it and, in the parlance of the theater, the audience and I were together." When he proposed an all-student strike on

their return from the holiday, it was approved by acclamation. Student leaders wrote a statement that all students would stay on strike until the president resigned. They pushed it under his door. By December 7, he was gone.

The Drama Club

Meanwhile, Margaret Cleaver and Dutch had joined the student drama club. His stage demeanor earned him positive reviews. This was before microphones, but his clear voice carried. The drama coach, Mary Ellen Johnson, saw the talent in Reagan and steadily encouraged him. One pastime Dutch cultivated at Eureka was a locker room re-creation of an entire quarter of a football game, play by play, using a broomstick as a "microphone." He was to learn that his voice was a natural talent: clear and mellow with a sense of hope in it.

He threw himself into student activities, winning a "letter" in track, becoming the school's swimming coach, basketball team cheerleader, president of the Boosters' Club, editor of the yearbook, and member of the football team.

Reagan Library

Everything that has been good in my life began here,' Reagan said about the four years he spent at Eureka.

Eureka's graduating class of 1932 had shrunk to 45 because of Depression dropouts. Dutch's greatest worry was, *Could he get a job?* At the graduation he spoke as president of the Student Senate.

The Job Hunt

Back at Dixon as a lifeguard, Reagan was asked by a prosperous Dixon summer resident, Sid Altschuler, what he wanted to do for a career. "Be a radio sports announcer," he found himself saying. Altschuler didn't realize it, but by asking the question, he had given Reagan the self-confidence to put into words what had been forming in his mind.

In early September, he hitchhiked to Chicago, the Midwest's radio center. No one at the major stations would interview him, but a sympathetic receptionist advised him to try small town stations. He returned home, borrowed Jack's car, and set out for Davenport, Iowa, 75 miles away. There he called on Peter MacArthur, WOC's station manager. MacArthur told him he'd auditioned 94 job applicants and hired one. Thinking he was being dismissed, Reagan turned to leave. MacArthur, a Scot whose arthritis caused him to walk with two canes, followed Reagan to the elevator and said, "D'ye think ye could tell me about a game and make me see it?"

Could he ever? MacArthur led him to a broadcast studio, and Reagan re-created the final 20 minutes of a recent Eureka game. "Ye did great, ye big S.O.B," Macarthur said. Reagan was hired for $5 to report a game that coming Saturday. He did so well he was hired to do a game a week for the rest of the season.

At the end of the football season, Dutch Reagan worried that his radio career had ended; however, MacArthur called to offer him a full-time announcer's job at $100 a month—a princely sum at the time.

By now Ronald Reagan's character was fully formed, and the rest, as they say, is history.

Peter Hannaford served as a top aide and speechwriter for Ronald Reagan during his eight years as Governor of California. He is the author of five books about the late president, including *Recollections of Reagan*.

Tough-Minded and Optimistic: GE Follows Reagan's Path to Success

By Jeffrey Immelt

When people ask me to describe GE, I say we are "an optimistic, confident, and tough-minded growth company; one that is dedicated to solving the world's toughest problems." In many ways we could have learned that from Ronald Reagan.

In the summer of 1954, Ronald Reagan—broadcasting and film star and renowned head of the Screen Actors Guild—started a new phase in his career: he started working at GE. From 1954 until 1962, Ronald Reagan served as the host of *General Electric Theater*, a drama series that aired Sunday nights on CBS. Back in 1954, GE was having a hard time deciding who would best serve as the "public face" of the company. Earl Dunckel, the GE communicator in charge of the search, said they weren't looking for just someone people knew, who had the skills of a good salesman and showman. They were looking for someone who could not only entertain people, but also inspire them—someone who possessed that quality of character called "moral fiber." They found that person in Ronald Reagan.

The GE slogan in the 1950s was "progress is our most important product"—and it was a time of great progress and possibilities for the country, which Mr. Reagan experienced in his second role with GE at the time: as an "employee ambassador." He traveled the breadth of the country, riding trains to visit GE plants and speaking hundreds of times to tens of thousands of workers. He started at dawn and would get to his hotel after midnight. Then he would do it all over again the next day.

My father, Joe Immelt, worked for GE from 1948 to 1988, in Cincinnati, Ohio. Mr. Reagan visited this facility several times during his tours. This made a great impression on all of our workers, including my father. Mr. Reagan walked every assembly line at GE. Every single one. He had lunch with employees in the cafeteria. He listened. He wowed managers and impressed our customers. He hit the Rotary, the local chamber of commerce, the Kiwanis, and the Elks.

In search of a spokesman that exuded moral character, GE recruited then film star Ronald Reagan to host its drama series 'General Electric Theater.

Our CEO at the time, Ralph Cordiner, told Mr. Reagan: "I am not ever going to censor anything you say. You are speaking for yourself. Say what you believe."

Ronald Reagan visiting a General Electric plant. 1955.

And so Mr. Reagan did, writing and delivering the message that would become known as "The Speech," his testament of faith in the virtues and abilities of free people and the great country they had built. In 1964, he gave a famous version of that speech before a national audience on behalf of presidential candidate Barry Goldwater and began one of the most successful American political careers of the 20th century.

GE saw his roving ambassadorship as a way to engage with its workforce. Mr. Reagan saw it as an education. He said later that "the GE tours became almost a post-graduate course in political science." "By 1960," he added, "I had completed the process of self-conversion."

It was a political conversion, of course. In the early 1950s, Ronald Reagan was still a registered Democrat. But it was also a conversion to a life of public service, the beginning of a journey that would culminate in his presidency, in a chapter of American history that will always be remembered as the Reagan era.

I joined GE in 1982, at the same time President Reagan was rejuvenating our economy. Over the last three decades, GE has followed the path of optimism and growth. We've earned $265 billion in profit and generated about $300 billion of cash. We became one of the world's most competitive companies, and we have come through the recent crisis very confident in our future.

But the world has changed dramatically since the 1980s.

Again, we find ourselves at a turning point. There are new global economic forces in China and India. We are confronting new terrorist threats around the world. High and volatile energy prices threaten our national security. Our country is grappling with large social problems like affordable health care. Wall Street, long a global symbol of successful capitalism, has been blamed for the largest economic crisis since the Great Depression. And our future competitiveness is threatened by problems in our public education system and a rapidly growing national debt.

Our times demand of us in government and business that kind of leadership that takes inspiration from the values and achievements of Americans. We are forced to make some tough decisions, and we'd be wise to follow the example set by President Reagan.

First, optimism. Only optimists invest and create jobs. It is important that we make technology, innovation, and entrepreneurship the cornerstone of a 21st century America. Companies, big and small, need to invest more in research and development (R&D), and our leadership in the emerging sciences must be reestablished. To support this effort, we need a new gener-

GE saw his roving ambassadorship as a way to engage with its workforce. Mr. Reagan saw it as an education...it was the beginning of a journey that will always be remembered as the Reagan era.

On March 17, 2010, at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, California, Immelt and Nancy Reagan flip through an album of Reagan's days hosting 'General Electric Theater.'

ation of "American engineers." The wealth of a country is dependent on science. To achieve this, education in this country must be strengthened to allow our children to compete.

President Reagan had a sense of confidence that American free enterprise can compete in every corner of the world. In the 1980s, America was the world's largest exporter by far; now we are fourth. Within the next few years, China could pass us in total manufacturing output. We can reverse this trend only by investing in great products and selling them competitively in every corner of the world.

Customers and governments around the world like doing business with U.S. companies. They respect our innovation and our values. There will be one billion new middle-class consumers in the emerging markets over the next 10 years . . . one billion! An American renewal can be fueled by entrepreneurship that is growing around the world.

I grew up in Ohio and had never left the United States until I went to work at GE. Recently, I have spent a lot of time in Africa, where we will sell more than $5 billion in products this year. Global capitalism is a great way to spread prosperity. It is important that American companies are leading in places like Africa, developing countries that will grow and where people want to experience personal growth and freedom.

Second, President Reagan was determined. Today,

> The most important thing President Reagan taught all Americans is that in this remarkable country, you can succeed as many times as you have the courage, initiative, and vision to try.

we must be realistic about our problems and about finding and implementing their solutions. We must be the country the world looks to as the problem solvers, not the problem creators. It is time for our generation to accept the responsibility of every American generation: to create a more prosperous America than we inherited, by solving the problems that became acute on our watch: the deficit, affordable health care, and energy security.

President Reagan was a very popular figure on the GE factory floor. He listened to our workers, and he understood them. He understood their problems, and most of all, he believed in their dreams. All our workers should have an important stake as we grow our company around the world. Today, we are investing in our manufacturing capability to restore a more productive middle class inside GE. Our workers won't settle for learning how to live with fear; they want to live their dreams. They don't want to be consoled; they want to be encouraged.

Earlier this week, I visited our facility in Erie, one

On March 17, 2010, at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, California, Immelt and Nancy Reagan flip through an album of Reagan's days hosting 'General Electric Theater.'

of Ronald Reagan's most frequent stops. This is a 100-year-old factory where we make locomotives. This plant has been hard hit by the downturn. Yet we have increased our investment in technology.

We will exit the recession way ahead of our competition. And we are aggressively selling our products in every corner of the world . . . from Brazil to Kazakhstan to South Africa. Growth also requires hard work. Nothing will be given to us.

Last, Ronald Reagan was the manifestation of persistence, personal accountability, and leadership. In every initiative he undertook, every legislative debate, every negotiation, and every discussion, he remained a model of courtesy and civility as well as determination. His Democratic successors publicly acknowledged his welcome and tempering influence on political discourse, an influence we could surely benefit from today. He knew however deeply felt and strongly argued our differences were, we had something more important in common. We're all Americans.

Today, those qualities of tough-minded optimism and confidence will help our country continue on its path of renewal. Like President Reagan, we must believe in ourselves, take courage from our ideals, and stand tall again.

To help achieve this promise, GE has invested $5 million to the GE/Reagan Scholarship Fund in support of high school seniors whose industry, initiative, and achievements recall the qualities of the self-made man who became the 40th President of the United States.

> President Reagan had a sense of confidence that American free enterprise can compete in every corner of the world.

According to his memoirs, President Reagan considered his time at GE the second most-important, eight-year job he ever had. GE is honored by the association. But I suspect we learned from him more than he learned from us. And the most important thing President Reagan taught all Americans is that in this remarkable country, you can succeed as many times as you have the courage, initiative, and vision to try.

A version of this essay delivered as remarks to the Reagan Presidential Foundation in Simi Valley, California, on March 17, 2010.

A version of this essay delivered as remarks to the Reagan Presidential Foundation in Simi Valley, California, on March 17, 2010.

Jeffrey Immelt has served as the chairman of the board and chief executive officer for GE since 2000. Previously, Immelt led GE's Medical Systems Division (now known as GE Healthcare) as President and CEO.

Reflections On Reagan's Midwestern Roots

Tom Brokaw

At a conference on "The Leadership of Ronald Reagan" on February 5, 2011 at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation & Library.

Courtesy Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Foundation

"I too was a product of America's Heartland. I grew up in South Dakota with Ronald Reagan, in many ways, on Saturday afternoons at the matinees and in the movies that he made. And we had this kind of Midwestern, I suppose, pride in all the success that he had. We were aware of his roots in Illinois and his first job at the WOC radio station in Iowa.

"Then I went to Omaha, and he was a fairly regular visitor to that part of the world as part of the GE circuit. And I began to learn something about him in my first encounters with him: He was a pure product of main street, Heartland America. He even looked the part. People were even comfortable with him from the very beginning. When they saw him, they could say to themselves, 'Well, he's one of us.' "

Amanda Rivkin

Mikhail Gorbachev

After receiving an honorary doctorate at Eureka College, Reagan's alma mater, *in Eureka, Ill. on March 27, 2009.*

"I wanted to visit Eureka to see where he grew up. This is very familiar to me. I also grew up in the heartland. My grandfather and father were farmers and so we lived in rural Russia. I often wonder why Ronald Reagan and I were chosen to play such an important role in world history. Some question if we were successful. I say this, 'There used to be a cold war. Now that war is over.'"

Ed Meese

After being named the first Honorary Ronald W. Reagan Fellow at Eureka College on March 18, 2008.

David Price. All Rights Reserved, Eureka College.

"It was at Eureka College where he learned how to be a leader. He found his voice for inspiring a group toward common purpose and developed the skills that he would later hone in the Army and as head of the Screen Actors Guild before he became California's governor in 1967.

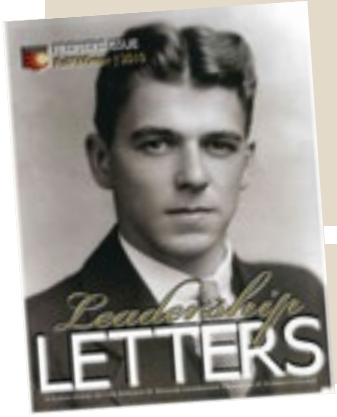
"It should be said that Eureka College continues to play an important part of Ronald Reagan's living legacy. I believe that there are three institutions in America which best carry forward the memory of Ronald Reagan. The presidential library illuminates the official Reagan, of course. You can find all his important public documents there from the California state house to the White House.

"Rancho del Cielo, or "Ranch in the Sky," is the place that captures the personality of Ronald Reagan. I'll never forget images of this beautiful space on top of the mountains with horse trails overlooking the Pacific Ocean. To know Ronald Reagan is to understand how he could find happiness in such splendor but also contentment in a one bedroom abode. I often chuckle to consider what Margaret Thatcher and Mikhail Gorbachev thought when they toured the ranch house. They spent their weekends at places like Windsor Castle and an elaborate countryside dacha. President Reagan, who attended Eureka College during the Depression, refused to upgrade from his black and white TV since it worked perfectly fine. National Security experts therefore learned that 1980s satellite images displayed properly on 1960s television technology.

"This frugal character was formed in his Illinois youth and the third institution that mattered so much to him, Eureka College. It was there that his character was formed and habits were born that defined his treatment of others and his judgment of what was right and meaningful.

"The college left an indelible mark on President Reagan. I can tell you that working for him for 31 years, starting in Sacramento, Eureka was a common topic of our conversation. Indeed, as White House staff, we knew that if anyone from Eureka College was anywhere in the vicinity of Washington, DC, we better be prepared to schedule an Oval Office visit. These reunions gave the President a great boost of energy as he basked in warm nostalgia of the place and time in his life that prepared him for his life's work.

"It was at Eureka College where he learned how to be a leader. It was there that he acquired his vision and voice. And its importance can be found in the Ronald W. Reagan Leadership Program at Eureka College which he founded while serving in the White House. It was his dream to instill the qualities of "leadership and service" that forged his service in Sacramento and Washington, DC. At a 1987 dinner memorializing the scholarship program that bears his name, Ronald Reagan said, 'I pray that there will always be a Eureka College.' "



Mitch Daniels: Education Reformer

By Ryan Streeter

Governor Mitch Daniels (left) and U.S. Secretary of Education Arne Duncan visit with students at Indianapolis' Charles A. Tindley Accelerated School on April 15, 2011. Photo: Governor's Website.

First published in the Weekly Standard, May 3, 2011

Jeb Bush has rightfully earned the reputation as America's most reform-minded governor on education issues. He introduced vouchers for students in failing schools, created greater accountability within the system, and based teacher pay on merit. His achievements have set the standard for subsequent would-be reformers such as Daniels.

But now Indiana's governor has arguably surpassed Bush as the nation's leading education reformer. In April, Indiana's legislature passed the last of four bills that Daniels had been advocating in his effort to make Indiana the vanguard of education reform in America. Once implemented, his education agenda will be the most expansive school reform effort the country has seen.

Indiana's reforms are similar in many respects to Florida's focus on accountability, high standards, school choice, and teacher performance. The Daniels reforms go beyond the Florida experiment, however, in two important areas: institutionalizing choice for families and establishing classroom-level performance as the key metric for schools. On the first point, Indiana has conceived choice more universally than was the case in Florida. On the second point, Indiana's policy is close to Florida's, but the Hoosiers have been able to go further by overcoming political barriers that tripped up Florida's reformers.

Institutionalizing Choice

Typically, when one hears the word "choice" in an education reform context, one thinks "vouchers." And while vouchers are indeed a centerpiece of the Daniels agenda, the Indiana approach to choice is more properly understood as giving families educational options in the broadest, most universal sense.

In 2010, the state made it possible for students to transfer from one public school district to another. This set the stage for further reforms aimed at making families' choices, not school districts, the main unit of education policy. Indiana's new education laws build upon this emphasis on mobility and family intent.

Vouchers according to need, not school status. Before it was struck down by the Florida supreme court in 2006, Bush created the nation's first statewide voucher program for students in failing schools. Daniels' plan makes vouchers available to all students within specific income ranges, not just those in bad schools. Linking the vouchers to family income rather than school performance infuses competition into the heart of Indiana's school system and sets the stage for all the other reforms.

Vouchers on a universal basis. The number of vouchers is capped at 7,500 for the first year, raised to 15,000 the following year, and then unlimited thereafter. This allows an appropriate phase-in period while ultimately aiming at universal support for qualifying families.

A pro-college-prep funding model. Families that choose to transfer their children from a public to a private school receive $4,500 per child in K-8, but no limit on tuition for high school

so long as the family meets the means-testing requirements. This helps those who can get into high quality prep schools but cannot afford the gap between tuition and the voucher amount.

Expanding charters with greater parent empowerment and heightened accountability. Thousands of students are on waiting lists for Indiana's 60 charter schools. Daniels's reforms make it easier to start charters, increase the number of charter sponsors, and install a "trigger" by which parents can convert failing schools into charter schools. These reforms ultimately produce a vibrant marketplace aimed at disrupting the public school system's monopoly.

Encouraging private sector support of choice. Like Florida, Indiana offers a tax credit to those who donate money to organizations that provide choice scholarships. The new Indiana law raises the credit amount and aims at expanding overall participation.

Classroom Performance

Central to the reform efforts in both Florida and Indiana is the notion that student performance and incentives for teachers should be meaningfully linked. While discussions about "performance" during the era of No Child Left Behind often focused on schools, districts, and states, reformers understand that performance at the micro level of the classroom matters most. Both states have based their reforms on this idea.

Florida introduced a merit pay system under Bush, which has culminated in a new law that Governor Rick Scott signed in March linking merit pay to student test scores. Indiana's new laws chart a similar course but go farther.

Paying teachers by what they do, not who they are. The Daniels reforms end tenure for new teachers, establish merit rather than seniority as the basis for pay increases, and include objective student performance in evaluating teacher performance. In this way, Indiana's and Florida's new laws are similar.

Instituting a rigorous evaluation model. In order for the first point to work, the schools need a solid teacher evaluation process. Indiana's new laws establish yearly evaluations for teachers and principals, require student achievement to be part of the evaluations, assess how rigorously teachers use the best tools, and give teachers a score on a four-point scale.

Limiting collective bargaining. The evaluations would matter a lot less, however, if collective bargaining were unchanged. The new Indiana law limits its collective bargaining to teacher pay and wage-related benefits and removes all other extraneous matters (curriculum, class size, pedagogy, etc.) from the bargaining process. This allows flexibility in focusing resources on the classroom, rewarding good teachers, and removing the underperformers. Adding the bargaining provision to the first two gives Indiana an advantage over the otherwise excellent merit pay bill Florida passed in March.

Taken together, these reforms have a simple objective: keep the focus on the students. By limiting bargaining, heightening evaluation standards, and instituting merit pay, Indiana has made the classroom – and the students comprising it – the center of its reform agenda.

When you roll Indiana's reforms together, you find yourself looking at a state that offers vouchers to all who need them, has made creating new charter schools easier, erased boundaries between districts, delinked teacher pay from seniority, limited collective bargaining, and made student achievement a central measure of teacher evaluation. Back when school reform efforts began in earnest in the 1980s, this combination of reforms would have seemed a utopian dream.

And, as if they aren't enough, Daniels has used the state budget to institute all-day kindergarten and a scholarship system for students who graduate from high school in three years.

Although the reforms are still in their infancy, Daniels already seems to be cementing his legacy as one of America's leading education reformers.

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Ryan Streeter is editor of ConservativeHome.com, a distinguished visiting fellow at Sagamore Institute, and an adjunct fellow at Hudson Institute.

Mitch Daniels, Obama Administration Commit to Education over Partisanship

On April 15, 2011, Indiana Governor Mitch Daniels hosted U.S. Secretary of Education Arne Duncan at a town hall meeting at Charles A. Tindley Accelerated School, a charter school in one of Indianapolis' urban neighborhoods. The event underscored Daniels' commitment to partisanship to accomplish goals such as education reform.

"I've always thought that partisanship should stop at the school door. If there is one thing that everyone can agree on in our nation is that we need to provide our young people with the highest possible quality of education, wherever they come from, wherever they are headed. Every single student is capable of great things," said Daniels, before a group of 200 students and guests.

"Few states in the country have done as good of a job on education as this state and I believe that is because of Governor Daniels' leadership," Duncan added.

Better Schools, Stronger Principals

By Laura Bush

President Bush and I are excited about the work of the Bush Institute, particularly this work in the area of education. We believe that every child deserves a quality education . . . that children can succeed in school when they have caring adults in their lives who are committed to helping them achieve . . . and that a great education is possible with great leadership.

That's why we chose to begin the Institute's education work by focusing on education leadership. Because we believe that strong leaders create a cascading effect of success. It isn't easy to develop district, school, and classroom leaders who do exceptional work and change the achievement and lives of children. Strong superintendants empower better principals and ensure great teachers have the best resources and training. Sadly, the reverse can be true as well: a well-trained, energetic teacher can be stifled under lackluster or discouraging administrators.

When my husband was President, I met outstanding leaders in school districts all across our country. Whether I was visiting a high school in Washington, D.C., or a middle school in inner-city Chicago, or an elementary school in Kansas, great leaders stood out because of their extraordinary energy and enthusiasm, and their superb organizational skills.

While visiting New York for International Literacy Day last September, I met a principal whose passion for literacy has led to dramatic results. Thanks to his leadership, teachers of every subject throughout the school make time to read each day, and their students do the same. And the impact is evident in the students' achievement. Only 38 percent of students enter the school reading at grade level, but 85 percent of the eleventh graders pass the English graduation exams upon the first try.

Michael Danser_TheDailyCampus

In schools everywhere, outstanding leaders share the same goals: to provide quality educational instruction so that their students become responsible, productive citizens and lifelong learners.

At the Bush Institute we're committed to improving the way our country trains and prepares school leaders. Our goal is to ensure that every child succeeds in school and in life by receiving a good education that

prepares them to acquire a college degree or earn a competitive income. To succeed, we need exceptional leaders in every school district. This must be the rule, not the exception. And that's why we established the George W. Bush Institute's Alliance to Reform Education Leadership.

We know teachers have a direct and enormous impact on student performance and that school principals shape the environment in which teachers are able to operate successfully. The Alliance focuses on America's 130,000 school principals as the critical leverage point for improving school and student performance. The Alliance establishes a network of regionally based innovative sites that bring together school districts, university schools of education and business, the government, and the private sector. Alliance partners in each site will work collaboratively to better identify, recruit, select, prepare, evaluate, and empower public school principals to be truly effective leaders in our nation's schools.

The Alliance will begin working in six cities: Dallas, Fort Worth, and Plano, Texas; Indianapolis, Indiana; St. Louis, Missouri; and Denver, Colorado. Together, these Alliance sites will affect 200 school districts and 2,000 schools. By 2012, we anticipate operating sites in 25 cities across the United States. And by 2020, we hope to have influenced and shaped the preparation of a large proportion of the nation's administrators, fully empowering them to lead our schools into the 21st century.

President Bush and I are excited about this groundbreaking initiative. Education has been a central policy concern for both of us since George was Governor of Texas. Education reform was what George campaigned for when he ran for President. It was a major focus during his time in the White House and it is a major focus at the Bush Institute.

This article is adapted from a speech that Mrs. Bush delivered last September in the Dallas school district where she worked as a teacher and where her daughters attended first through sixth grade.

Laura Bush, wife of George W. Bush and former first lady, launched the Laura Bush Foundation for America's Libraries and has focused much of her work on improving education nationwide.

The Bush Institute Agenda: Building Better School Leaders

By James Guthrie

Much has been made of the late 2010 documentary *Waiting for "Superman"*. The film depicts everything that is wrong with American education: the focus on employment rights for adults rather than improved educational opportunities for kids. Harlem innovator Geoffrey Canada is pitted against teacher's union chief Randi Weingarten with poor families sandwiched between them.

The drama portrayed in *Waiting for "Superman"* is generated by the anxious families' plight as they await the lottery that will determine if their children get to attend a high-performing school or remain stuck in an inferior one. Nothing less than the future careers and life prospects of their winsome and promising children hang in the balance.

The good news for these families is that the future does not need to depend on the annual education lottery. Superman (aka enterprising school principals) is already populating America's best schools. On September 29, 2010, Laura Bush announced publicly that the George W. Bush Institute is featuring education reform as a crucial part of its action agenda. Central to this education reform initiative is a far-reaching and innovative plan to alter the paradigm by which America selects, trains, empowers, and evaluates its public-school principals.

Beverly Saddler

In her opening remarks, Mrs. Bush explained: "Our goal is to ensure that every child succeeds in school and in life by receiving a good education that prepares them to acquire a college degree or earn a competitive income." One of the ways in which the institute will promote this goal is by training and placing highly skilled school principals through an initiative called the Alliance to Reform Education Leadership (AREL).

AREL has been in operation since Mrs. Bush's announcement. It is a network of principal-training sites distributed throughout the United States. Local educators and reformers operate each site, anchored in a university, a school district, or a nonprofit agency, with close ties to creative public schools and charter schools. The Bush Institute itself does not operate sites. It does, however, help create them, link them into an interactive network aimed at continuous improvement, provide them with consulting resources, stimulate the exchange of training ideas, regularly convene their operators, and eventually will link their graduates in a national network of reform-oriented leaders. Moving forward, the Institute will be undertaking systematic evaluations of each site.

One of the active AREL sites is located at Marian University in Indianapolis. Here, under the remarkable leadership of Marian president Daniel Elsener and education-school dean Lindan Hill, the preparation of principals for Indiana's toughest schools is well underway. The Marian AREL program has already provided substantial assistance to newly developing AREL sites located elsewhere.

The Bush Institute launched this initiative at a critical moment in the history of modern American education reform. Over the past quarter-century, the nation has made genuine progress in improving public schools. Every state now has learning standards and comprehensive achievement tests, not to mention stronger accountability mechanisms, more charter schools, and more highly talented teachers than it did in the mid-1980s. States have also demonstrated a growing willingness to experiment with performance-based pay for teachers.

All of these productive changes have resulted from the efforts of farsighted and often courageous education reformers. Thanks in part to their efforts, mathematics scores are increasing nationally, and the math achievement gap (between rich and poor students) has been narrowing. Yet even though student achievement is improving, the *pace* of improvement is disappointingly slow and nowhere near the speed required to maintain America's global leadership over the long run or to provide students and communities with the opportunities they deserve.

Five operational levers show great potential for accelerating change and further elevating student performance. They are (1) expanding the cadre of effective teachers and removing instructors proven to be ineffective, (2) holding professional educators accountable for results, (3) promoting a greater degree of balanced competition among schools and school systems, (4) revamping teacher performance incentives and augmenting good teaching with effective technology, and (5) boosting school leadership. Highly skilled researchers, advocates, and providers have been addressing the first four reform areas for many years. Yet leadership has not received the attention it deserves. Indeed, it has long been the "missing" school reform, neglected by activists of all political stripes.

Surveys repeatedly affirm that principals play a

George W. Bush Presidential Center

hugely important role in teachers' work lives. Effective principals recruit and support effective teachers; by the same token, inept principals contribute to higher rates of turnover among effective teachers, and in some cases drive good teachers out of the education field entirely. Meanwhile, empirical research indicates that principal quality has a sizable impact on student achievement. Studies by Robert Marzano and Timothy Waters indicate that, all else being equal, an effective principal can elevate students' test scores. The only in-school variable that has a bigger impact on student achievement is teacher quality.

America has approximately 3.2 million public-school teachers, and improving their quality is a top priority for education reformers. Rick Hanushek, one of the nation's preeminent education economists, estimates that having an effective teacher for three consecutive years can lift most low-performing students up to grade-level expectations. However, given that there are millions of teachers but only about 100,000 public-school principals, an organization like the Bush Institute can make a relatively greater impact on the quality of America's principals. We know that good principals attract and sustain good teachers. We also know that every other sector of American society—business, medicine, politics, religion, sports, the military—carefully selects and nurtures its leaders. Yet the education sector inexplicably chooses to identify and prepare its leaders through a haphazard and illogical process.

Besides the Bush Institute, other high-profile organizations and institutions working to bolster school leadership include New Leaders for New Schools, the Rainwater Leadership Alliance, KIPP, Teach for America, the Council for Education Change, and in selected states through its "Race to the Top" program, the federal government. In addition, several major philanthropic outfits—such as the AT&T, Bradley, Broad, Kern, Sid Richardson, Wallace, and Walton foundations—have joined the leadership campaign.

The Bush Institute intends to cooperate fully with these groups. It also hopes to convince school districts and states that principals should be given broader authority and more sophisticated management tools (such as reliable data systems) to help them succeed. In other words, it hopes to turn principals into school CEOs, with ready access to student-achievement numbers and greater influence over teachers. Right now, most principals have such limited powers that it's unfair to hold them accountable for the performance of their schools.

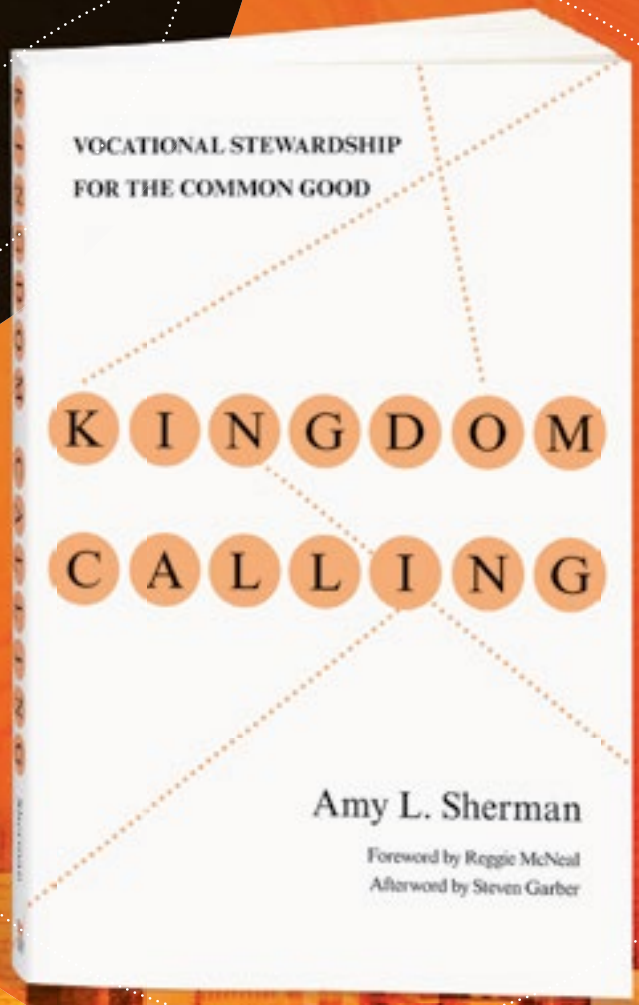
AREL seeks to change that. By the conclusion of 2011, it will have at least 10 preparation sites located throughout the country. That number is expected to reach 25 by 2020. Both by training principals and by transforming their role in American schools, the Bush Institute initiative will move leadership to the forefront of the education debate—which is where it belongs.

James Guthrie, a leader in education reform, Guthrie serves as a senior fellow at the George W. Bush Institute and as a professor of education policy and leadership at Southern Methodist University.

A Guide to Civic Discipleship

"When the church in the West gets this, we are going to see transformation on an unimaginable scale."

—Bob Roberts Jr., pastor and author of *Real-Time Connections* and *Transformation*



"When the righteous prosper, the city rejoices." Amy Sherman unpacks this proverb to develop a theology and program of vocational stewardship. Here is practical advice for churches, ministries and faith communities who want to act for the good of the many at junctures of success and prosperity. Includes a discussion guide for small groups.

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Dr. Amy L. Sherman is a senior fellow at the Sagamore Institute, where she directs the Center on Faith in Communities. She is the founder and former executive director of Charlottesville Abundant Life Ministries and serves as a senior fellow with International Justice Mission. Learn more at vocationalstewardship.org.

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Multiplying Effective Charity

By Amy Sherman

Everyone knows the "give a man a fish . . . teach a man to fish" parable, but in an important way, this time-honored principle is strangely absent from the philanthropic world. Some 75,000 charitable foundations in the United States give away around $43 billion dollars annually to nonprofit organizations. Their direct-service grants help these recipients do all kinds of important things, from feeding the hungry to mentoring youth to cleaning up polluted lakes. Only a paltry share of this tidal wave of giving, however, is earmarked toward efforts to help those nonprofits learn how better to sustain themselves—so that their good works can grow and last.

While direct service grants enable nonprofits to do their daily work of running jobs programs or homeless shelters, "capacity building" grants seek to strengthen the nonprofit organization itself. Building capacity is about such matters as increasing nonprofits' ability to raise and manage financial and human resources, strengthening their governance, and improving their efficiency. It is vital work if nonprofits are going to be able to keep on keeping on in their frontline service. Research also shows that there is a direct correlation between nonprofits' organizational strength and resilience and their success in achieving their goals.[1]

Only about 4% of annual foundation grant dollars go toward capacity building. In 2000 (the latest data available), that meant about $422 million dollars.[2] That was an increase from $134 million in 1994—so the trend line is going in the right direction. But this tiny amount is nowhere near enough to help ensure the thriving of the nonprofit sector. Nonprofits need investments from donors to help them grow in their ability to raise funds from diverse sources, generate earned income, garner in-kind donations, and effectively solicit and manage volunteers—because these kinds of investments position nonprofits for productivity and longevity. In other words, donors need not only provide direct service grants—aka, "giving a fish"—to nonprofits, but to make investments that help those recipients get better at "fishing" themselves.

Fishing Lessons

Mission Increase Foundation (MIF), a modest foundation in Portland, Oregon, offers an exemplary model of this approach. Compared to the big boys in the philanthropic sector that give hundreds of millions

1. Torey Silloway, *Building Capacity for Better Results* (The Finance Project, Sept. 2010), 2.
2. Paul C. Light and Elizabeth T. Hubbard, *The Capacity Building Challenge*, (Brookings Institution, April 2002), 1.

or even billions of dollars annually, the work of MIF can appear insignificant. Over 10 years it has granted about $20.3 million to some 185 organizations. But through its innovative approach, that $20.3 million has generated over $102 million for the nonprofits it helped. That's over a fivefold return.

Foundations much larger than MIF have engaged in some significant capacity-building initiatives. The James Irvine Foundation, for example, operated a five-year program that granted $4.3 million to 20 nonprofits. The Haas, Jr. Fund also offered a five-year granting initiative; it helped 14 nonprofits with an estimated $4.2 million in support. The Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation spread its $6 million in capacity-building grants in its five-year initiative to 102 nonprofits. MIF's total assets are far smaller than the assets of these foundations (see Table 1), but in the five-year period 2005–2009, it helped 496 nonprofits with capacity-building grants totaling $9.9 million. Within the small but vital slice of the philanthropic world that we might call "teaching nonprofits how to fish," the little foundation from Oregon is leaving a significant footprint.

Name	Total Assets	Capacity-Building Grants During 5-Year Programs
Mission Increase Foundation	$30.8 million	$9.9 million
Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation	$134 million	$6 million
James Irvine Foundation	$1.3 billion	$4.3 million
Haas, Jr. Fund	$621 million	$4.2 million

Table 1. MIF in Context

Launched roughly 10 years ago, MIF seeks to build organizational capacity among Christian social service nonprofits and to transform their understanding of fund development. It offers three main services: training, consulting, and grantmaking. This "mixed services" approach is somewhat unique, since many foundations provide only grants but no training and many intermediary organizations provide only training but no grants.

MIF targets small- to medium-sized nonprofits—those with annual budgets between $200,000 and $2 million annually. Two-thirds of their constituents come to them with very little background in fund development. They have not received much prior training or consulting for organizational effectiveness. Many of these nonprofits are also relatively young.

A Deep Pond

Virtually all of MIF's grants are set up as matching grants, thus ensuring leverage.

But the degree of leverage achieved has gone, in most cases, beyond the one-to-one match. As indicated in Table 2, in five out of MIF's six branches, its grants have achieved more than a doubling. Portland, for example, has seen a sixfold return. In Phoenix and San Francisco, there has been more than a tripling of investment. This is obviously an attractive picture for potential donors to Mission Increase, for they have good reason to hope that their charitable contributions will achieve a multiplication effect.

MIF Branch	Total $ Amount Granted	Total $ Amount Raised
Colorado	$713,000	$1,276,774
Los Angeles	$1,137,500	$2,586,657
Portland	$16,186,141	$97,199,071
Phoenix	$115,000	$353,159
Seattle	$130,000	$266,654
San Francisco	$75,000	$266,202

Table 2. Grants and Amounts Raised by Branch

MIF trains nonprofit leaders in a resource development model they call "Transformational Giving." The emphasis is on donor development, rather than fund development. The goal is to create champions among the organization's volunteers and donors, people who will spread the organization's cause among their social networks and "own" responsibility for generating the support the nonprofit needs to accomplish its mission.

MIF's training is intensive and extensive. Participants can complete some 18 modules of training that cover everything from marketing to special events to board development. Additionally, grant recipients receive personal coaching from branch staff as they seek to implement the principles and strategies they've learned in workshops.

Based on a study of 450 of MIF's trainees, it is clear that a high percentage of those nonprofit leaders who take advantage of all that MIF has to offer achieve significant success on key performance indicators (see Table 3). Over 81% of those "intensively" involved

with MIF report that they raised additional revenue as a result of MIF's training/coaching.[3] Roughly 80% report that they were able to acquire new donors and roughly 55% say they were able to diversify their rev-

enue streams. About half (49%) of the leaders involved intensively with MIF indicated they had had success in capturing lapsed donors. And most to MIF's delight, fully 84% of committed trainees reported success in moving donors from what they term mere "participant" status (writing checks) to "ownership" status (where they champion the organization's cause within their own networks, thus expanding the donor base).

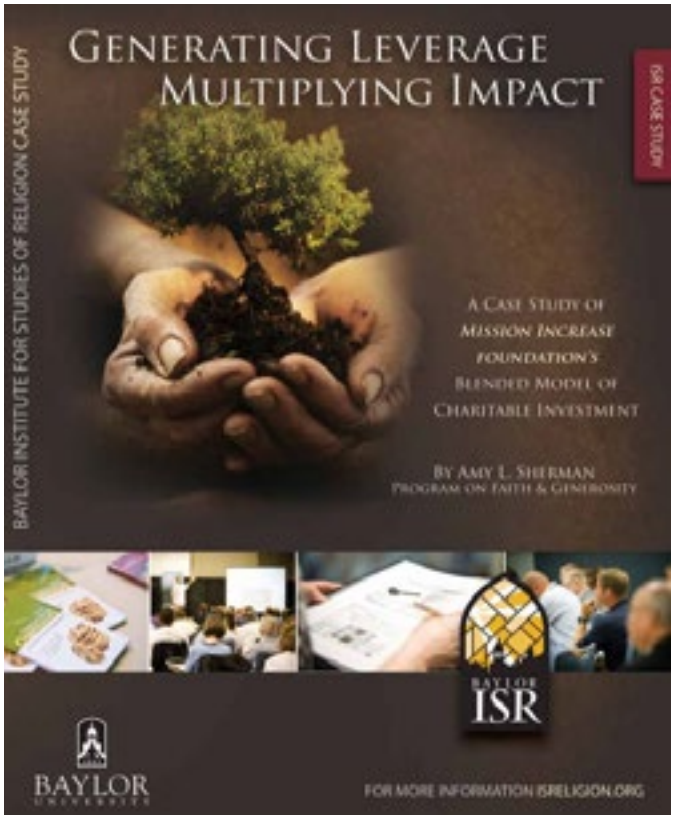
Performance Measure	% of Intensively Involved NPOs Accomplishing the Measure
Increased annual revenue generation	81.4%
Diversified revenue streams	54.2%
Acquired new donors	80.2%
Recaptured lapsed donors	48.7%
Moved donors from participant to owner status	84.5%

Table 3. Performance of Nonprofits (NPOs) "Intensively" Involved with MIF

Widening The Net

In the past 15 years, the philanthropic community has grown in its appreciation of the importance of nonprofit capacity building. As noted earlier, the trend line of giving toward capacity building is moving upward. A variety of large foundations, such as the Packard Foundation and the Kellogg Foundation, have undertaken major capacity-building initiatives. Another key indicator that nonprofit organizational strength is on more philanthropists' minds is the continuing growth and influence of Grantmakers for Effective Organizations (GEO). Begun in 1997 with just a handful of philanthropic leaders who saw the need for convening and strengthening those donors committed to capacity building, GEO now sports some 350 grantmaking organizations as members.

All this is good news, but much more needs to be done. According to some estimates, as many as 50%



of new nonprofits fail within their first few years.[4] This results from a variety of factors, including tough economic times and leadership and management weaknesses.[5] Clearly, investments in capacity building—like the kind of practical training and support offered to nonprofit leaders by Mission Increase—are needed just to help keep nonprofits alive. Moreover, as Paul Light, one of the foremost scholars of the nonprofit sector, argues, even small investments in capacity building can make a significant difference in strengthening organizational effectiveness.6 If we want healthy, robust nonprofits that fulfill their mission—and that last—we need more of the kind of investments Mission Increase has pioneered.

Dr. Amy L. Sherman is a senior fellow at Sagamore Institute, where she directs the Center on Faith and Communities. Her book Kingdom Calling: Vocational Stewardship for the Common Good will be released January 2012.

3 Each nonprofit in the study was assigned an involvement score based on the number of hours the nonprofit staff had spent in MIF trainings, the number of staff attending, the estimated hours of coaching received from MIF, and whether or not the organization received a grant. The entire pool of 450 participants was then divided into four groups: intensive involvement, high involvement, moderate involvement, and low involvement.

4 Donald Fann, "Organizational Healing: New Hope for Nonprofits in Crisis," *Journal for Nonprofit Management, Vol. 10, No.* (2006), 26.

5 C. J. De Vita and E. C. Twombly, "Nonprofit Organizations in an Era of Welfare Reform," (paper, Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action [ARNOVA] Conference, Indianapolis, Indiana, December 1997).

6 See Paul Light, *Sustaining Nonprofit Performance: The Case for Capacity Building and the Evidence to Support It* (Brookings Institution Press, 2004).

Thrift: The Social Movement for the Great Recovery

By Gerard Cuddy

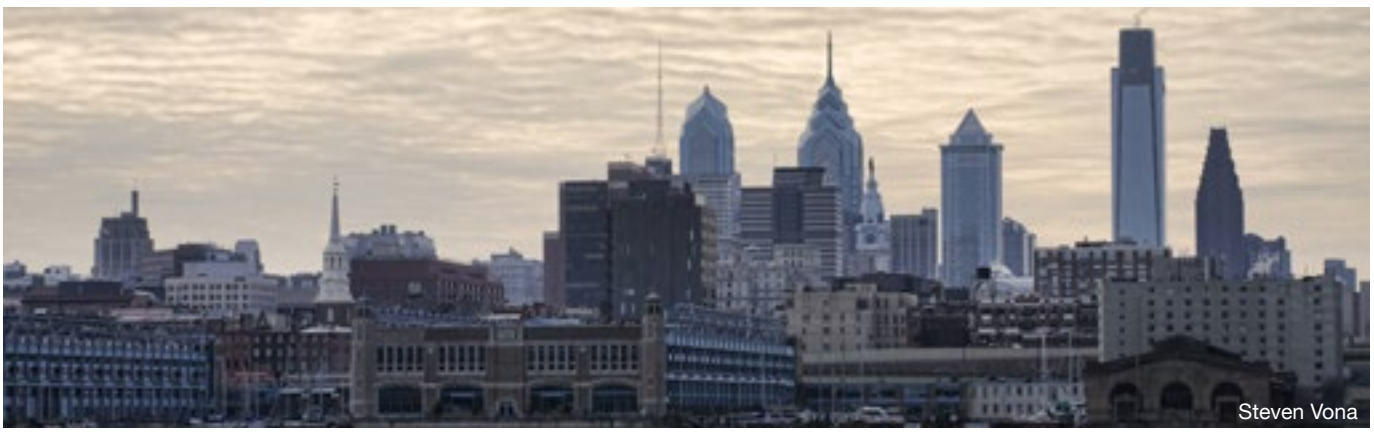
Economics columnist Daniel Gross recently argued in a *New York Times* op-ed that the Great Recovery awaits the return of the "greatest economic force known to mankind – the American consumer." Gross called for Americans to return to consumer credit—to buy Viking stoves, jewelry, and Priuses. As he put it, the "renewed willingness and confidence to spend money we don't have is vital to the continuing recovery."

I beg to differ. After the consumer binge that led to the Great Recession, American families are trying to put their financial houses in order. Unlike the big banks, they can't depend on government bailouts. Instead, they are recovering by paying down their debt, cutting back on spending, and saving more.

The Great Recession may be officially over, but the pressure in millions of household budgets is still quite real. Those Americans will not be rushing out to spend money they don't have on $5000 Viking stoves. Indeed, the old consumerism may have finally run its course. In this century, a new thrift ethic emphasizing sustainability and long-term growth could take its place. Excess and short-term gratification are out of fashion – maybe for good.

Signs of this new thrift ethic dot Philadelphia's streets like robins in springtime. Walking down Walnut one passes the Consumer Credit Counseling Services of Delaware Valley. On the walls inside hang crayon drawings on construction paper featuring savings themes from the imaginations of local schoolchildren. In Kensington, gardens grow where old mattresses and retro floral couches once moldered. On Frankford, migrating artists—the kind who frequent thrift shops and tie their scarves into masterful knots—open galleries in abandoned storefronts. Where men in fluorescent vests and hardhats dig and drill and build new buildings, signs tout green credentials and rooftop gardens.

If these signs do indeed usher in a replacement for rampant consumerism, it would not be the first time Americans have embraced thrift. As David Blankenhorn highlights in *Thrift: A Cyclopedia*, in the early 20th century progressive reformers launched a social movement for thrift, which they understood broadly as the wise use of resources. With a coalition of hundreds of organizations– including the YMCA, the American Library Association, the Chamber of Commerce, the Boy Scouts of America, the National Education Association – they spread the message and encouraged a host of thrift activities ranging from saving money, to gardening, to reusing household goods. They saw



Steven Vona

In this century, a new thrift ethic emphasizing sustainability and long-term growth could take its place. Excuss and short-term gratification are out of fashion – maybe for good.

connections between saving, giving, cooperating, conserving, and thriving—all under the banner of thrift. This thrift ethic inspired social reformers and philanthropists to start savings banks, credit unions, building and loan associations, public libraries, gardens, national parks, and thrift shops. Each year for decades, these organizations partnered with others to put on National Thrift Week celebrations in thousands of communities.

Much of what these reformers stood for is as vital and valuable today as it was a century ago. This year Beneficial Bank is proud to co-sponsor Thrift Week in the adopted hometown of Benjamin Franklin from January 17 – 23. In honor of this celebration, here are seven ideas for a "new thrift"—ideas that are already taking root in Philadelphia.

Saving: The Way to Wealth

If there's one thing people think of when they hear the word "thrift," it's saving. What we often fail to appreciate, however, is how important saving is for creating an equitable society. In the early 19th century, when most banks were only interested in wealthy investors, savings banks started as philanthropic endeavors to allow those of modest means to save and enter the middle class.

Beneficial Bank was founded in Philadelphia in 1853 by St. John Neumann, a Catholic bishop concerned about the lack of safe places for working class immigrants to deposit their savings. Today, in step with its heritage, Beneficial's mission is to educate people about financial responsibility. Newly married couples can take free money management courses. Children can open Student Saver Accounts with a preferred rate to reward and encourage them to save. And anyone can attend free educational workshops on saving, budgeting, and financial planning.

Opportunities like these, available to all, are exactly what earlier thrift leaders envisioned.

Giving: Scrooge, the "Anti-thrift"

The Rev. Dr. David King said, "A man who saves from principle is likely to be the man who gives from principle." Indeed, contrary to the popular misconception, generosity is core to the thrift ethic. Take S.W. Straus, an early 20th century banker and realty financier of the Chrysler Building in New York City. So zealous was he about thrift that, in 1913, he founded the American Society for Thrift and in 1920, wrote *History of the Thrift Movement in America*. Under his leadership, the Society partnered with the National Education Association and the National Council on Education to produce a thrift curriculum for public schools and to host thrift essay contests (funded by Straus). By 1917, 150,000 school children had entered the essay contest and by 1926, *The New York Times* could report that "more than 8,000,000 pupils are now studying thrift."

Today, the John Templeton Foundation continues in what Straus called "the greater thrift." In *Thrift and Generosity: The Joy of Giving*, President Dr. John Templeton suggests that thrift is not just about the bottom line, but about living a contented life through generosity towards others. In addition to funding millions of dollars of research, he, like Straus, funds thrift essay contests. This year, he is funding an essay contest for Philadelphia-area Boy Scouts on the question, "Why Should I be Thrifty?" The first place winner receives $1,000: $500 to the Scout and $500 to a charity the Scout chooses. [The John Templeton Foundation generously funds much of the Institute for American Values' thrift work.]

People like Straus and Templeton prove that thrift is not inimical to gen-

Indeed, contrary to the popular misconception, generosity is core to the thrift ethic.

erosity—it liberates one to practice generosity.

Cooperating: Thrift Goes Democratic

If thrifty people are generous, they also tend to work together in cooperatives—whether in farmers' seed co-ops, local CSA's in which low income people can use food stamps to get fresh produce, or community development credit unions. Cooperatives are efficient, but they are thrifty for another reason. Thrift builds on itself and expands outward. Thrifty people want others to thrive too and seek to go public and democratic with their resources—to invite everyone to participate.

Take the People for People (PFP) Credit Union in North Central Philadelphia. Nearby, an abandoned hotel rises stories above the ground, darkness peering through its broken windows and gaping boards. Row houses with chipped paint crumble, and weeds and litter choke yards. Eighty percent of residents are unbanked. Predatory lenders abound, their red and yellow signs advertising quick money. (What their colorful signs do not advertise are interest rates of up to 66 percent and large fees for cashing checks.)

But on 800 N. Broad Street in an old bank with stately stone pillars the manager of PFP answers the questions of a woman in sweatpants who just happened to wander in. When he tells her about their services (higher savings rates, fewer service fees, a "Better Choice" payday loan for member emergencies, and financial literacy and homeownership counseling) the woman exclaims, "I need all of that!"

The credit union philosophy is one member, one vote—whether the member has a $5 or $50,000 account. The latest members to open up savings accounts at PFP are the men at the homeless shelter across the street. No wonder Boston merchant and philanthropist Edward Filene heralded credit unions as "a movement toward economic democracy."

Nanoman657

Public Libraries: Book Temples for All

Libraries are cooperatives that promote democracy of knowledge. Blankenhorn notes that "The old-fashioned aristocrat or the gentleman might want to build himself a fine private library. The progressive thrift visionary, on the other hand, wants to use his resources to build a huge book temple in the middle of town and invite everyone to join." As Andrew Carnegie, who established more than 1,000 libraries across the United States, said at the opening of a public library in England, "I like a free library because it is free. It is the grand symbol of true genuine democracy…. It is great for what it does in enabling the poor citizens of Liverpool in passing through her streets to look up and say—'Yes, I am a landlord there.'"

In fact sometimes it seems that the down and out "own" the library more than most. Joe is the perfect example. He clunks by in his tan worker boots and smiles brightly, having just finished his morning ritual—a visit to the Free Public Library of Philadelphia. Right now he's homeless, but he spends time in the library's reading rooms—with their high ceilings and ornate detail as grand as any gentleman's private collection —"to get warm, to read, and to do something right." He also takes advantage of the library's career services: one-on-one counseling, internet access for job searches, workshops, and job fairs.

Going Green: Thrift in Action

One thrift movement very popular today is the movement for sustainability. Corporations advertise their products as green —whether cotton, organic blueberries, or Tropicana orange juice (with its "rescue the rainforest" rewards)—because it catches the eye of the modern eco-conscious consumer. Similarly, thrift was the trendy way to advertise in the first half of the twentieth century. Advertisements for laundry soap, home canning jars, and other household goods appealed to thrift-conscious housewives.

But there's a stronger connection between thrift and sustainability. Historically, the thrift movement was linked to the conservation movement.

Thrift builds on itself on itself and expands outward. Thrifty people want others to thrive too and seek to go public and democratic with their resources—to invite everyone to participate.

Writings like *Thrift and Conservation* (1919) deplored Americans' "extravagance, luxury, and wastefulness" (imagine men atop fallen Sequoias, or millions of buffalo slaughtered for sport) while urging Americans to guard nature "faithfully and to pass it on as little impaired by our use of it as possible." As an old thrift saying goes, "We will be a thrifty nation, when we all learn conservation."

Philadelphia is trailblazing for a more "thrifty nation." In 2009, Mayor Michael Nutter launched Greenworks Philadelphia, a plan to become the greenest city in America by 2015. Its 15 targets range from improving air quality to bringing local food within ten minutes of 75 percent of residents. Big belly solar powered trash compactors line Philadelphia streets, and residents can enroll in Recycling Rewards, which awards points based on the weight of neighborhood recycling and trash reduction. This initiative saves the city money and has tripled recycling in the last two years. Residents can also get involved in Greenworks' Unlitter Us campaign, raking leaves "to fertilize gardens and nourish trees," and working to turn their neighborhoods into "litter free zones."

Gardens: "Making Two Blades of Grass Grow Where Only One Had Grown Before"

Gardens incarnate thrift in the earthy form of eggplants and squashes, melons and tomatoes. Thrift leaders of the early 20th century, recognizing gardens' potential to teach the young to work hard and enjoy the results, formed the School Garden Association of America. Today, gardening is making a comeback—especially in urban areas.

Students at Philadelphia's Martin Luther King High School learn responsibility and thrift by gardening and selling their produce at a farmer's stand in an area with little access to fresh food. At a garden at the Cardinal Bevilacqua Center in Kensington, students use the greenhouse as a laboratory and learn to cook healthy meals through a partnership with Greensgrow, an urban farm that grows "food, flowers, and neighborhoods." Even on a cloudy winter day, dewy heads of lettuce grow in the warmth of the greenhouse, and reddish brown hens peck alongside a strutting rooster.

Thrift Shops: Retail for Community

Whether it's a "Share Shoppe" helping the needy in rural Iowa, or a thrift shop in Soho stocked with designer goods and vintage gowns, a thrift shop is a thrift exemplar. And they're nonprofit charities that give back to the community and serve people in need. For instance, the CiRCLE THRiFT stores in Philadelphia use their proceeds to fund local projects: a playground, a kid's club, a cultural center for youth, an urban farm, a community garden, a settlement house for the elderly, a holiday drive for the New Kensington Community Development Corporation.

CiRCLE THRiFT also provides transitional employment through a program called Pathways—bringing workers from prison to learn job skills. One court-ordered volunteer is now "the backbone" of the store. When she first arrived she sorted clothes in the backroom. Now, the manager claims that she doesn't know where the store would be without her—"She completely changed the face of the store."

Americans Await a New Thrift

There's an almost palpable longing for solidarity—seen in the thrift store clothing transformed into fashion statement by young hipsters, in the morning cup of coffee from a fair trade farmer in Rwanda, and in the hand-knit scarves made by starving artists and idealistic graduate students and for sale on etsy.com (which has its own blog on "craftivism," featuring ways that people are crafting for charitable ends). Americans want to use their resources wisely, to be generous, and to create closer communities and a more sustainable planet. In short, they want to be thrifty.

Thrift is both quintessentially American and surprisingly current—perhaps even avant garde. As we climb out of the Great Recession, I can't think of a better American value to rally around.

CiRCLE THRiFT

Originally published in 'Propositions,' a quarterly publication of the Institute for American Values.

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RE-EMBRACING NATIONAL THRIFT WEEK

National Thrift Week, a once-vibrant American social movement that started in 1916, is a public education campaign during the week of January 17-23 that brings together a broad coalition of citizen leaders who share an appreciation of thrift as the wise use of resources and a conviction that thrift is the friend of sustainable prosperity, economic opportunity, beautiful neighborhoods, and a healthy planet.

In 2011, in partnership with Philadelphia Mayor Michael Nutter, the John Templeton Foundation, Beneficial Bank, and People for People, Inc. (PFP), the Institute for American Values brought back National Thrift Week to Philadelphia, which became the first city to celebrate the week in nearly 50 years. As part of the celebration, PFP Charter School, in partnership with PFP Community Development Credit Union, made available limited-match savings accounts for their students; William Penn Charter School held an assembly on "Thrift and Social Justice" and participated in a service project with PFP Charter School students; and the Free Library of Philadelphia distributed hundreds of copies of the Institute's quarterly publication, *Propositions,* featuring Beneficial Bank president Gerard Cuddy's essay, "Thrift is the Social Movement for the Great Recovery" (see pp 34-38).

The culminating event of the week was the Philadelphia Thrift Leaders Roundtable which attracted a diverse coalition of over 80 community leaders—including leaders from the Mayor's Office, the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, the Free Public Library, the Office of Catholic Education, the Boy Scouts, Goodwill Industries, the YMCA, churches, community gardens, credit unions, and more—who gathered to discuss how to renew the city of Philadelphia by renewing thrift. Participants also had the opportunity to view the Thrift Exhibit—a collection of hundreds of thrift artifacts that tell the story of American thrift.

In addition to Mayor Michael Nutter's official proclamation of Thrift Week, the Pennsylvania General Assembly passed a resolution recognizing Thrift Week. As this movement spreads to other cities and states, the National Thrift Week campaign will substantially sustain the nation's momentum toward a thrift culture.

Jailhouse Religion, Spiritual Transformation, and Long-Term Change

By Byron R. Johnson

"Jailhouse religion"—the sudden desperate piety of an inmate who's up against it and hopes that God will somehow bail him out.

I'm reminded of an inmate who spent 90 percent of his time in disciplinary confinement until he got "saved." The change in his life was so dramatic that the institution was never the same. He never got into another fight after that. He started writing people while he was in prison in order to make restitution.

Most of us have heard stories of a drug addict or alcoholic who overcomes addiction as a result of a religious transformation. Likewise, we often hear stories of criminals and prisoners who have experienced dramatic turnarounds as a result of a spiritual conversion. For example, there is the notorious jewel thief, Jack Murphy (aka Murph the Surf), who stole the world's largest sapphire in 1964, the 563-carat Star of India. Murphy would become a Christian in 1974 as a result of an evangelistic prison ministry. He would subsequently lead Bible studies and mentor other inmates until his release from prison in 1986, and he has been involved in prison ministry since then. Years following his release from prison, when asked about his conversion to Christianity, he would recount, "I didn't get letters from the bartenders, the hoodlums and all the wise guys I hung around with. I got letters from Christians I didn't even know."

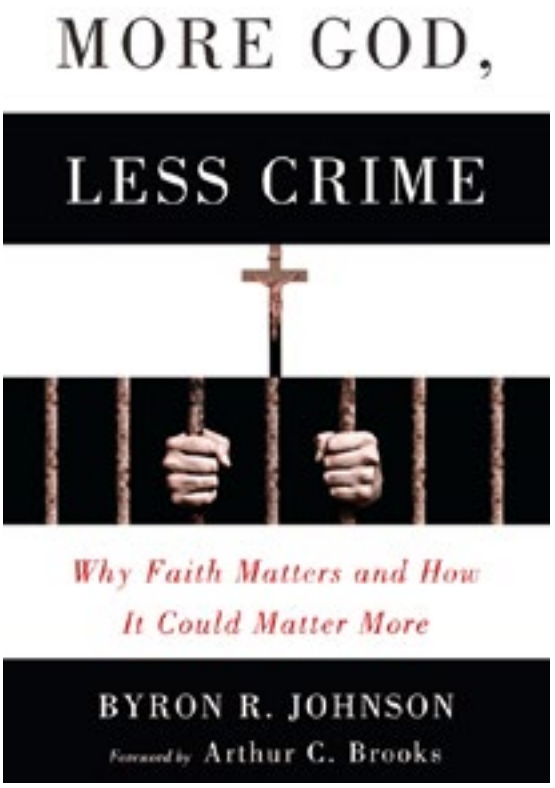
Testimonials of conversions like Murphy's have been the subject of books, movies, and documentaries, and are readily accessible on the Internet. For example, *The Cross and the Switchblade* is a book that chronicles the dramatic conversion of former gang member Nicky Cruz in New York City during the 1950s. David Wilkerson, a minister, witnessed to Cruz and would be the key figure in his conversion to Christianity. Cruz would later become an evangelist, and he continues to share his testimony and preach around the world. Shortly after the conversation of Nicky Cruz, Wilkerson would found Teen Challenge, and over the next several decades it would become the world's largest faith-based drug treatment program.

The book *Born Again* details the conversion of Charles Colson, special counsel to President Richard Nixon from 1969 to 1973. The former Nixon aide was sentenced to prison in 1974 for his involvement in Watergate. Many observers, including those at publications like *Newsweek* and *Time*, dismissed his conversion as nothing more than an attempt at an early release from prison. But soon after his release from prison, Colson founded Prison Fellowship Ministries, a faith-based organization dedicated to serving prisoners, ex-prisoners, and their families. Colson still regularly ministers in prisons across the country and around the world, and Prison Fellowship has been active in prison ministry since 1976. Colson went on to receive the Templeton Prize for Progress in Religion in 1993. He donated the money from the prize (worth more than $1 million), as he does all speaking fees and royalties, to further the work of Prison Fellowship.

From convicted serial murderers Ted Bundy and Jeffrey Dahmer, to countless lesser-known people, there are many examples one could mention in a discussion of dramatic religious conversions or experiences of spiritual transformation among those who end up incarcerated. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that a number of

individuals and groups dedicated to working with prisoners, offenders, and drug addicts are evangelical ministries whose work is based on the notion that a religious conversion is synonymous with reform or rehabilitation. In fact, for some faith-based groups or ministries, conversion is not only the first step—it is the only step necessary. In other words, if one accepts Jesus, then one's needs have been met, not only from an eternal, but a temporal perspective.

Though perhaps less prevalent now, this position is still very much pervasive among many faith-motivated volunteers in prison ministry. For example, Champions for Life, founded in 1969 by former NFL player Bill Glass, is a Christian-based prison ministry that brings athletes, entertainers, and former prisoners into correctional facilities to present a very clear evangelistic message to the prisoners. The message is simple: accept Jesus and you can become a new person. In fact, I recently had a candid conversation with the leadership of Champions for Life about this very subject. They were troubled by one of my earliest studies which found that born-again prisoners were just as likely to return to prison as other comparable prisoners. They did not understand how this could be possible if one really believes the Bible, and especially 2 Corinthians 5:17: "Therefore, if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has gone, the new has come!" Knowing I was a Christian, they wanted to know how I could reconcile my findings with this particular scripture. The question raised by leaders of this prison ministry captures an additional bias I have observed among many other Christians and ministries. Some secular individuals and groups often will not admit or accept that religion has a legitimate role in public life, while some religious people believe that faith alone is sufficient for ongoing transformation and that meeting worldly needs is not critical to sustain belief. At the expense of society at large, this paradox contributes to faith-based approaches remaining peripheral rather central to our crime-fighting strategies.



In response to the question posed by members of Champions for Life, I explained that I agreed with this scripture, but that it did not change the fact that prisoners face numerous and formidable challenges when they return to society. Just because an inmate makes a profession of faith in prison does not change the fact that he or she will struggle to find stable employment, acceptable housing, adequate transportation, and supportive family members. Because of these as well as other reentry difficulties, it is only a matter of time before many ex-prisoners return to prison. I would go on to argue that many (and perhaps most) inmates who experience religious conversions in prison are either unable or unwilling once released from prison to connect to a local congregation. Because reentry is so difficult, the decision to bypass the church is a recipe for disaster—effectively separating former prisoners from the support they would absolutely have to have in order to live a law-abiding and productive life in the free world. Without connections to the church, ex-prisoners will not have a mentor to hold them accountable, and they will not have access to the vibrant networks of social support that exist in so many congregations. These networks can touch each of the areas that are problematic during the reentry back to society.

Let me briefly return to the original question that an executive of Champions for Life asked me: how could I reconcile 2 Corinthians 5:17 with one of my published studies showing born-again inmates were just as likely to return to prison? My answer was painfully simple and direct. If the only difference between inmates who leave prison is that some are born-again Christians, it made sense to me that Christian inmates would have comparable recidivism rates. The conversion experience in and of itself is not enough to protect ex-prisoners from all manner of missteps they might take following release from prison. In-prison programs that provide highly structured instruction and mentoring are important to be sure, but they are only the start. Whatever instruction and mentoring inmates receive behind bars, they need significantly more support as ex-prisoners. Born-again Christian prisoners who are not the beneficiaries of this kind of support will most likely be re-arrested and returned to prison at similar rates as their nonreligious counterparts. Thus, these born-again ex-prisoners—new

creations they may be—are just as likely to return to prison, though this time they will bring Jesus with them when they return.

I have interviewed hundreds of inmates over the years who are four- and even five-time losers (i.e., they have served four or five previous prison sentences). When asked about their faith background, many have indicated they became Christian during their first or second prison commitment. As many inmates have told me, they simply strayed from the truth and abandoned the commitments they made in prison and intended to keep after release. Though a tough pill to swallow, representatives from Champions for Life understood what I was saying, and perhaps reluctantly they agreed with me. I was certainly not trying to minimize their work or question their call to preach the gospel in prisons. They understood my point: unless other faith-based ministries on the outside of prisons are willing to do more to intentionally work with ex-prisoners, new converts would have a hard time making it in the free world. In essence, my position was that a conversion experience is really only the first step in a much longer journey. Spiritual transformation is an ongoing process that cannot be averted once an inmate leaves prison. Take, for example, faith-based programs like Teen Challenge, the largest faith-based drug treatment program in the world. Teen Challenge follows something similar to a twelve-step program, but with the distinction that the first step is based on accepting Jesus Christ as one's Savior. In other words, they recognize that many more steps are necessary to remain sober, but the nonnegotiable first step is faith in Jesus.

Jailhouse Religion

When people speak of jailhouse religion they are usually making a disparaging statement about those claiming to "find God" when they have hit rock bottom, and for many, that means prison. Most people (including prisoners) view the term "jailhouse religion" in a suspicious or even pejorative way. Charles "Tex" Watson, known as Charles Manson's right-hand man, and who has been serving a life sentence for murder since 1971, made the statement at the top of this chapter about jailhouse religion. Watson became a born-again Christian in 1975 and for quite some time has been an ordained minister. Watson recognized that such conversions tend to be tied to people in utter despair, and with absolutely no hope they turn to God as a last resort. Because these professions of faith are made out of sheer desperation, many people argue that prisoners simply do not mean it. Therefore, jailhouse conversions are meaningless. Further, even if we assume inmates who find God in prison really do mean it (i.e., they make a genuine profession of faith), many observers concede that they have serious doubts that such conversions will stick.

We know from research that most religious conversions are not of the dramatic type. Rather, they tend to take place over time, often in connection with friends or family, and are anything but dramatic. This is not to say that most people would deny the reality of dramatic conversion experiences or even the possibility of a person being delivered from some addiction or other social problem. Rather, it is simply an acknowledgment that dramatic conversions more likely represent the exception rather than the rule. However, many prison ministries (and there are thousands of them) would likely claim just the opposite.

Unfortunately, to date, we do not have much empirical documentation of the prevalence of religious conversions, much less the role of conversions or spiritual transformations in influencing the behavioral change of inmates within correctional facilities, or more importantly, following release from prison. I published a dissertation that tracked, over a ten-year period, inmates released from a prison in Florida who reported having a "born again" experience. The born-again ex-prisoners were just as likely to be reincarcerated as comparable inmates from the same prison who did not report having

a religious conversion. In light of this finding, can we argue that religious conversions are meaningless or that jailhouse religion is of little value? Let me explain why the answer is an emphatic no.

First, one study does not a literature make. Second, the results from this particular study are not generalizable. That is to say, we can only argue that for this particular Florida prison, having a born-again experience had no significant impact on recidivism during the ten-year study period in which this research took place. Obviously, it is difficult to know the sincerity of prisoners who make professions of faith. Many powerful testimonials would seem to indicate an authentic conversion, but it is difficult to know exactly how to document the sincerity of such religious experiences. For example, at the point of death in the prison infirmary, Charles "Tex" Watson describes a spiritual turning point this way:

> *As I lay strapped on my back in the hospital, the words of the twenty-third Psalm—one I'd memorized as a child and read again in the Bible my mother had sent—began to run through my head: "The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want. . . ." I repeated the whole Psalm, over and over, with a sudden clarity of memory. First it was a prayer; then it became the answer to the prayer. I was suddenly aware of another presence in the stark hospital cell, not exactly visible, but unmistakably, powerfully there. It was this new Christ I'd been reading about. There was no doubt of it; this Son of God was saying: "Come to Me . . ." and He was there. As the Psalm continued to flow through my mind it was as if He took me to Himself, held me, and filled me with a peace and a quiet that left me sure that everything was going to be all right, no matter what came next. Whether I lived or died, I had nothing to fear: "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me." He was with me; I knew it and I could rest. It didn't matter anymore what happened—He would not desert me.*

Charles Watson has spent approximately thirty-five years sharing his faith with other prisoners. Without the possibility of parole, it would seem that Watson would have little, if anything, to gain by dedicating his life to prison ministry.

Many people remember the story of Karla Faye Tucker. She received the death penalty for the brutal murder of her friend Jerry Dean in 1983. After fourteen years on death row, Tucker was executed in 1998, in Huntsville, Texas. She had become an evangelical Christian in prison and would become a model inmate. Her acts of service became well known not only within the Texas Department of Criminal Justice, but around the country. Many prominent and powerful people would come to her aid in trying to convince then-governor George W. Bush to intervene and stop the execution. During her incarceration Tucker met her victim's brother, Richard Thornton, and he would become a Christian as a result of her interaction with him. When asked if she had any last words before the lethal injection was administered, here is part of her statement:

> *Yes sir, I would like to say to all of you —the Thornton family and Jerry Dean's family—that I am so sorry. I hope God will give you peace with this… Everybody has been so good to me. I love all of you very much. I am going to be face to face with Jesus now. Warden Baggett, thank all of you so much. You have been so good to me. I love all of you very much. I will see you all when you get there. I will wait for you.*

Recounting the last words of Karla Faye Tucker reminds me of conversations I have had over the years with prison chaplains who have worked specifically with death row inmates. In 1983, in search of suitable data for my dissertation, I met with William E. Counselman, chaplaincy services coordinator for the Florida Department of Corrections, in Tallahassee, Florida. Counselman had for many years been a death row chaplain at Florida State Prison in Starke, Florida, before taking an administrative post with the Florida Department of Corrections. When I asked him about his experiences of working with death row inmates, he indicated it had been a very difficult assignment. He shared with me that he had walked many men to the electric chair prior to May 1964. In fact, he explained that executions for a good number of years were quite common and would receive very little media coverage. He related to me that many of the prisoners he worked with on death row would become Christians. And because many remained on death row for a number of years before the sentence was actually carried out, he was able to become a spiritual mentor to a number of these converts. Counselman asserted that the spiritual change he observed over time in many of these converts was truly remarkable. I remember Counselman stating, "Invariably, it was the condemned prisoner that ministered to me on that walk to the electric chair—instead of me ministering to them. They were prepared to die, but I wasn't prepared to see them die." Knowing that these prisoners were completely remorseful, that they had turned their lives over to God and were completely different people from the ones who had committed some awful act years earlier, made it all the more difficult for Chaplain Counselman.

A few years later, in 1988, I visited the Changi Prison in Singapore. I will never forget my shock when touring that facility. Built by the British in 1936, the prison was

the most primitive I had ever seen. One had the feeling a good gust wind of could blow the dilapidated facility down. It was hot and muggy in Singapore, and of course, there was no air conditioning in the prison. On my tour, I remember walking by a life-size photograph of a nude inmate who had recently been caned. Caning is a legal form of corporal punishment where inmates are beaten with canes (large, heavy, soaked rattan). The photograph showed blood flowing from a series of cuts running horizontally along the entire back, buttocks, and legs of the prisoner who was being disciplined. The photograph, of course, was intended to be a deterrent for future rule violators.

Shortly after my tour, I visited with the warden of the prison, and after offering me a cup of tea, the first thing he said was, "I know what you're thinking—you are thinking we have no human rights here in Singapore." What was I supposed to say to that? He was correct, of course. That is exactly what I was thinking, but at the same time I did not want to offend him or appear to be an ungrateful visitor. I simply smiled and said something stupid like, "You know the prisoners here seem remarkably well-behaved." To which he smiled and replied, "Yes, I believe our recidivism rate is much lower than that found in the United States."

While at the prison I also met with Henry Khoo. Rev. Khoo had been the chaplain at Changi Prison for many years, and he shared with me how they handle religious services and programs for the inmates. Accommodating the diverse spiritual needs of inmates is not as simple as some might think. Among other things, Khoo shared with me his memories of walking inmates to the gallows. In Singapore, hanging is the method by which inmates receiving the death penalty are executed. I remember Khoo telling me how vastly different it was to walk to the gallows with prisoners who had become Christians, as opposed to non-Christians. He stated that the non-Christians tended to be bitter and angry during that last walk, and that you could see the torment in their faces. For the Christians, however, the situation was completely different. He described Christians as being at complete peace before the hanging, a calmness that was obvious to anyone observing. In essence, they were ready to meet their maker. I remember vividly Rev. Khoo telling me of one instance while walking an inmate to the gallows, the chaplain was so distraught he could not hold in his emotions and began to weep openly. The prisoner could hear the chaplain crying behind him, and stopped and turned around and told the chaplain, "I'm ashamed of you, where's your faith? I'm going to be with Jesus in a few minutes. There's no need to cry." Khoo would tell me this was not an isolated case, and that many of the prisoners he walked to the gallows ended up ministering to him, rather the reverse.

There can be no denying that we certainly need more solid research on the role of religion within the correctional setting, and especially more focused research on spiritual conversion in prison. Nonetheless, it would seem shortsighted—for reasons I will share momentarily—to argue that religious conversions in prison are meaningless, or to assume they will not stick.

First, let me be very clear about my position on religious conversions in prison. I do not believe that conversion experiences—no matter how dramatic—are the answer to prisoner reform, or for that matter, a host of other crime-related problems (e.g., delinquency, violence, substance abuse, prisoner reentry, and aftercare). At the same time I do believe that "finding God" or becoming a born-again Christian can play a critically important role as a starting point in the process of long-term change and reform. In other words, religious conversions play a necessary role, but these conversions, in isolation, are insufficient in reforming offenders and bringing about lasting change. That is to say, the key to sustainable behavioral change is the ongoing process of spiritual transformation. My statement that conversion experiences (e.g., becoming a born-again Christian) in isolation of other factors is insufficient for reforming offenders will no doubt be viewed as heresy among some devote believers. To invoke Oswald Chambers, "what we call the process—God calls the end." The process of spiritual growth and development makes it possible to sustain a turning point that may have been initiated through a conversion. Let me explain.

In chapters 10 and 11, I discuss the many obstacles that prisoners face in returning to society. For many, it is only a matter of time before they break the law or violate a condition of their parole. Housing, employment, transportation, lack of life skills, and inability to handle stressful conditions are just some of the problems facing ex-prisoners. Former inmates who have had a conversion experience are not exempt from these obstacles. Indeed, unless ex-prisoners who happen to be born-again Christians get the social and spiritual support necessary to develop a deep and lasting religious commitment—mainly via congregations—they will likely fail in their effort to transition back to society. To deny this prospect one has to be completely naïve or unwilling to examine the facts.

Spiritual Transformation and Change over the Life Course

Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck conducted one of the most well-known delinquency studies of all time. The Gluecks in 1950 published the classic book Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency, where they studied, among other

things, five hundred troubled boys raised in Boston who had already been involved in delinquent behavior and had been put into reform school. The Gluecks collected extensive records about the boys and tracked them through adolescence. Many years later, Robert Sampson and John Laub, two leading criminologists, would find all the original files from the Gluecks' research and would ultimately follow up with the original respondents, to see how they were doing now that they were around 60 years of age. Sampson and Laub found out that some of the troubled boys, as one might expect, ended up in trouble with the law for the rest of their lives. Others, however, lived very normal lives and had no legal problems. In an important book, Sampson and Laub not only examined why troubled kids remained in trouble, but more important, they also focused on how so many of these troubled youth actually turned out well.

The answers that Sampson and Laub put forward are consistent with a life-course perspective. They found that the troubled kids who would get straightened out experienced some sort of a turning point or event that was pivotal in bringing them out of a criminal lifestyle or path, and into a more traditional and law-abiding pattern of behavior. These turning points, for example, could be landing a job, getting married, or becoming a parent. For others, going into military service might prove to be a turning point by perhaps providing the discipline and structure they were lacking. Likewise, the demands and responsibility that tend to come with employment, marriage, or raising a family likely provided the stability and purpose that are part and parcel of looking out for others' welfare—all while staying out of trouble. In other words, life-course theory suggests that people can and do change. Just because a person starts out on the wrong track does not mean that he or she is destined to stay on the wrong track.

Essentially Sampson and Laub, as well as other life-course theorists, agree that having ties or bonds to social institutions (marriage, family, employment, etc.) significantly influences behavior over the course of a lifetime. However, these theorists have had precious little to say about the factors that lead to the changes in ties or bonds. Stated differently, scholars have been reluctant to discuss how changes within the individual during adulthood may lead to the formation of these important social bonds.

In recent years, however, several scholars have acknowledged that changes in the individual must take place before that person is ready to develop ties and bonds to social institutions. In other words, the individual must change if the bond is to form. According to Doris MacKenzie, "To get along with family, keep a job, support children, or form strong, positive ties with other institutions, the person must change in cognitive reasoning, views toward drug use, anti-social attitudes, reading level, or vocation skills. A focus on individual change is critical to our understanding of what works in corrections." Peggy Giordano and her colleagues call this kind of change "cognitive transformation." For them, these cognitive transformations are essential before a person is able to sustain a new way of life. These researchers suggest that religion can be viewed not only as a source of external control over an individual's conduct but also as a catalyst for new definitions and a cognitive blueprint for how one is to proceed as a changed individual. This process of change is facilitated by faith or spirituality, whether through an affiliation with a religious congregation, based more on personal spiritual experiences, or both. This process makes possible the development of a new and more favorable identity to replace the old one associated with any or all of the following: failure, violence, abuse, addiction, heartbreak, and guilt.

This is why religious conversions and spiritual transformations are important. These religious experiences are turning points or events in the lives of offenders. These religious experiences allow offenders to build a new foundation and to start their lives over. As discussed in chapter 6, many born-again inmates are able for the first time to admit to the crimes they have committed and get a new lease on life. As Shadd Maruna argues, getting a chance to rewrite one's own narrative can be a powerful and redemptive thing, giving ex-prisoners the hope and purpose they need to start a new and prosocial life, while coming to grips with the antisocial life they have left behind.

Along these same lines, a number of restorative justice programs are interested in bringing crime victims and offenders face-to-face. These programs, many of which are faith-based, exist in order to bring closure and emotional healing to an experience that has never been reconciled. I remember interviewing a particular prisoner on multiple occasions, Ron Flowers, a convicted murderer from Houston. Ron had become a Christian in prison, but nonetheless maintained his innocence. Flowers was convicted of shooting a teenage girl at gunpoint. The girl, Dee Dee Washington, was in the car of another person who, unbeknownst to her, was attempting to purchase drugs. In police parlance, she was simply an innocent bystander—collateral damage.

Ron Flowers participated in a faith-based prison program and met a pastor of a church in Houston who did volunteer work at the prison. One day the minister mentioned working with prisoners at a nearby prison. Intrigued, one of the members, Arna Washington, a schoolteacher, asked the pastor if he had met or had heard of Ron Flowers. "That's the name of the man who

killed my daughter fourteen years ago," she stated. The pastor replied, "He's in my group—would you like to meet him?" I doubt either the pastor or Mrs. Washington realized the mathematical long shot of Ron Flowers being in this small faith-based prison group. After all, Texas is home to more than one hundred thousand inmates in more than one hundred prisons.

Mrs. Washington, did, in fact, want to meet Ron Flowers—the person she had come to hate for literally devastating her family. Not long after her daughter's murder, Mrs. Washington's husband and son also died. Though a devout Christian, Mrs. Washington was clearly bitter and had written letters to the Texas parole board in an effort to ensure that Flowers would stay in prison as long as possible. Now she would actually have the opportunity to meet him and ask the question she had been struggling with for fourteen years.

When the meeting took place, several unexpected things happened. The second they met face-to-face, Flowers, to his surprise, for the first time, confessed to the murder. Mrs. Washington then asked the question she had been waiting to ask: "Why did you shoot and kill my daughter?" Flowers explained he had been a crazed young teenager who was strung out on drugs, and he just started shooting and she happened to get shot. He went to say, "I don't know if you can forgive me, but I'm sorry for what I have done." To Mrs. Washington's surprise, she heard herself saying, "I forgive you." Reflecting on that day, Mrs. Washington told me in one of our interviews, "That was the moment I got my life back. A huge load was lifted the instant I forgave him." The story does not end there. Mrs. Washington went on to develop a strong and lasting relationship with Ron Flowers. In her own words, she "would adopt him as [my] son." Ron got out of prison in 1998 and visited Mrs. Washington weekly. He sat with her in church on Sundays, and she played a crucial role in his successful transition back to society. Now happily married, Ron has been out of prison for more than a decade, has been employed at the same company for nine years, has a four-year-old son, and has a bright future. Ron recently told me his spiritual transformation is one that is still a work in progress, but it is something he continually seeks to deepen and mature. Mrs. Washington died in 2007.

Though there are a number of significant aspects to this compelling story, perhaps the most significant for me was the impromptu admission of guilt by Flowers when confronted with Mrs. Washington. I would argue that his surprising admission of guilt, coupled with Mrs. Washington's decision to forgive him, represented a powerful turning point that changed Ron Flowers's life. This critical turning point, however, would not have happened had Ron not become a Christian through a faith-based prison program. For this reason, religious conversions are important. Becoming a born-again Christian may put into motion a sequence of events that become pivotal in dramatically changing a person's behavioral trajectory. The conversion itself is not necessarily enough, but it provides a bridge to other faith-motivated individuals and resources that could prove instrumental in having a tipping effect in one person's life.

Every year hundreds of thousands of prisoners participate in religious services and interact with faith-motivated volunteers and mentors. Many of these offenders have had religious conversions. In and of itself, this may not mean a great deal to criminologists, correctional practitioners, or policy makers. However, faith-based prison programs and, more importantly, faith-based reentry and aftercare programs have the potential to build upon these religious conversions. In the life course, conversions should not be viewed cynically as jailhouse religion, but rather as the opportunity to connect these converts to volunteers and faith-based networks that can facilitate and nurture spiritual transformation.

This is exactly why the most effective programs helping offenders are those that intentionally link spiritual transformation to other support networks, especially those that are faith-motivated and faith-friendly. Let me be clear: simply relying only on faith-based prison programs to reform prisoners and reduce crime would be a misguided policy recommendation. However, faith-based organizations, governmental agencies, and other social service providers need to think strategically about partnerships and mutual accountability in order to produce results that reduce recidivism and protect the public safety. The next three chapters elaborate on why these religious connections are important and how we can be intentional about developing them.

Shutting Down The Shuttle

By Alan W. Dowd

NASA

Barring a dramatic change of heart in Congress and the White House, the space shuttle program has counted down to its final takeoff. Once the shuttles are mothballed and shipped off to the museums, the United States will have no way of delivering its own astronauts into space, at least not for the foreseeable future. Instead, U.S. astronauts will fly on Russian rockets, while NASA tries to leverage commercial space assets.

Most Americans either don't care or don't know about the nation's looming self-imposed exile from space. That will change as Russia, China, and others surge ahead—and America lowers its sights.

Mind the Gap

Decades of benign neglect and a confluence of events conspired to steer us toward this unhappy destination.

One of those events was the *Columbia* disaster of 2003. Pre-*Columbia*, NASA had planned to deploy the shuttle until 2022. In fact, *Apollo* astronaut Gene Cernan points out that each shuttle was built for 100 missions. *Discovery*, the oldest of the remaining three shuttles, has flown just 39. But the loss of *Columbia* radically altered plans to fly space shuttles into the 2020s.

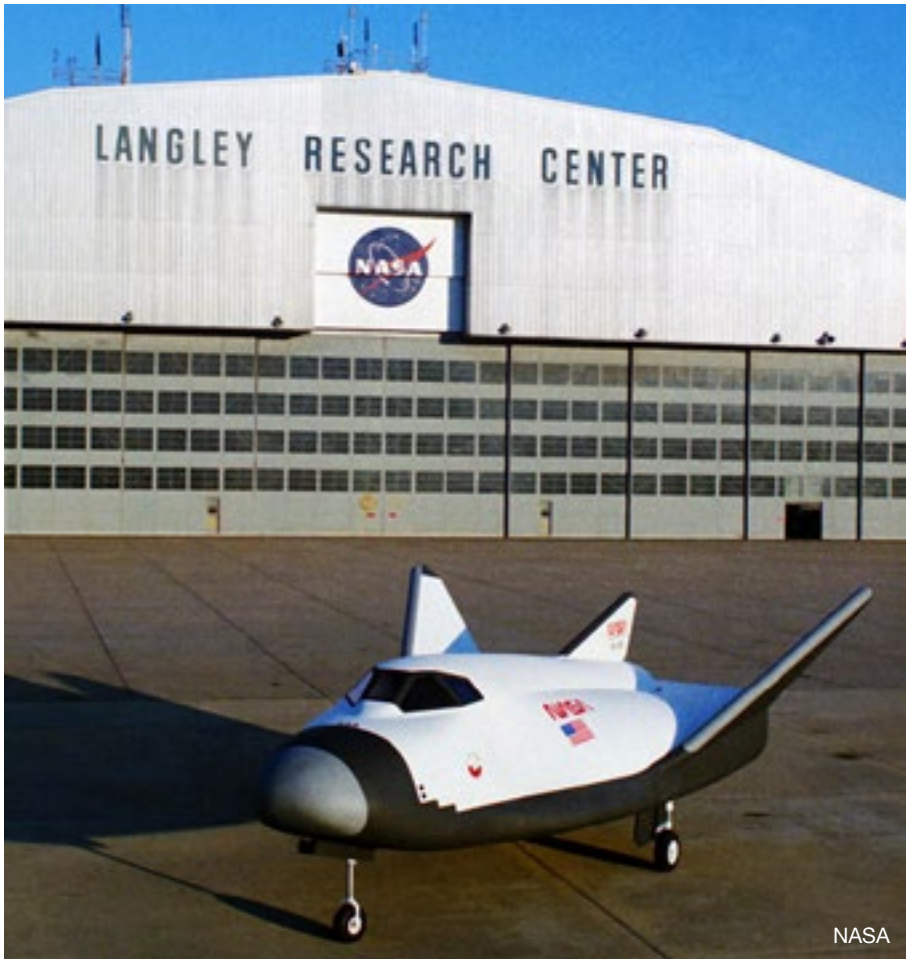
The shuttle's critics, citing the *Columbia* and *Challenger* disasters, have long argued that it is too expensive and too undependable.

A prime example is science writer Jeffrey Kluger's observation that shuttles "cost $400 million every time they fly, take months to prep for a mission and have a devastatingly poor safety record, as two lost ships and 14 lost lives attest" (*Time*, March 6, 2006).

It's worth noting, however, that the shuttle program settled into an efficient routine in the years between *Challenger* and *Columbia*. For 17 solid years, to be exact, the shuttle made the miracle of human spaceflight so seemingly effortless and ordinary that it became a footnote. Takeoffs weren't televised, spacewalks weren't broadcast, and landings weren't reported. Carrying humans beyond that place where space and sky collide—and back—was just part of what America did.

In truth, the space shuttle was, and is, anything but ordinary. It lifts off like a rocket, races around the earth like a satellite, services space stations and telescopes, delivers satellites and sensors, and then glides home on a fountain of fire, before gently touching down like any passenger plane. And somehow it is only the failures—two over 30 years and some 135 missions—that grab our attention.

That leads us to the benign neglect. For decades, policy makers of both parties and the public at large shrugged at the man-made miracle of spaceflight, failed to appreciate the nation's reliance on space for everyday life and largely failed to invest in, plan for, or think about life after the shuttle. When *Challenger* exploded in 1986, for instance, U.S. policy makers should have recognized that the shuttle was neither immortal nor problem free, and they should have begun to invest in the shuttle's successor. But that didn't happen. In fact, it wasn't until October 2009, almost a quarter-century after *Challenger*, that the United States tested the Ares I-X rocket—the first new crew-capable spacecraft unveiled by NASA since the shuttle.



NASA

Today, NASA funding amounts to about 0.5% of federal spending. In the early 1960s, it was about 1.1% of federal spending (Derek Leebaert, *The Fifty-Year Wound*, 267). The result, as explained by Norman Augustine, chairman of the presidentially appointed Human Spaceflight Plans Committee (HSPC), is that NASA "doesn't have enough money to develop the next-generation system while it continues to operate the current system" (remarks before the Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Subcommittee, September 16, 2009).

In other words, without additional spending, a gap between the end of the shuttle and the beginning of its successor program was inevitable. Under the Bush admin-

Deploying into space isn't about geopolitical bragging rights nowadays. It's about maintaining America's national security edge and holding the ultimate high ground to tilt the global balance of power in favor of the United States and its closest allies.

istration's plan, that gap had a defined endpoint, somewhere around 2014–15. The Bush administration proposed phasing out the shuttle to divert resources to the *Constellation* program, which would use the best of the shuttle and *Apollo* programs to carry Americans beyond low-earth orbit and deeper into space.

As *Apollo* astronauts Neil Armstrong, Jim Lovell, and Cernan noted in an open letter last year, "*Constellation* was endorsed by two presidents of different parties and approved by both Democratic and Republican congresses" (Armstrong, Cernan, Lovell, April 13, 2010).

However, President Barack Obama canceled *Constellation* and has flatlined NASA spending. As NASA administrator Charles Bolden puts it, the new NASA budget "requires us to live within our means," which is what most Americans expect of their government ("NASA Administrator Addresses Agency Budget," NASA.gov, February 15, 2011). It's just that the administration's willingness to make tough decisions on NASA spending stands in such stark contrast with its eagerness to pour unprecedented sums into virtually every other government program.

Moreover, according to some congressional leaders, the president has ignored the stated will of Congress when it comes to America's space program. "While last year's Authorization Act was by no means a perfect bill," Rep. Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-Tex.) said during a recent hearing focused on NASA funding, "it did clearly articulate Congress's intention that NASA pursue a means of transportation that builds on all the work that's been done over the past five

NASA

years. I do not see it reflected in the proposed NASA budget request" (Clara Moskowitz, "NASA Chief Defends Space Budget in Congress," MSNBC, March 2, 2011).

What the Obama administration has done instead is use NASA resources to encourage the development of commercial rockets and to continue purchasing Russian-outsourced missions. Russia began carrying American crews and cargo to the International Space Station after the Columbia disaster in 2003. The United States is forking over $780 million through 2011 to purchase seats and space on Russian rockets, and Russia recently upped the price from $55.8 million per seat to $62.7 million under a new contract (Michael Griffin, Statement before the Committee on Science and Technology, February 13, 2008; Tariq Malik, "NASA to Fly Astronauts on Russian Spaceships at Nearly $63 Million per Seat," Space.com, March 14, 2011).

Of course, collaborating with Russia as a short-term stopgap is far different than counting on Putin and his puppets indefinitely. This is very troublesome, especially given Russia's open hostility to U.S. interests and policies. Consider the high-stakes bargaining—or if you prefer, blackmail—this unfortunate situation invites.

Just as worrisome is Russia's

The Chinese and Russian militaries are not going to unlearn what they know or surrender their capabilities. Neither should the U.S. military.

space competence. Earlier this year, Russia launched an unmanned spacecraft, lost it for a few days, and then found it in the wrong orbit. This followed failure of a satellite to reach orbit due to what news agencies called "a basic fuel miscalculation" (AFP, "Russia: Foreign Power May Have Disabled Satellite," February 14, 2011).

As to private-sector alternatives, Armstrong, Cernan, and Lovell note that "The availability of a commercial transport to orbit as envisioned in the president's proposal cannot be predicted with any certainty." Indeed, there are limitations to what private firms can do: one of NASA's main private-sector partners is SpaceX, which is developing the Falcon 9 rocket, which is expected to carry 22,000 pounds into space. By contrast, the shuttle can deliver a 65,000-pound payload into orbit. Moreover, SpaceX rockets have failed several times since 2006 (Matthew Honan, "The Falcon 1's Rocket Science, from Its Avionics to Its Engines," *Wired*, May 22, 2007; AP, "SpaceX finds cause of failed private rocket launch," August 6, 2008).

The Ultimate High Ground

These alternatives are simply not worthy of the United States, the greatest space-faring nation in history. "To be without carriage to low-earth orbit and with no human exploration capability to go beyond Earth orbit for an indeterminate time into the future," as the astronaut trio puts it, "destines our nation to become one of second- or even third-rate stature."

Indeed, in a realm beyond yet related to national security, surrendering the ability to carry astronauts into space promises to be a blow to America's prestige. We've been here before. Almost six years elapsed between the *Apollo-Soyuz* linkup in 1975 and America's next manned space mission, the maiden voyage of *Columbia*. That period ominously coincided with what is generally considered the nadir of America's post–World War II power.

Deploying into space isn't about geopolitical bragging rights nowadays. It's about maintaining America's national security edge and holding the ultimate high ground to tilt the global balance of power in favor of the United States and its closest allies.

China understands this. As Xu Qiliang, commander of China's air force, has observed, "If you control space, you can also control the land and the sea" (BBC, "U.S. Praises China's Space Progress," December 4, 2009). Toward that end, China is rapidly developing capabilities "to limit or prevent the use of space-based assets by its potential adversaries," according to the Pentagon. In 2007, Beijing tested an anti-satellite (ASAT) missile, demonstrating its ability to attack satellites in low-earth orbit. The Pentagon reports that Beijing is "developing other technologies and concepts for kinetic (hit-to-kill) weapons and directed-energy weapons for ASAT missions." A 2008 Pentagon report quotes Chinese military planners as envisioning a "space shock and awe strike . . . [to] shake the structure of the opponent's operational system of organization and . . . create huge psychological impact on the opponent's policymakers." The Pentagon noted in 2009 that Chinese military "writings emphasize the necessity of 'destroying, damaging, and interfering with the enemy's reconnaissance/observation and communications satellites.'" (All quotes from the Pentagon's *Annual Report to Congress: Military Power of the People's Republic of China,* 2007, 2008, and 2009.)

"To minimize the threat to our space capabilities now and in the future," General James Cartwright, vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has argued, "we need continued support of programs that enhance our space situational awareness, space protection capabilities, and satellite operations in order to preserve unfettered, reliable, and secure access to space" (James Cartwright, Testimony Before the Strategic Forces Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee, March 28, 2007).

Civilian programs must be viewed as part of this mix. It pays to recall that many shuttle missions have been strictly military missions, some of them highly classified.

Options

The United States does have options. "It's clear to me that this nation could afford a strong human spaceflight program," Augustine told a Senate committee in 2009, noting that Americans spend $32 billion on movies. "It's simply a question of priority."

Among the alternatives cited by the HSPC are extending the

shuttle's life span "to preserve U.S. capability to launch astronauts into space," developing a heavy-lift vehicle derived from the shuttle program's infrastructure, and/or investing additional resources into NASA to create "a less constrained budget" and allow for "meaningful human exploration" (HSPC, 3, 9–10, 12).

Boeing engineer Mike Dahm has proposed flying the shuttle without astronauts. "De-man-rate it and fly it autonomous," he suggested in 2009 (Joel Achenbach, "Hubble Mission Opens Shuttle's Last Act," *Washington Post*, May 12, 2009). While that wouldn't solve America's manned-spaceflight gap, it would at least free the United States from dependence on Russia.

To attract new resources, Cernan proposes a voluntary NASA tax checkoff similar to the one for presidential elections.

Yet another alternative is shifting all space operations, including manned spaceflight, to the U.S. military. In fact, NASA's annual funding—around $18.7 billion—is "less than half of the amount spent on national security space programs" (Marc Kaufman, "U.S. Finds It's Getting Crowded out There," *Washington Post*, July 9, 2008). We can extrapolate national-security space spending to be around $38 billion.

Even though that's a tiny amount relative to overall federal spending, it warrants an explanation. After all, thoughtful people question whether it's in the economic interest of taxpayers to invest in space programs. Those who view government's main role as providing services might argue that space spending diverts resources from social programs, while the more market-minded among us might say the government is already taking enough from the private sector.

We might find part of the answer to this line of contention from no less an authority on economic behavior than Adam Smith, who noted that "the first duty of the sovereign, that of protecting the society from the violence and invasion of other independent societies, can be performed only by means of a military force" (Adam Smith [1776], *The Wealth of Nations*, Liberty Fund-Glasgow Edition, 1991, 689). What serves as the launching pad for violence, threat, or invasion—land, sea, sky, or space—diminishes neither the danger nor the sovereign's duty to confront it.

With an eye on confronting space-based threats, the Air Force is testing the secret X-37, an unmanned space plane that enters orbit courtesy of an Atlas V rocket, can loiter in space for up to 270 days, and can fly 500 nautical miles above the earth. An X-37 returned from a 225-day mission in December 2010; another X-37 started a mission in March 2011. In other words, the end of the shuttle doesn't

Extending the shuttle's life may not be the solution, but neither is the status quo.

mean the end of America's presence in space. Even so, it's difficult to imagine that the United States will be able to maintain its space edge relying on an experimental space plane, under-strength commercial rockets and an undependable Russia.

Yet bringing NASA into the Pentagon's orbit would seem to be years away.

First, such a shift would trigger turf battles within the Pentagon and within Congress that few are eager to wage.

Second, it doesn't seem to conform to the president's views on the military use of space.

Although the Obama administration has allowed testing of the X-37, it has vowed to pursue "a worldwide ban on weapons that interfere with military and commercial satellites" (Frank Morring, "White House Wants Space Weapons Ban," *Aviation Week*, Jan 27, 2009). Banning ASAT weapons is a noble goal. But to update an old saying, that rocket has already left the earth's atmosphere. The Chinese and Russian militaries are not going to unlearn what they know or surrender their capabilities. Neither should the U.S. military. As George Washington counseled, "There is nothing so likely to produce peace as to be well prepared to meet an enemy."

The previous two administrations subscribed to this commonsense view. The Bush administration, for example, opposed treaties that would constrain U.S. operations in space and demonstrated U.S. space capabilities by shooting down a satellite. Likewise, the Clinton administration authorized the Pentagon to test laser weapons against a satellite and adopted a space policy directing the Pentagon to "develop, operate and maintain space-control capabilities to ensure freedom of action in space and, if directed, to deny such freedom of action to adversaries" (John Hyten, "A Sea of Peace or a Theater of War?" *Air and Space Power Journal*, Fall 2002; The White House, National Space Policy Fact Sheet, September 19, 1996).

A New World

In light of these recent precedents, current global challenges and future risks, the Obama administration needs to revisit its plans for space. Extending the shuttle's life may not be the solution, but neither is the status quo.

Consider America's space standdown from a different perspective: What if, in the midst of exploring, colonizing, and securing the New World, Britain—the greatest seafaring power of its day—decided to mothball its naval fleet and rely on other countries to transport British men and material across the oceans? This much we know: Britain and the world would be very different today.

After America's self-imposed exile from space is over, America and the world—and space—could be very different.

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