

Trust

The Pew Charitable Trusts

VOLUME 12/NUMBER 1/SUMMER 2009



***How is the American Dream Faring?
Economic Policy—for Today and Tomorrow
Marianas Trench: Monument to Wise Policy
Journalism: Swan Song or Transition?***



Preparation

“**T**he trouble with the future,” said the American humorist Arnold H. Glasow, “is that it usually arrives before we’re ready for it.” One way we can be ready for the future, however, is to enter unknown territory with a solid grounding in facts and research.

In these difficult economic times, many Americans are increasingly concerned about losing the opportunity to build a better life for their loved ones and themselves. More than six decades ago, J. Howard Pew, a founder of The Pew Charitable Trusts, said of our nation, “Here, the door of opportunity has been kept open for every man, irrespective of creed, class or color. Here, men found that when they succeeded, they were rewarded in proportion to their achievements.”

While our country has not always achieved that noble ideal, pride in determining our own futures, regardless of our origins, remains a pillar of our national identity as well as a critical focus of our efforts at the Trusts.

In launching the Economic Mobility Project two years ago—well before financial markets began to plummet—we aimed to gauge how Americans move up or down the economic ladder. Like all of Pew’s work, the initiative is nonpartisan and grounded in reliable data. It unites nationally recognized, and ideologically diverse, scholars, economists, social scientists and policy experts. Last year, both major presidential campaigns consulted the project’s research, which continues to serve as a valued resource for the public, elected leaders and the media.

Inspired by this broad appetite for the initiative’s findings, last year we expanded our focus and created the Economic Policy department, whose mandate includes two additional areas: measuring and quantifying federal

intervention in the markets; and encouraging responsible, transparent fiscal and budget policy. No sooner had we completed that step than the future “arrived,” in the form of a financial meltdown and global recession.

Currently, our work is not only addressing the challenges of today but also preparing for tomorrow by advancing lasting and comprehensive reforms to the regulations that govern our financial system. However unclear the path to a more vibrant economy, we trust that fact-based research will illuminate the best means of addressing a crisis that has been compounded by a lack of transparency and understanding.

To enter a new era of accountability, we must begin by sharing information openly and freely. We depend on the media to support a healthy democracy, yet recent newspaper bankruptcies and market disruption threaten the availability of accurate reporting—a “future” that has been anticipated for more than a decade but, following Glasow’s adroit observation, one that arrived before many of us were ready.

And so Americans find ourselves asking questions that seem scarcely conceivable: Can the news industry reinvent itself in time to survive? Will its norms—including original reporting that, at its best, provides critical information and holds powerful institutions and individuals responsible for their actions—continue to play a vital role in new media? What kind of ethical guidelines can we expect from journalism in new media? Will reporters be able to put events in larger, more meaningful contexts at a time when people read and write in 140-character tweets? How will new kinds of journalism contribute to a free society and healthy democracy?

When Pew launched the Project for Excellence in Journalism (PEJ) in 1997, the initiative focused on evaluating the press and helping journalists clarify their professional principles. Over the years, while PEJ’s commitment to nonpartisan, non-ideological nonpolitical research has remained

constant, the scope of its studies has evolved significantly. Now—as part of the Pew Research Center—PEJ is interpreting the information revolution through content analyses and fact-based commentaries. Whatever challenges the future holds, we hope that the project’s thoughtful, empirical and increasingly detailed portrait of the profession will help prepare journalists—and all Americans—to meet them.

Warnings that pollution, overfishing and mismanagement could impoverish the world’s oceans have been sounded for a century now, but these alarms take on greater urgency now that 90 percent of Earth’s large predatory fish are disappearing. While many people have increasingly appreciated the need to conserve wilderness on land, we are only beginning to understand the similar need to protect marine environments.

Fortunately, when President George W. Bush designated three marine national monuments in January, reliable science and effective long-range planning triumphed over short-term interests. Following our 2006 success in helping to protect waters in the northwestern Hawaiian Islands, Pew partnered for two years with national and international stakeholders to build support for a large-scale marine reserve within the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas. We published first-of-their-kind scientific and economic assessments, convened public forums and stimulated vigorous discussion. The result speaks volumes for the power of knowledge.

Indeed, while we are rarely able to predict what will happen in the future, we can prepare—by relying on objective data, reliable research and a diverse array of informed perspectives. Even as the scope of our work at Pew grows broader, our philosophy remains constant: As Pew Charitable Trusts founder J.N. Pew Jr. said decades ago, “Tell the truth, and trust the people.”

*Rebecca W. Rimel
President and CEO*

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The Economic Mobility Project assesses the status of the American Dream and defines the factors that will enable more people to share in it.



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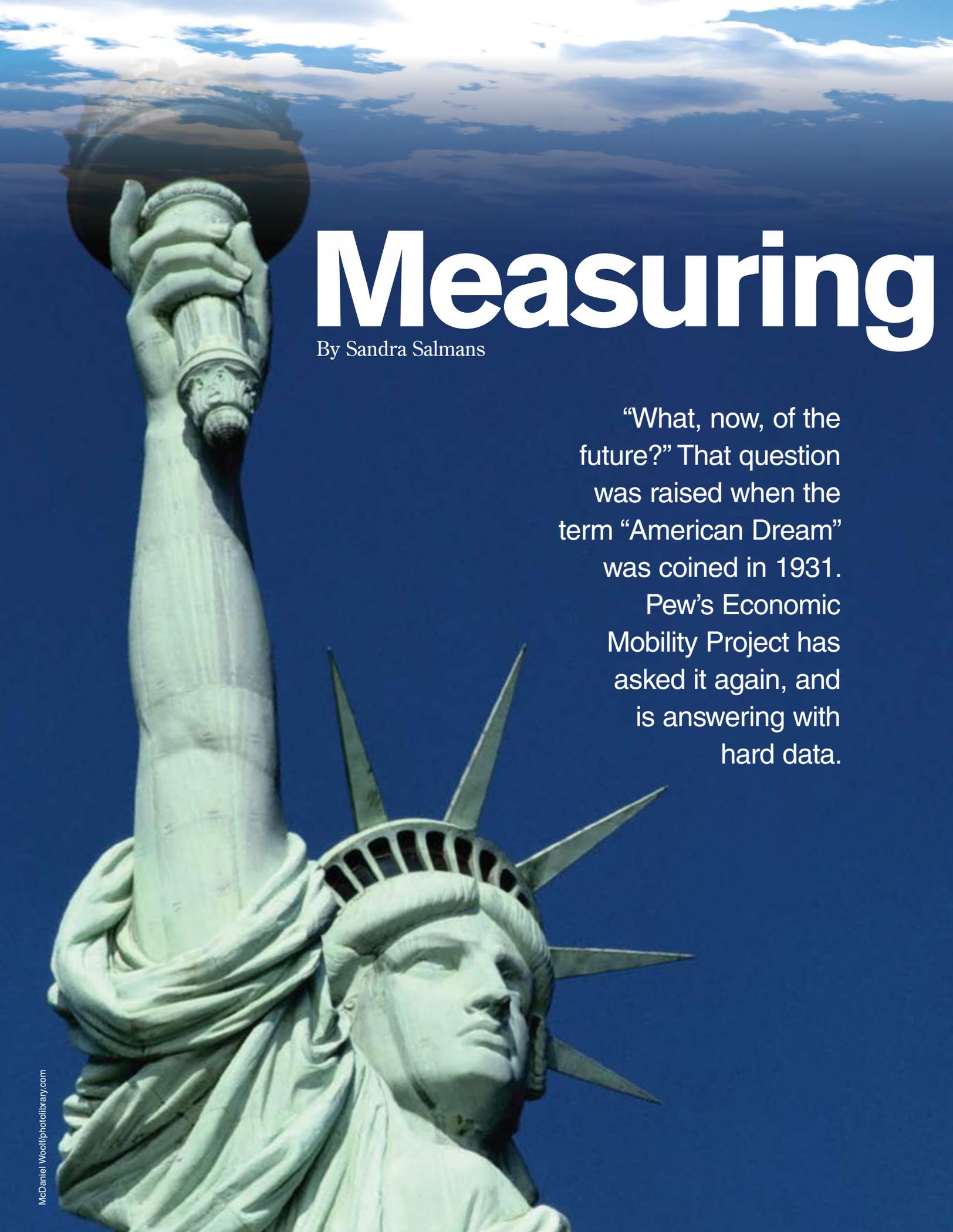
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The Pew Charitable Trusts is driven by the power of knowledge to solve today's most challenging problems. Pew applies a rigorous, analytical approach to improve public policy, inform the public and stimulate public life. Headquartered in Philadelphia and Washington, D.C., Pew will invest about \$270 million in fiscal year 2010 (not including donor funds) to provide organizations and citizens with fact-based research and practical solutions for intractable issues.

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

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A low-angle photograph of the Statue of Liberty against a bright blue sky with scattered white clouds. The statue's right arm is raised, holding a large, glowing torch. The top of her crown with its seven spikes is visible. The lighting is bright, creating strong highlights and shadows on the statue's surface.

Measuring

By Sandra Salmans

“What, now, of the future?” That question was raised when the term “American Dream” was coined in 1931.

Pew’s Economic Mobility Project has asked it again, and is answering with hard data.



the Dream

The American dream that has lured tens of millions of all nations to our shores in the past century . . . has been a dream of being able to grow to fullest development as man and woman, unhampered by the barriers which had solely been erected in older civilizations, unrepressed by social orders which had developed for the benefit of classes rather than for the simple human being of any and every class. And that dream has been realized more fully in actual life here than anywhere else, though very imperfectly even among ourselves.

It has been a great epic and a great dream. What, now, of the future?

James Truslow Adams, *The Epic of America*

Writing in the depths of the Great Depression in 1931, Adams was understandably concerned about the future of the American Dream, the term he is believed to have coined. Although Adams's phrase had a much broader meaning, over the years the American Dream came to describe the potential for children to achieve a better material life than their parents—and, in the postwar years, that Dream was a genuine reality.

Today, with the nation in the grip of the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, the American Dream sometimes seems to be in jeopardy. Reflecting on voters' accounts of "jobs lost and homes foreclosed, hours cut and benefits slashed," President Obama has observed, "It's like the American Dream in reverse."

Yet a recent poll by Pew's Economic Mobility Project finds that eight in 10 Americans believe it is still possible to get ahead despite the current economy, and nearly two-thirds predict that their children will have a better standard of living than their own.

"The poll confirms that America is a country of strivers, people who look ahead, who think that ambition, hard work and individual

drive are what defines economic success as opposed to other factors like the state of the economy,” explains John E. Morton, managing director of Pew’s Economic Policy department, which houses the Economic Mobility Project. “Americans are optimistic because historically they have experienced or seen great examples of social fluidity.”

In 2006, when Pew decided to undertake an exploration of economic mobility in the United States, there was more concern about the growth in income inequality than about the ability to achieve the American Dream. The subject of economic mobility—the ability of an individual or a family to move up or down the economic ladder within their lifetime or across generations—attracted more attention

The Heritage Foundation, the New America Foundation, the Peter G. Peterson Foundation and the Urban Institute—to investigate the status of the American Dream.

The choice of scholars from think tanks spanning the ideological spectrum, who have a history of productive collaborations, was deliberate. “Our goal was to help frame the national economic debate in a bipartisan manner,” notes Morton. “To do that, we needed to ensure that we had a strong and broad coalition as well as solid and unassailable facts.” Guiding the project is an eight-member advisory board of academics who are well regarded for their own studies of economic mobility.

This bipartisan approach was designed in part to avert the kind of

two essential components of measuring economic mobility.

The first, absolute mobility—the gauge traditionally relied upon by conservatives—refers to a dynamic in which a growing economy acts as an engine that pushes living standards higher for everyone over time. This theme was popularized by President John F. Kennedy, when he said that “a rising tide lifts all boats.”

However, the rising-tide notion does not capture the second key concept—namely, relative mobility, which is more often focused on by liberals and examines how people change position on the income ladder. That is, it speaks to whether the boats are changing places but says nothing about the strength of the tide.

“If you look at absolute mobility without relative mobility, or vice versa, you have an incomplete picture,” notes Morton. “Looking only at absolute mobility ignores what happens at the individual level—if there is growth, everyone goes up; and if there isn’t, everyone stays the same or goes down. On the other hand, focusing only on relative mobility ignores how broader economic forces may shape the experience of the individual.

“In this project, we’ve made the case that both are important to how Americans experience the American Dream.”

Getting Ahead or Losing Ground?

Partnering with colleagues at the Brookings Institution, including Isabel V. Sawhill, Julia B. Isaacs and Ron Haskins, the project released a series of reports last year that examined the economic mobility of all Americans and zeroed in on different demographic subgroups such as immigrants, men and women, and blacks and whites. “We wanted to learn where the data find pockets of immobility and where they suggest we’re doing pretty well,” says Morton.

Using data that match parents with their children, the project found that

The Economic Mobility Project’s focus unites all parties: the cherished American belief that everyone should have a chance to succeed in life.

among academics than among the public and policy makers.

But the project’s findings, often surprising and provocative, have generated headlines in the media across the country and significantly raised the profile of the issue, making it part of the national economic debate. During the presidential primary season last year, both Barack Obama and John McCain cited the project’s findings.

“We feel that we’ve put mobility on the map in a very constructive way,” says Morton.

A Unifying Perspective

The Economic Mobility Project has brought together respected thinkers from six leading policy organizations—the American Enterprise Institute, the Brookings Institution,

ideological deadlock that has quashed previous discussions of income inequality. In the recent past, Morton notes, liberals have vociferously lamented the inequality of both income and wealth, which has risen steadily in the last 40 years, while conservatives have often described the gap as a manifestation of “fair returns to the new economy.”

The Economic Mobility Project sought to avoid falling into such an either/or trap by focusing on an issue that unites all parties, irrespective of ideological persuasion: the cherished American belief that everyone has a chance to succeed in life—or, as Morton notes, “where you are born doesn’t dictate where you’ll end up.”

To tackle the subject in a comprehensive and politically neutral manner, the project has focused on the

two-thirds of adult children had more family income than their parents did at a similar age. However, fewer Americans also moved ahead in relative terms. Forty-two percent of Americans born to parents at the bottom of the income distribution remained in the lowest income group as adults, while 39 percent of Americans born to parents with the highest income remained in the highest income group as adults. This “stickiness” at the ends of the income distribution is twice as high as would be expected by chance, and raises concerns, particularly for families at the bottom of the income ladder.

In total, one-third of families were upwardly mobile, making more income than their parents *and* moving ahead of their parents’ position in the income distribution. One-third were “riding the tide”—that is, they were better off in absolute terms but unchanged in their relative position. The remaining third were downwardly mobile, making less than their parents’ family income and falling behind their position in the income distribution.

But it is when the project teased apart the data for different groups—specifically, African Americans—that the results became more provocative still.

Project studies found that black children were less likely than white children to move ahead of their parents’ economic rank in every parental income group—and that, for African-American parents, even attaining middle-income status offered relatively little protection for their children. A startling 45 percent of black children whose parents were solidly middle-income ended up falling to the bottom-income quintile as adults, compared to only 16 percent of white children born to middle-income parents. Although the report did not explore the reasons underlying these numbers, the facts alone generated a whirlwind of important discussion and debate by experts and the general public.



Despite these very disconcerting findings, Americans on the whole still strongly believe that, with hard work and determination, we can move up the income ladder. In March of this year, the project released the first-ever comprehensive national opinion survey on economic mobility and the American Dream. It found

that, even in the face of one of the worst economic crises in almost a century, nearly three-quarters of Americans said their economic circumstances will improve in the next ten years—a belief that crossed party lines, education levels and demographic groups. In fact, African Americans were the most optimistic group, followed by Hispanics and whites.

Americans have traditionally been less likely than citizens of other developed nations to believe that coming from a wealthy family is important to getting ahead, and they are more optimistic about their ability to control their own economic destiny through hard work. The project’s poll confirmed, by a 71-to-21 percent margin, that Americans place greater emphasis on opportunity than inequality—that it is more important for our country to provide people a fair chance at improving their economic standing than it is to reduce inequality.

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America remains “a great country of strivers,” the Economic Mobility Project has confirmed.

The Promise of Economic Opportunity

Indeed, the promise of economic opportunity was one of the founding notions of an independent and free United States of America and has since served as a powerful engine of growth and social cohesion. But while the belief in this ideal remains strong, the project's findings have revealed that there is less relative mobility in the United States than in most of the

France, Germany and Sweden; and lowest in the United States and the United Kingdom.

In fact, starting at the bottom of the earnings ladder is more of a handicap in the United States than it is in other countries. Only 8 percent make the “rags to riches” climb from the bottom to the top rung in one generation, compared to 11 to 14 percent elsewhere.

“Many people have believed that the

erty and welfare, Ellwood serves on the project's advisory board.) But if mobility is low, he says, “and you put those two together, it's disturbing.”

An important question, then, is: What determines mobility? Why do some people experience mobility, either upward or downward, while others do not? The project had established that over generations, parental income matters a great deal to mobility, but it is certainly not the only influence. To explore these other factors further, the project's partners at The Heritage Foundation weighed in with a report on the leading drivers of economic mobility across generations.

It grouped them into three categories: social capital (family, community, school- and work-based relationships); human capital (education, health); and financial capital (wealth, home ownership, retirement savings). It concluded that education, savings rates and family income and structure were the primary drivers of mobility.

The takeaway message “is that most people's mobility is determined by what happens to them in their early years,” says Stuart M. Butler, vice president of domestic and economic policy studies at Heritage and lead author of the report. For example, the relationships that a child is exposed to early on and at school, the parents' education and the child's level of education can have a huge bearing on that youngster's eventual mobility, upward or downward.

That was also the conclusion of Bhashkar Mazumder, an economist at the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago who is on the project's advisory board and has done extensive work of his own on economic mobility. In a study conducted for the project, he focused exclusively on upward mobility from the bottom half of the income distribution. He concluded that academic test scores in adolescence are the best single predictor of a child's likelihood to move up the economic ladder.

Americans generally are optimistic about their ability to control their own economic destiny through hard work, even in hard times.

nine industrialized nations included in the survey.

Specifically, relative mobility was highest in Canada, Norway, Finland and Denmark; in the mid-range in

U.S. has more inequality but more mobility,” notes David T. Ellwood, Ph.D., dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. (A leading scholar on pov-



Michèle Stapleton

Education—exemplified here by a graduation celebration at Bowdoin College—is one of the “drivers of mobility.”



Experts agree that a sound family structure is a factor in economic mobility.



Generational mobility is part of the American Dream.

Regardless of race, Mazumder says, adolescents scoring in the top 25 percentiles have a similar rate of upward mobility. The scores, he explains, are probably a “stand-in” for a variety of factors, including parents’ income, the quality of the schools and neighborhood, and the availability of health care.

All of those factors can promote (or get in the way of) earning the college degree that has traditionally been viewed as the ultimate key to success in America. As the Brookings Institution’s Ron Haskins notes, “Education is the single most important factor” behind upward mobility.

Indeed, Haskins’s study on education confirmed that a college degree vastly improves one’s prospect for upward mobility. Children of low income families who earn a college degree are four times more likely to reach the top of the income ladder than those who do not get a degree.

At the same time, the project found intriguing exceptions to the rule. Strikingly, children from low-income families with a college education are no more likely to reach the top of the

income ladder (19 percent) than children from high-income families without a college education (23 percent). While a college education significantly improves chances for upward mobility, family background appears to matter even more.

How to improve the odds of upward mobility is the subject of vigorous and productive debate among the project’s principals. Butler of The Heritage Foundation, for example, emphasizes the role of the family and community in fostering basic cultural values that can lead to—or away from—a successful outcome, while Haskins argues for government investment in education all along the way.

In a follow-up study for the project, conducted by Haskins and colleagues at the Urban Institute, he suggests ways to get more low-income youngsters into college and help them graduate. “Family background is very important, but there are enough other factors to work with, so let’s figure out how to work with them,” he says, citing a host of programs from prekindergarten interventions to mentorships and support in college. “We know what has to be done.”

A Policy Road Map

But first, to determine how much was already being done by government, the project’s partners from the Urban Institute conducted a comprehensive inventory of federal spending on the key factors that influence mobility. The researchers identified several hundred programs, totaling almost \$750 billion in direct spending and tax subsidies, that are designed to build capabilities, encourage work or motivate savings. These include work-related subsidies such as 401(k)s and the earned income tax credit, savings and home-ownership incentives, and education and child health supports. However, the largest part of this investment does not go to the disadvantaged groups that struggle the most to climb the income ladder.

The net result, the researchers concluded, was a federal budget that promoted mobility for some but often excluded the poor, and in some ways may have actually discouraged upward mobility for lower-income households.

Interestingly, the project’s recent poll finds that Americans have independently come to the same conclu-

sion. It reports that a plurality of Americans think that government hurts more than it helps people move up the economic ladder. At the same time, they also believe that a range of policies—including making college more affordable and supporting job training and early childhood education—would be effective in encouraging upward mobility.

public about how best to address the challenges our nation faces in fulfilling its promise of economic mobility. “While our poll found that Americans have an abiding faith in their ability to get ahead, it is important for policy makers to note that perception may not necessarily coincide with reality,” says Ianna Kachoris, the project’s manager. “Special attention should

Policy makers will benefit from the project’s bipartisan research on the factors influencing mobility, so that more Americans can realize the American Dream.

Over the next year, the project will continue to add to its nonpartisan fact base, issuing reports that delve deeper into the factors that affect mobility. In addition, it will pursue research on international comparisons of mobility and specific areas of concern such as the racial gap in mobility.

The project will also take the important step of stimulating bipartisan dialogue among its partners and the

be paid to improving mobility, particularly for the most disadvantaged Americans.”

Eventually, Morton says, the project’s work will result in a “bipartisan policy road map” that will guide policy makers by defining broad areas of agreement on the factors influencing mobility. That there is rising interest in this issue is evidenced by the fact that, shortly after taking office, President Obama named a special assistant for mobility and opportunity within the White House Domestic Policy Council.

Ultimately, the hope is that the project can offer help in restoring the reality of the American Dream for more Americans. “The real challenge for any nation is to think about how we increase and enhance opportunities in such a way that people really do move upwards,” says David Ellwood. “In the end, our nation will thrive or diminish depending on whether or not we have a system that provides a chance for people to rise based on hard work.” ■

You can learn more about the Economic Mobility Project and read all of its reports at www.economicmobility.org.

Sandra Salmans is senior writer of Trust.

Always

By Sandra Salmans

With the nation, and the world, in a severe economic crisis, the programs operated by Pew’s Economy Policy department seem almost to be taking their cues from the front page. Program initiatives include real-time monitoring of the Troubled Assets Relief Program’s bailouts to banks; an examination of the impact of the new administration’s policy proposals on the federal budget and deficit; and an analysis of efforts to regulate the financial services industry.

In fact, however, the department was established at a time when the Dow-Jones Industrial Average was at an all-time high (although dark clouds were gathering on the horizon, notably in the housing market). *Trust* asked John E. Morton, Economic Policy’s managing director, to describe his program’s development.

Trust: It may seem eons ago, but what large ideas were simmering in economic policy in 2006-07?

Morton: Back then, even though the U.S. economy was growing, its dynamics were precarious. It was clear to us that, in issues ranging from free markets to trade and subsidies, tax policy and national competitiveness, the health of our economy would depend on the development and enactment of economic policies that shared



Relevant, Surprisingly Timely

Pew's new Economic Policy program was established to address certain critical issues—and it has a plateful.

broad, bipartisan support. New issues have arisen, but that premise has not changed.

Trust: And the Economic Policy program could provide . . . ?

Morton: First and foremost, data and analysis. We focused initially on economic mobility, because a mobile society has always been identified as central to America's economic DNA. Our playbook was drawn directly from J. Howard Pew [one of The Pew Charitable Trusts' founders], who believed in free markets and a well-informed citizenry. "To me, free enterprise is a noble and simple thing," he said. He was referring to an individual's right to improve his or her status in life through initiative and hard work. Today's shorthand for that concept is the American Dream, and we asked: "Is it alive today?"

The idea was to forge bipartisan agreement on the facts, figures and trends on economic mobility. After all, this is an issue that unites the right, left and center. This spotlight turned out to be both timely and important—and recognized. *The Boston Globe*, in an editorial during the presidential campaign last year, said, "Few barometers should motivate the next president more than the ongoing Pew Economic Mobility Project." [For more on the project, see pages 2-8.]

Trust: By Election Day, the economy had already begun what has become a staggering turn for the worse.

Morton: And Economic Policy's initiatives that had been in the planning stage for months suddenly became as timely as the day's headlines. While the drumbeat of bad news hasn't dictated our agenda—our mission remains the promotion of policies and practices that strengthen and ensure the future competitiveness of the U.S. economy—it is certainly, and appropriately, influencing the direction.

Trust: How is Economic Policy carrying out its agenda?

Morton: Through two new lines of work. One is the Fiscal and Budget Program. It elevates fiscal responsibility as a primary element of federal executive and legislative leadership, promotes reforms to the budget process that enable greater transparency and supports policies that are critical to ensuring the nation's long-term fiscal health.

The other is the Markets Program, which is developing a strong, bipartisan fact base to chronicle the full extent of government involvement in markets. It will illuminate the ways the federal government engages in the market economy through such measures as subsidies and regulation.

The goal is to reveal how government resources are used to support a range of interests in the national economy—and help Americans make informed decisions about how they should be allocated.

Trust: What has the Fiscal and Budget Program done to date?

Morton: Our first effort was US Budget Watch, a two-year initiative in which we're partnering with the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget. The first phase was ensuring that the long-term consequences of the two presidential candidates' fiscal proposals were kept front and center during the campaign, as I described.

Now, it has taken on a watchdog function that provides ongoing and timely analysis of the administration's policy proposals as they impact the federal budget and deficit. Its Web site—USbudgetwatch.org—has become much-visited, and we will continue our work through the release of the president's next budget in March 2010.

Early this year, in partnership with the Peter G. Peterson Foundation, we established the Peterson-Pew Commission on Budget Reform to make recommendations for improving the congressional budget process. The last time there was budget-process reform was in the late 1960s. Since then, the budget has not only grown but also become far more complicated.



The commissioners include budget experts—they are former directors of the Office of Management and Budget, and of the Congressional Budget Office—and former elected officials, so they really understand the flaws and loopholes in the process and how they got there.

Trust: What sorts of problems?

Morton: One good example is obligations that are left out of the budget. For example, Congress funded the costs of the war in Iraq by means of emergency supplemental legislation; these costs were predictable, and yet they were omitted time and time again from the regular budget.

Trust: What else is the commission looking at?

Morton: Making sure that Congress actually passes a budget, improving budget review and oversight and strengthening budget enforcement. We'll also recommend changes in accounting standards, which now are inconsistent and outdated.

Overall, we're trying, in a sense, to re-establish the rules of the road: speed limits, police patrols, consequences for breaking the rules. Currently when lawmakers hold up a bill, there is little or no public knowledge or compulsion to get them to get the ball rolling.

The current budget process has extraordinarily little transparency, accountability or predictability—yet it's the single most important process for allocating trillions of dollars every year. Our recommendations

won't solve the Medicare or Social Security crises, but they'll be necessary steps to ensure that the decisions that come out are predictable results of a responsible process.

Trust: With the stimulus budget pumping money into the economy to

Morton: We've just launched a project, the Economic and Fiscal Data Analysis Initiative, that we hope will help address overspending by raising awareness of the trillion-dollar annual deficits the nation is running. There's a dangerous lack of nonpartisan analysis of the long-term budgetary and fiscal conse-

“Our recommendations will be necessary steps to ensure that the decisions that come out are predictable results of a responsible process.”

end the recession, is this really the best time to talk about fiscal responsibility?

Morton: As strange as it sounds, on the spectrum of fiscal responsibility, there are better places and worse places even as you engage in a massive stimulus. You'd be hard-pressed to find any economist saying that paying down debt should be our top priority today. But you can stimulate the economy in ways that are more productive and less fiscally irresponsible—for example, through programs that have long-term job creation and payback. That bridges the partisan divide between those who say “Stimulate right now” and others who say “We should be a little more careful about where we put this money.”

Trust: Are you also exploring ways to reduce spending as well as improve the process?

quences of proposed legislation. Without sound analysis, lawmakers on both sides of the aisle will continue to take positions without fully appreciating the economic impact of their votes—and taxpayers will foot the bill.

We're not going to come out for or against specific legislation. That's not our role. Instead, we want to provide reputable, timely data and analysis about the impact of various measures on the nation's long-term fiscal health.

Trust: What projects has the Markets Program rolled out?

Morton: The first was Subsidyscope, which focuses on the role of federal subsidies—both direct payments and through loan guarantees and tax policy—in the economy. It had always been our plan to spend two years pulling together data on seven discrete industries—agriculture, housing, defense and so on; financial services, banking weren't even on

the list. But events conspired to change that. Initially we focused almost exclusively on the Troubled Assets Relief Program, but we're already getting into transportation and housing, our original agenda.

Most of these data don't exist in consolidated form anywhere; much is not even public. Working with our technology partner, the Sunlight Foundation, we are obtaining lots of good information through Freedom of Information Act requests. Only after we've aggregated the data will we begin to analyze them to determine the efficacy, impact and cost-effectiveness of the subsidies.

Trust: And what is your second project under Markets?

Morton: Our newest is the Pew Financial Reform Project. Even before this crisis, we had targeted the economic consequences of regulation as an issue we wanted to study. The thought was that, with the regulatory pendulum already beginning to swing back toward re-regulation, we wanted to ensure that there was good, solid economic analysis behind its implementation. We know it's important to rebuild confidence in the financial markets. At the same time, we want to avoid inefficient over-regulation as we close some of the loopholes.

Trust: Details?

Morton: The aim of this project is to bring rigorous fact-based analysis to

the financial reform debate on Capitol Hill. We have set up a bipartisan task force of eminent experts to thrash through the issues and produce consensus recommendations wherever they can, and a clear analysis of differences where they lack consensus.

First, we will be looking at past experiences of crisis and policy reaction like the 1933 Glass-Steagall Act, which was a response to the Great Depression, and the 2002 Sarbanes-Oxley Act, which addressed the accounting and governance scandals of Enron and WorldCom.

We will also be looking at the causes of the current crisis. There's a growing recognition in Congress that we need to understand better how we arrived where we are before we design an entirely new structure.

Third, we'll be doing some real-time analysis of the pros and cons of alternative reform proposals as they are developed and considered by Congress.

Trust: Do you worry that things are changing so quickly that it's difficult to get on top of this crisis?

Morton: Our projects, timely as they are, also have staying power. As a department, our intent is not to be tied to the daily headlines but to build the fact bases, data sets and reputation that will allow us to pivot to a more active advocacy position in the next couple of years. We've plotted a course that's sound and relevant for good and bad times. ■

For more on the Economic Policy program, go to www.pewtrusts.org.

David Gilliland



Monuments



Writ in Water

By Scott Ward and Marshall A. Ledger

Three new marine national monuments reflect a growing appreciation of the oceans and the need to protect them.



Opposite page: An undersea lava explosion creates white chimneys at a volcano in the Marianas Trench.

Credit: NOAA Submarine Ring of Fire 2004 Exploration and the NOAA Vents Program.

Above: A sooty tern, found at all three new marine national monuments.

Credit: Eric VanderWerf, Pacific Rim Conservation.

“One of the most exciting discoveries of the 20th century was sulfur volcanism on Io, the innermost (major) moon of Jupiter. Last night we came across another extreme of sulfur volcanism in the Solar System, a convecting pool of liquid sulfur under more than 40 atmospheres of pressure!”

Dr. Robert W. Embley, a geologist with the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, jotted this impassioned note in his expedition log in 2004 after his deep-water robot emerged from waters in the Pacific Ocean just off the Northern Mariana Islands. The view of this active volcano on the ocean floor was mesmerizing, and the discovery further confirmed what specialists in many fields and lay people have realized with growing awe and appreciation: The site has distinctive scientific, ecological, environmental, cultural and economic importance.

And this area, some 5,500 miles west of Los Angeles, will retain its significance, because it, and two other Pacific sites with their own remarkable features, were declared marine national monuments by President George W. Bush in January. These places are now permanently off limits to virtually all extractive activities, protected as living laboratories for scientists and contemplative respites for eco-tourists and ocean enthusiasts.

The Marianas monument, within the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, includes hydrothermal vents, the neighboring coral reef ecosystem and the

famed Marianas Trench, the deepest canyon on Earth at almost 36,000 feet (“it could swallow Mt. Everest with room to spare,” notes Joshua S. Reichert, managing director of the Pew Environment Group). The Pacific Remote Islands Monument encompasses seven islands in the Central Pacific, including the coral reef ecosystems around Kingman Reef, Wake Island (the site of a crucial World War II battle) and other islands and atolls about 1,000 miles south and west of Hawaii. Finally, the Rose Atoll Monument protects the coral reefs around American Samoa.

The three monuments total some 196,000 square miles—larger than all of the U.S. national parks combined. The designation extends for 50 nautical miles beyond the islands and reefs, excluding the water above the rim of the Marianas Trench (which has been left open to recreational and traditional indigenous fishing with permits). In addition to the exceptional geology of the Marianas, Rose Atoll contains the highest percentage of live coral cover of any place on Earth, plus a wealth of species such as the hawksbill turtle, lemonpeel angelfish and white-tailed tropicbird. The Central Pacific area hosts some of the largest populations of apex predators in the oceans as well as numerous coral species, five times as many as are found in the Florida Keys.

“The remoteness of these places might seem to offer them protection enough, but the march of human society is steadily opening up areas long considered to be impenetrable or simply not worth the trouble,” Reichert noted in an op-ed piece applauding the creation of the three monuments. The truth is, he said, “they are worth more intact than whatever commercial benefits might be derived from fishing, drilling or mining them.”

Conservation, he pointed out, means more than providing for

“THERE IS AN INHERENT VALUE IN WILD PLACES THAT TRANSCENDS THEIR IMPORTANCE FOR SCIENCE, EDUCATION, RECREATION AND THE ECOSYSTEM SERVICES THEY PROVIDE—ALTHOUGH THESE ARE REASON ENOUGH TO LEAVE THEM BE.”

Joshua Reichert, managing director, Pew Environment Group



Marine life at the new national monuments (clockwise from upper left): Yellow Tang. Coral. A dense bed of hydrothermal mussels living on the Mariana volcano's slope, plus the shrimp and Galatheid crabs that feed on bacterial filaments on the shells. Humpback whale and calf.



alternative and sustainable uses:

“There is an inherent value in wild places that transcends their importance for science, education, recreation and the ecosystem services they provide—although these are reason enough to leave them be. We value them precisely because they have not been shaped by us, but reflect the natural world when left to its own devices. Thankfully, this president, and most Americans, want to see some places on Earth remain this way.”

One immediate effect is protection for an almost Seussian diversity of life. Beneficiaries include the well-known bigeye tuna, yellowfin and marlin, all of which face threats and use these waters as a breeding ground; and millions of nesting seabirds and migratory coastal birds as well as rare species such as the endangered Micronesian Megapode, the only bird known to use the heat of underwater volcanoes, rather than body heat, to incubate its eggs, and the giant coconut crab, whose 16-inch body length, 9-pound weight and 3-foot leg span make it the most massive land arthropod in the world.

The scientific studies in these natural laboratories will have practical application. Studying how corals and other life in the regions have adapted over the millennia to the naturally harsh conditions in which they live could offer important clues into how our oceans can weather the many unnatural pressures human activity continually places on them. As Enric Sala, an oceanographer and 2006 Pew fellow in marine conservation, told National Public Radio, “These places are the last instruction manual we have to understand how coral reefs function, and also to understand the magnitude of our impact on [them].”

In the Marianas, the marine volcanic activity in the protected area mimics the acidification of the oceans that is occurring due to global climate change. The geologist Embley, in

particular, specializes in what happens on the ocean floor: the impacts and consequences of underwater volcanoes; the movement of the tectonic plates; the vents, or fissures, that spew heated water; the development of sediment; and the resulting ecosystems. He and his colleagues get as close as anyone, perhaps, to the spot where life on Earth may have begun and where strange new species continue to evolve—such as a crab that eats the bacteria issuing from the sides of the erupting volcano, even while the sulfur and temperature are claiming the lives of other sea creatures that venture too close.

Pew's efforts focused on the Marianas location. "A number of factors beyond geology and ecology led to our work there," says Jay Nelson, director of the Pew Environment Group's Global Ocean Legacy program. "The waters around the northernmost islands were relatively healthy, with little impact from fishing or other extractive activities. The site's real value lies in scientific research and education. And a marine park would significantly benefit the commonwealth's economy through increased tourism and government support."

Pew commissioned the first comprehensive scientific profile of the site's biological and geological resources as well as research on the potential economic effect of a national monument on the Marianas. Dr. Thomas J. Iverson, an economics professor at the University of Guam whose interests include sustainable economic development and the relationship of tourism to cultural preservation, calculated that a marine monument could generate up to 400 new jobs and \$10 million in new spending each year, \$14 million in sales and almost \$5 million in tax revenues.

Pew then disseminated the findings of these studies to federal and local

"WE LEARNED AT THE BEGINNING THAT THERE WAS A KEEN APPETITE FOR PRESERVING AND PROTECTING THIS UNIQUE OCEAN TREASURE AMONG THE INDIGENOUS CHAMORRO AND OTHER LOCAL RESIDENTS. WE WERE ABLE TO SUBSTANTIATE THE NEED WITH FACTS."

Jay Nelson, director, Global Ocean Legacy



officials and the public, organizing more than 100 meetings and open forums, where the community used the information to inform their discussions. Ultimately, more than 200 businesses and 6,000 commonwealth residents signed petitions backing the monument designation.

Responding to the area's new protective status, Ignacio V. Cabrera,

chairman of Friends of the Monument, said: "We are proud that President Bush has recognized the importance and richness of the Mariana Islands waters. We can now share with the world this special place our people have long cherished."

Afterward, Jay Nelson reflected on the work done by Global Ocean Legacy: "Pew's role in creating the Marianas

Life teems at the Marianas (clockwise from upper left): Jackfish. Lipstick-like tubeworms, with no mouths, eyes or stomachs, that live near the hydrothermal vents. Reef fish and the finger-like coral known as porites cylindrica. The coconut crab, with pincers strong enough to crack coconuts. Giant clams.



Credits (clockwise from upper left): Robert Schroeder/NOAA, Pacific Islands Fisheries Science Center, Coral Reef Ecosystem Division. NOAA Submarine Ring of Fire 2004 Exploration and the NOAA Vents Program. Russell Moffitt/NOAA, Pacific Islands Fisheries Science Center, Coral Reef Ecosystem Division. James Maragos. Russell Moffitt, NOAA, Pacific Island Fisheries Science Center, Coral Reef Ecosystem Division.



national monument was definitive, as President Bush acknowledged after the signing event at the White House. Critics of the idea of a marine reserve conceded as much, calling the original proposal the 'Pew monument.' We invested 2½ years in this important project, working with the Bush administration as well as with officials and citizens of the Marianas.

We learned at the beginning that there was a keen appetite for preserving and protecting this unique ocean treasure among the indigenous Chamorro and other local residents. We were able to substantiate the need with facts; and Marianas citizens, skeptics included, used this information to raise their voices and support their own vision of the outcome. The

process proved deliberative, and Pew is proud to have set it in motion with this successful result."

The Pew Environment Group's Reichert links the monument designations to the Pew-supported establishment of the marine reserve in the northwestern Hawaiian Islands in 2006 and welcomes the growing respect for the seas that they signify. He has long observed that, while the need to protect wilderness areas on land has been broadly accepted, because the consequences of human activity—clear-cutting, the building of roads, mining and other forms of development—are visible to the eye, the unremitting plunder of the seas' resources is largely invisible to most people.

Now, underwater nature is beginning to get its due, just as scientific studies are showing the perilous situation of many marine ecosystems. "It has taken 137 years, since the creation of America's first national park in Yellowstone in 1872, to recognize that unique areas of the world's oceans deserve the same kind of protection as we have afforded similar places on land," Reichert says. "And none too soon." ■

Scott Ward is a Washington, D.C.-based freelance writer. Marshall Ledger is editor of Trust.

Pew-managed Global Ocean Legacy grew from Pew's successful work in 2005–2006 to support the creation of a fully protected marine reserve in the northwestern Hawaiian Islands. Ongoing, the project is dedicated to establishing, globally, at least three to five large, world-class, no-take marine reserves over the next decade. With permanent protections, these areas will provide ocean-scale ecosystem benefits and help conserve marine heritage.

Partners supporting Global Ocean Legacy include the Sandler Family Supporting Foundation, the Oak Foundation and the Robertson Foundation.

For more information and resources, go to the Internet at www.globaloceanlegacy.org, where fact sheets, news clips and other materials on the new marine national monuments can be found. To see Mariana volcanic eruptions caught on camera, go to www.pewtrusts.org/gol.

Bleak House

By Tom Ferrick Jr.

A Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter reflects on his profession through the impartial eyes of the Project for Excellence in Journalism.

I**N** a world of media criticism filled with ideological food fights and an overdose of “bloviation without documentation” (a media critic’s acid observation), the Pew Research Center’s Project for Excellence in Journalism stands out as something different. It is the Sgt. Joe Friday of news media research. Like Jack Webb’s laconic detective on *Dragnet*, PEJ director Tom Rosenstiel and crew are interested in “just the facts, ma’am.”

No slant. No spin. No ideological prism through which they view the world. And no

bias—unless you consider the desire for excellence in journalism a bias.

PEJ has a distinctly journalistic cast to its mission: to find the facts about the American news media and report them in depth. This charge is not by coincidence. For one thing, PEJ is one of the seven “fact tanks” that make up the Pew Research Center, a veritable squad of Sgt. Fridays headquartered in Washington, D.C. For another, Rosenstiel, 53, is a former journalist, with a 10-year stint as media reporter for the *Los Angeles Times* and congressional correspondent for *Newsweek* before being recruited to create what became PEJ in 1997.

“If you asked me ‘What is PEJ?’ I would say that, at its heart, we are journalists using academic-level research, but with a completely journalistic, independent sensibility,” says Rosenstiel. “We are not testing our own theories. We are trying to describe the landscape. We don’t have a hypothesis we are trying to prove. We are trying to figure out what is going on out there and why.”

As a journalist with nearly 40 years in the business, it is an approach I can appreciate. It was the kind of reporting I did when I was working at *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, where I spent most of my career. When I arrived in 1976, the paper was headed into a golden age: expansion of staff and mission, creation of national and foreign bureaus, the winning of a skein of Pulitzer Prizes. Looking back, it seems like not just a former period, but an ancient era. When it comes to the print news media, PEJ has ended up chronicling a decade of traumatic change.

A friend once described sociology as “slow journalism.” If that is true, then what PEJ practices is warp-speed

political-science research. Minus the hypotheses, of course.

A good example is its content analysis of what topics are getting the most play in the news. It is compiled weekly by a PEJ staff that monitors 48 news sources, including newspapers, cable TV, network news, online sources, radio and political talk shows. The index debuted on the PEJ Web site in January 2007 and has quickly become an oft-quoted and frequently cited source of data about the news media.

Is the economic crisis really filling more of the news hole than any other story? (Yes—from Obama’s inauguration to the end of March, 43 percent, not including related stories such as the U.S. auto industry or the president’s February 24 speech to Congress.) How are the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan faring in the competition for coverage?

PEJ’s weekly news coverage index is the place to find the answers.

A question about Iraq coverage a year ago led to an analysis of that topic—and also showed PEJ’s objectivity. Prompted by a query from a reporter, PEJ assessed the

volume of Iraq stories in the media and was able to trace a sharp drop: from 25 percent of the news hole in January 2007 to 5 percent as of March 2008.

Once the facts about Iraq coverage were out in public, PEJ retired from the field and let others fight over what they meant.

Rosenstiel says: “We got, through our e-mail, people saying, ‘Don’t you see this is perfect proof of liberal bias? Once things start to get better in Iraq, the media stop covering it.’ Other e-mails said, ‘This shows that things are so tough in the corporate media that they are closing their bureaus.’” He adds, “It is one of those things that are a kind of Rorschach test.”

The material is sliced sectionally as well, using charts that list the top ten stories for each media sector.

PEJ keeps adding to the roster. After news coverage began in 2007, it started an index of talk-show material, or “opinion programming,” which continues. In 2008, it followed stories about the presidential campaign. And this January, it began to track content on new media—more than 100 million blogs and other Web-based social media.

The weekly reports are accompanied by a terse, written summary of the coverage trends for the week.

Not so for PEJ’s other main product, its annual report, titled *State of the News Media*. The 2009 edition runs more than 180,000 words—but, as PEJ notes, readers are expected to visit areas of interest rather than download the full text of approximately 700 pages.

Subtitled an *Annual Report on American Journalism*, the document provides detailed information on every aspect of



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“I just feel fortunate to live in a world with so much disinformation at my fingertips.”

Elementary

Its title is *The Elements of Journalism: What Newspapers Should Know and the Public Should Expect*, but it certainly is not a textbook. There is no talk of inverted pyramids or how to write a feature story.

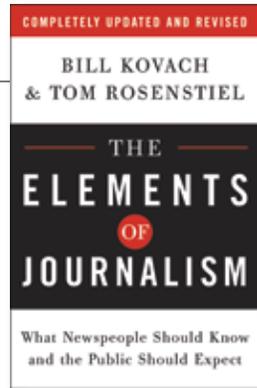
The Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel book is something more significant. It is a manifesto—a call for journalists to reclaim the soul of their profession, an affirmation of the role and value of an independent, nonpartisan press, a warning against the forces that would dilute and diminish the true mission of reporters.

It is informed by the belief that journalism and freedom are inextricably linked. You cannot have one without another.

“Journalism provides something unique to a culture: independent, reliable, accurate and comprehensive information that citizens require to be free,” the authors write in the introduction to the latest edition of the book, which appeared, updated, in 2007.

Elements has earned high admiration in the field. In the *Wall Street Journal*, former TV anchor Roger Mudd listed it as one of the top five books on “the press at work.” Former journalist and presidential speechwriter William Safire, who is also an enthusiast of language usage, made it one of his recommended “bibliogifts,” adding, “Don’t even think of becoming a reporter, editor, columnist or influential blogger without reading this modern classic.”

Since it was first published in 2001, *Elements* has become a standard text in American journalism schools, been translated into 23 languages and been published in a dozen more countries. And it has won the Sigma Delta Chi Award from the Society of Profes-



sional Journalists, the 2002 Goldsmith Book Prize from Harvard University and the Bart Richards Award for Media Criticism from Pennsylvania State University.

It turns out that American-style journalism may be one of this country’s most valuable exports. The book has been embraced, says Kovach, because “the aspiring journalists of the world are on fire with the idea of a free press.”

They have lived under government-controlled media and a partisan press and know the obvious weaknesses of both. American-style journalism—independent of party or government, driven by fact—is the model they want, the kind stated in the precepts that frame the book:

- *Journalism’s first obligation is to the truth.*
- *Its first loyalty is to the citizens.*
- *Its essence is the discipline of verification.*
- *Its practitioners must maintain an independence from those they cover.*
- *It must serve as an independent monitor of power.*
- *It must provide a forum for public criticism and compromise.*
- *It must strive to make the significant interesting and relevant.*
- *It must keep the news comprehensive and proportional.*
- *Its practitioners must be allowed to exercise their personal conscience.*

In the Introduction, the authors anticipate their critics: “Why these nine? Some readers will think items are missing here. Where is fairness? Where is balance? After synthesizing what we learned, it became clear that a number of familiar and even useful ideas—including fairness and balance—are too vague to rise to the level of essential elements of the profession.

“Others may say this list is nothing new. To the contrary, we discovered that many ideas about the elements of journalism are wrapped in myth and misconception. The notion that journalists should be protected by a wall between business and news is one myth. That independence requires journalists be neutral is another. The concept of objectivity has been so mangled it now is usually used to describe the very problem it was conceived to correct.”

Kovach tells me that newspapers used to regularly publish statements of principle (witness *The New York Times* owner Adolph Ochs’s promise to report without fear or favor).

By the 1950s, when Kovach began his career, the practice had fallen out of favor, partly out of fear that the statements could be used against the paper in a libel suit.

“The profession of journalism shied away from ever defining journalism,” he says, “and defining it is basically what we wound up doing in the book.”

In the 2007 edition, a 10th principle was added:

- *Citizens, too, have rights and responsibilities when it comes to the news.*

In *The Elements of Journalism*, you can read all about it.

Tom Ferrick Jr.

the news media: online and newspapers, network and cable TV, radio and magazines. It has become the central storehouse of information about the news media, and the media reporters I contacted said they found it invaluable. They also universally had praise for PEJ's and Rosenstiel's no-spin, just-the-facts approach to media issues.

The Society of Professional Journalists likes it as well, recognizing Rosenstiel and the entire PEJ staff with its Sigma Delta Chi Award for its debut issue in 2004 ("it should be sent to every news outlet in the nation," said the judges).

As James Rainey, who covers the news media for the *Los Angeles Times* (and, by the way, the direct-talking observer of the bloviation quoted earlier), puts it: "When you write about the media, you are being saturated by drivel from every direction. In this opinion-heavy, fact-averse era that we live in, what PEJ has managed to do is introduce real information—statistics, research, analysis—to tell the important story of what is happening in American media."

The 2009 media report is PEJ's sixth edition. Reading the summaries in one sitting, I experienced the vertiginous feeling you can get riding on a roller coaster. So rapid and seismic are the changes in the media landscape, you do not know what the next rise in the tracks will bring—or whether there will be tracks.

The opening line last year set this tone: "The state of the American news media in 2008 is more troubled than a year ago."

In 2009, the opening line is: "Some of the numbers are chilling." The next sentences give some of those disturbing facts: newspaper ad revenues down 23 percent in two years; one of every five journalists working for newspapers in 2001 gone; revenue declines in local and network TV shows—even in an election year.

The opening section concludes: "This is the sixth edition of our annual report on the State of the News Media in the United States.

"It is also the bleakest."

When PEJ opened its doors in 1997, no one could have predicted the changes to come.

In retrospect, "it is really incredible to think about it," says Amy S. Mitchell, PEJ's deputy director. She recalls that when she came to PEJ, it was the first time she was exposed to "this very cool thing they had called e-mail."

"It was," she says, "a very different period of time."

It was before Twitter (begun in 2006), YouTube ('05), Facebook and Flickr ('04), MySpace ('03), Wikipedia ('01), the first blogging software (1999) and Google ('98). Amazon and eBay were small, two-year-old start-ups. And Craig Newmark was in his San Francisco apartment experimenting with an idea he had of offering free classified ads on the Web. He later decided to call it Craigslist.

In other words, it was before the Web revolution. It was when network television and newspapers were called, simply, the news media. Now, they are referred to in PEJ reports and elsewhere—kindly, euphemistically—as the "legacy media."

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"You want my latest opinion about the President? How about my opinion of Japanese enzyme baths. Or breakfast wraps—you need to hear what I have to say about breakfast wraps!"

Rosenstiel was like someone who signed up to chronicle the staid world of 18th-century French politics six months before the storming of the Bastille.

"It is amazing not only how rapidly things have changed, but how rapidly the story line has shifted," he says.

In 1997, journalists were worrying about infotainment and sensationalism and the "tabloidization" of the traditional media. The erosion of the values of American journalism led Rosenstiel and PEJ senior counselor Bill Kovach to write *The Elements of Journalism*, a book that restates those core values and also outlines how journalism should be practiced. (See the sidebar on the preceding page.)

Today, the story line is simpler but, for the traditional news media, grimmer. Simply put, the questions PEJ is exploring in its annual reports deal with survival. Can newspapers survive the continuing, and quickening, erosion of their advertising base? How long can network TV news survive its long decline in viewership? Is local TV news, which has cheapened its product over the years, headed for a fall in audience?

Are these media, which were once the central sources of America's news and information, on the verge of becoming irrelevant: unwatched, unread and unprofitable?

"The next generation of viewers doesn't watch TV, so that business is in for a change," Rosenstiel notes. "They don't read newspapers. But they do go on the Internet, and they use the cell phone, the universal device."

I've lived through the period Rosenstiel has chronicled as a newspaper reporter and columnist. As I recall it, it was about 1997 that management at the *Inquirer* became aware of the Internet as a competitor. At the time, it was fearful that new Web sites would "steal" the newspaper's talent by hiring name



Robert Atrial, United Features Syndicate

reporters and columnists to do freelance pieces. (It turned out, the sites didn't. They got the content for free by linking to it from their own Web sites.)

Back then, managers became fearful the Web would take their display ads. They realized (too late) the threat from Craigslist and other free classified sites. As I tell Rosenstiel, the leadership of the paper was like a man who smelled smoke in his house and ran from room to room trying to figure out the source of it. Eventually, he realized the whole house was on fire.

To preserve their profit margin, the owners of the paper began a period of staff and expense contraction, which continues to this day. Between 2000 and 2008, the editorial staff of the paper was cut in half. Profits continued to fall, and this February the *Inquirer* filed for bankruptcy protection.

In an interview in his Washington office, I ask Rosenstiel to peer ahead even more and speculate on what the state of the news media will be in 2014. He is a good sport about it, though he prefaces his analysis by saying: "I am about to make a fool of myself."

The trends Rosenstiel discusses have been evident for years, but the rate of change is accelerating.

For network TV, he says: "I think it is quite possible we won't have three networks with full news divisions, including offering a nightly newscast, unless they are connected in some way to a cable channel. . . . They may offer some shows, particularly in the morning, but not attempt to have full news divisions.

"The great weakness of network TV is that it is tied to a broadcast that is on when fewer people are at home. It is increasingly unsuited to the way we live. The weakness of cable is, because the channels have so much time to fill, they have less time to check things out and produce polished pieces of journalism," he says. "Eventually, it is not clear whether there will be six channels [doing news]. The economics are that they may not support that many."

For local TV news, Rosenstiel wonders out loud if it is a "ticking time bomb.

"Local TV news is a sad story because it is quite lucrative, but it is lucrative because they have actually cheapened the product. There is more weather, but there are fewer reporters in the newsroom." He offers a plausible, everyday scenario: "The No. 1 reason to watch local TV news is the weather. Well, now: If you are about to go out the door, you

can get the weather on the Web in 15 seconds."

For newspapers, he continues, not all are faring equally. Newspapers that are national brands—*The New York Times*, *USA Today* and the *Wall Street Journal* come to mind—are more likely to be winners as their audiences expand via the Internet, but it is also not clear whether the market will support three of them and if it will support them at their current scale.

The smallest papers are likely to continue on because of their highly localized content and the fact that the Web is not currently an option for most of their advertisers.

The problem is with the many newspapers in between, especially the large metropolitan dailies, such as my former paper, the *Inquirer*. Some have been spared the deep cuts they made there, but my friends in the business know their turn will come. I tell them: We may be in different chapters, but we are all in the same book.

"I can easily see newspaper organizations dying out in certain towns," Rosenstiel says. "What is suffering most is the big city metro. I would say, projecting out five years, that you may see big-city newspapers really shriveling up and becoming not newspapers as we have come to think of them."

The problem for these news organizations is not dwindling readership. When you count the online audience for newspaper Web sites, readership of these publications has increased. The problem is the economics.

How do you sustain your news product—in print and online—when traditional sources of advertising revenue are drying up and there is a growing realization that online ad dollars will never bring in enough to fill the gap? "Half your audience may be online, but only 10 percent of your revenue comes from online," Rosenstiel points out.

To a degree, this is the creative destruction of capitalism at work. So why be concerned if the legacy media crumble as the money and audiences migrate to the Web?

The answer lies in the nature of American journalism. Newspapers are the plankton of the news chain. Every other creature in the media ocean feeds off them. If newspapers continue to shrink or if they begin to disappear, who will provide the infor-

control was broken, and the journalists do not own the news anymore. But we still do need them to cover it. The news is not the only source, but in an interesting way, it remains the first source. All of the other things that are happening cannot happen without journalism. And the fundamental question is: How is that going to be sustained?"

Rosenstiel and Kovach both believe that the press has time to find an eco-

of the Committee of Concerned Journalists, a group of more than 9,000 journalists worldwide. He has the darker view: "If we don't find a mechanism to keep these principles and values alive for the next five to 10 years, I think it is certainly possible and maybe probable that what we know as public-service journalism will be dead. And with it, democracy dies."

The mission of news organizations, says Rosenstiel, will be to find ways to preserve their product while they search for new ways to pay for news gathering.

He tells me: "The winner is going to be the person who figures out the economics of this and figures out a way to amortize costs but not weaken the product. And that is something people haven't figured out. They are just cutting."

This may not be the wisest strategy, but it appears to be the most popular one, as PEJ has noted in reports detailing the substantial cuts in staff, expenses and the news hole at newspapers around the nation.

"The fact is, no matter what you think of the press, we all have a vested interest in journalism surviving," Rosenstiel says. "American independent, nonpartisan-style journalism has been much maligned in the last decade, but it generally is the inspiration of journalists everywhere." ■

The Project for Excellence in Journalism, an initiative of the Pew Research Center, is on the Web at www.journalism.org. There, you'll find the weekly content analyses, a data library, commentaries and other materials that describe what the media are delivering and where they are headed.

For articles featuring PEJ and Tom Rosenstiel, go to www.pewtrusts.org; under Informing the Public, click on Media & Journalism.

For an op-ed on a novel way to pay for 21st-century newsgathering, see page 35.

Tom Ferrick Jr. has won a range of journalism honors, including a Polk Award for investigative reporting, a World Hunger Award for his reporting on the homeless and a Pulitzer Prize as a member of a team of Philadelphia Inquirer reporters for coverage of the nuclear accident at Three Mile Island.

Mike Smith, Las Vegas Sun, 2009/King Features Syndicate



mation we need to make decisions as citizens, to vote, even to blog?

Which leads to one bias that PEJ does have. Rosenstiel and Kovach are biased in favor of American-style journalism—the independent, nonpartisan pursuit of facts—as practiced at most papers. If the supply continues to diminish, they wonder, what will take its place? Will we get our “news” from business interests, government or advocates of one stripe or another?

“The old complaint about the press was that journalists wanted to control it, and once control was broken, what role would there be for journalists?” says Rosenstiel. “Well, it turns out

economic solution—but not that much time. Kovach has devoted 50 years to the business, including service as chief of *The New York Times* Washington bureau, editor of *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, curator of the Nieman Fellowships at Harvard University and founding chairman



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Stopping High Seas Bottom Trawling

By Scott B. Scrivner and Lester W. Baxter

Background

The growing demand for seafood, along with advances in deepwater fishing technology, has opened up large areas of the ocean floor to commercial fishing. Bottom trawling—towing a heavily weighted net along the sea floor—is the most commonly used commercial technique to harvest life from the deep sea, but it can seriously damage and even destroy sea-bed ecosystems.

In 2004 The Pew Charitable Trusts joined a group of organizations to form the Deep Sea Conservation Coalition. With Pew's support, which was bolstered by contributions from donors including the J.M. Kaplan Fund, the Lenfest Foundation, the Oak Foundation and the Sandler Family Supporting Foundation, the coalition launched a campaign to secure a United Nations General Assembly resolution calling for a moratorium on all bottom-trawl fishing on the high seas.

To better understand the contributions of this project, Planning and Evaluation designed an evaluation plan with the following objectives:

- assess the effectiveness of the campaign's strategy as a means to achieve the project's primary objective;
- examine the extent to which the campaign contributed to other restrictions on bottom trawling;
- gain insight about the effectiveness of this network of individuals and organizations in implementing this strategy; and
- better understand the time, resources and approaches that might be needed to inform future deliberations at the U.N. General Assembly and other multilateral organizations.

A three-person external team conducted the evaluation: John Willis, the team leader and director of campaigns and research at Strategic Communications Inc. (Stratcom), a Canadian consulting firm; Mary Beth West, an independent consultant on international oceans and fisheries law and policy; and Mirga Saltmiras, a senior associate at Stratcom.

They (1) interviewed Pew staff, members of the project's core unit, diplomats, politicians and policy makers who participated in the U.N. process, and knowledgeable observers of international marine issues; (2) reviewed relevant project products and documentation; and (3) analyzed external documentary evidence, including media coverage, background papers produced by the U.N. and key countries in the debate, and Web sites and publications from allied organizations not members of the coalition.

Summary of Evaluation Findings

The project did not succeed in securing a resolution from the U.N. calling for a moratorium on bottom trawling on the high seas. The evidence indicates, however, that the project was pivotal in rapidly advancing the issue of constraining bottom trawling on the international fisheries agenda. As a consequence, in December 2006 the U.N. adopted Resolution 61/105, which aims to control bottom fishing of all kinds.

The marine policy experts and diplomats consulted by the evaluators viewed this resolution as a significant step forward in protecting marine biodiversity and in oceans governance as a whole. For example, the resolution requires all regional fisheries management organizations to identify vulnerable marine ecosystems, deter-



Dan Gair Photograph/Jupiterimages.com

A bottom-trawler's haul: the intended catch, many unwanted species ("bycatch") and untold sea-bed destruction.

mine whether bottom fishing is harmful and, if so, either establish measures to eliminate harm or cease bottom fishing.

History will decide whether the U.N. resolution proves effective in reducing the harm that bottom trawling causes—far too little time has passed to support a firm judgment either way. Yet the early signs are hopeful. Five regional fisheries management organizations have included in their definitions of vulnerable marine ecosystems the habitat types recommended by the coalition. And discussions since the U.N. action in 2006 suggest that the prospect of a future full moratorium on bottom fishing is motivating some of the most reticent actors in this field to seriously implement the existing resolution.

According to experienced diplomats, the speed with which some countries are moving to regulate bottom fishing in light of the U.N.'s decision is "surprising" and "unprecedented."

Evidence also suggests that the project's efforts led to (1) Japan working

with the United States, Russia and South Korea to establish a new North Pacific regional fisheries regime; and (2) the countries responsible for managing fisheries in the South Pacific taking interim measures on bottom trawling.

These measures, which apply to approximately 25 percent of the world's high seas, prohibit the geographic expansion of bottom trawling and close areas to fishing that contain or are likely to contain vulnerable marine ecosystems.

The project is also credited with helping increase the capacity of non-profit organizations to monitor the implementation of Resolution 61/105 and to carry out other international fisheries campaigns. And the work has attracted a larger international marine advocacy network, from eight original coalition members to more than 60 at the time of the evaluation.

Effectiveness of Strategy and Performance of Individuals and Organizations

The evaluators viewed the coalition as “an extremely strong and talented group of campaigners—in fact, one of the best campaign teams we . . . have encountered.” This was illustrated by the coalition's response to its greatest challenge: It initially underestimated the strength of the opposition and overestimated the level of support to ban bottom trawling. Yet it responded adroitly to the unfolding circumstances in the field, which is a testament to the skill, planning, coordination and drive of the core coalition group.

All told, the campaign was responsive to the changing political landscape and deployed an array of effective tactics that built momentum for eventual U.N. action that culminated in the protection of seamounts, coldwater corals and other sensitive and biologically diverse ecological zones on the floor of the high seas. In the view of the evaluators, the project became a stronger actor in pushing

for action on bottom trawling on the international political scene than almost any single country.

For the Future

There may be more than one way to measure success. The underlying strategic intent of the coalition campaign was to halt damage to marine ecosystems caused by bottom trawling. With this in mind, the campaign adopted a clear objective—a moratorium on bottom trawling throughout the high seas—which was not delivered. But the campaign sparked what appears to be a meaningful advance in ocean conservation and international law, and the U.N.'s eventual resolution is having a positive near-term effect on the behavior of bottom-fishing countries that has the promise to yield long-lasting benefits.

A familiar project structure can help. Although the coalition was Pew's first campaign in international fisheries, the basic coalition structure, also used in Pew's successful wilderness-protection campaigns, allows for flexible and timely responses to regional conditions, facilitates information exchange among the many moving parts of the campaign and creates the sense that, in the words of two diplomats interviewed for this evaluation, “the activists were everywhere” and had “always done their homework” prior to engaging with experts or politicians.

Sometimes execution trumps strategy. An excellent strategy will almost certainly fall short of the goal if those charged with implementation are not up to the task. But outstanding people can adapt strategy to take advantage of unanticipated opportunities and respond to the complexities of international advocacy campaigns. The coalition strategy benefited from having an experienced and highly capable team at the heart of the campaign. This is a lesson that Pew has learned over the years, but it bears repeating occasionally because of its importance:

High-quality project leaders and teammates are a prerequisite for undertaking these challenging projects.

International campaigns differ from those operating within a single country. Decision making in international bodies like the U.N. is driven by consensus rather than a majority. Strategies will be most effective in aiming for a point of compromise that will bring opponents together and advance their respective interests in the prevailing decision-making climate. One priority for campaign leadership is to forecast roughly where that compromise point may lie, build a clear understanding of this point among campaign leadership and partners, and then nudge parties toward a final agreement while refining objectives and tactics as appropriate to reflect ongoing changes in the political landscape.

Change in the international arena takes time. The coalition campaign lasted about 30 months. The speed with which the issue of bottom trawling moved up the international fisheries agenda is remarkable and should be viewed as an exception rather than the rule. Most international campaigns will take longer.

To sum up, the U.N. General Assembly resolution of 2006 did not place an outright moratorium on bottom trawling but is seen by marine experts consulted for this evaluation as a significant step forward in ocean conservation. Though the long-term effectiveness of the U.N. action as ocean conservation policy remains to be seen, the preponderance of early evidence suggests reason for optimism. These achievements speak to the soundness of the coalition team and of Pew's decision to invest and participate in the campaign. ■

Scott B. Scrivner is an officer in Planning and Evaluation, and Lester W. Baxter is director of Planning and Evaluation at Pew.

For more information on this department, click on “About Us” at www.pewtrusts.org.



Pew's program investments seek to improve policy, inform the public and stimulate civic life through operating projects, which are managed by Pew staff; donor partnerships, which allow us to work closely with individuals or foundations and achieve shared purposes; and targeted grant-making. The results of some recent work are highlighted here. For fuller contexts, complete reports and other relevant materials, visit www.pewtrusts.org.

The North Pacific Fisheries Management Council votes to **prevent the expansion of industrial fishing into all U.S. waters north of the Bering Strait** for the foreseeable future.

In an early victory for the Pew Environment Group's new Arctic program, nearly 200,000 square miles of U.S. Arctic waters will be closed to industrial fishing to limit stress on ocean ecosystems in light of the dramatic effects of global climate change in the Arctic.

With no large-scale commercial fishing in that part of the world at present, this decision establishes one of the largest preventive and precautionary measures in fisheries management history.

The Pew Environment Group is partnering with the Ocean Conservancy, Oceana, scientists and Native American and community leaders to spotlight how this protection can serve as a model for national and international management of the region and to urge the Obama administration to support this decision and act in a similar manner on other Arctic issues.

Informed by the Pew Environment Group's Campaign to End Overfishing in the Southeast, including new data showing that the number of red snapper has declined 97.6 percent since 1945, the South Atlantic Fishery Management Council votes to **halt red snapper fishing** for six months,



Adam Lavery/endoverfishing.org

with an optional six-month extension, in the Atlantic from North Carolina to Florida.

The ban is intended to protect red snapper in the short term while fishery managers develop science-based, long-term solutions to end overfishing and restore a healthy population.

Culling whales will not increase fisheries catches in tropical waters, according to a new study supported by the Lenfest Ocean Program and published in the journal *Science*.

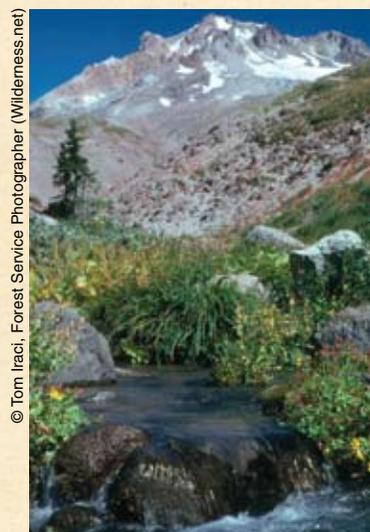
For years, Japan has argued that reducing the number of baleen whales in the oceans would improve fisheries because whales eat fish that are caught for human consumption. The report finds that even a complete eradication of whales in tropical waters would not lead to any significant increase in fish populations.

For their analysis, the authors construct ecosystem models that account for feeding interactions between whales and fish to understand the role that baleen whales play in tropical marine ecosystems in Western Africa and the Caribbean, where they are known to breed. The scientists use global and regional data, validated through scientific workshops in Senegal and Barbados, to determine whether competition is occurring.

The Pew-initiated Shark Alliance achieves a longstanding campaign objective when the European Commission releases its first-ever **Plan of Action for the Conservation of Sharks**.

The plan, which sets the stage for sweeping reforms in European Union shark fishing and protection policies, aims to improve information about shark fisheries, end overfishing of this animal, focus more closely on threatened species and close loopholes in the EU's ban on shark finning (the wasteful practice of slicing off the fins and discarding the body at sea). The plan includes actions at the national, EU and international levels.

President Obama signs the **Omnibus Public Lands Management Act of 2009**, resulting in the largest expansion of U.S. wilderness in 15 years. The measure adds 2.1 million acres of publicly owned land in nine states to the National Wilderness Preserva-



© Tom Iraci, Forest Service Photographer (Wilderness.net)

Mount Hood, Oregon.

tion System, protects more than 1,000 miles of rivers as “wild and scenic,” establishes a 26-million-acre National Landscape Conservation System and creates 10 new National Heritage Areas.

“**Fighting over Forests,**” a segment on the TV program *NOW on PBS*, wins first prize for TV Environmental Reporting at the National Headliner Awards, one of the oldest and largest annual contests recognizing journalistic merit in the communications industry. The Pew Environment Group provides assistance to the piece, which focuses on the Roadless Rule and its potential impact in Idaho.

Senator Jeff Bingaman, chairman of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, introduces **comprehensive legislation to update the 1872 law** that governs the mining of gold, uranium and other hardrock minerals on public lands in the West.

His proposal includes a number of environmental and taxpayer-protection provisions such as imposing royalty payments on metals taken from federal lands, raising additional revenue through increased claims fees, establishing an abandoned mine reclamation program and eliminating “patenting” (the practice of selling public lands at frontier-era prices). The bill includes the key elements of reform being advanced by the Pew Campaign for Responsible Mining.

A comparable bill introduced in the House of Representatives in 2007 is re-introduced in January, the same day the Pew Campaign for Responsible Mining releases *Reforming the U.S. Hardrock Mining Law of 1872: The Price of Inaction*. The congressional proposals mark the first time in well over a decade that both chambers are considering serious measures to modernize the nation’s outdated mining law.

Fulfilling a request that the Pew Environment Group makes of President Obama on his first day in office, the **Environmental Protection Agency** declares in April that greenhouse gases are a danger to human health and welfare. This finding creates a potential opportunity for global warming emissions to be regulated as pollutants under the Clean Air Act and may also accelerate the progress of the administration’s proposed legislation to limit greenhouse gas emissions for manufacturers and permit companies to trade the right to pollute to other firms.

With 31 cosponsors, Representative Rosa DeLauro submits the **Food Safety Modernization Act** to enable federal authorities to better ensure the safety of the food supply. The



© Elke Dennis/Stockphoto.com

House bill comes as the Food and Drug Administration is under criticism by the public and Congress for its failure to prevent or swiftly detect the peanut-product *Salmonella* outbreak that has sickened more than 575 people and been linked to at least eight deaths.

The legislation, which embodies most of the key reforms called for by Pew’s Campaign for Food Safety, would require far more frequent inspections of food-manufacturing establishments based on the risks presented by the facility; require the establishment of produce safety rules; give the Food and Drug Administration the authority to issue mandatory recalls of tainted food; strengthen safety standards; establish a system for ensuring import safety; and ensure accountability and improved coordination by establishing a new Food Safety Administration within the Department of Health and Human Services.

Pew issues a public statement supporting the legislation and runs ads in congressional trade publications urging House members to support the measure.

In April, groups representing the 76 million Americans who are needlessly sickened each year by contaminated food, along with major consumer and public health organizations, gather at the U.S. Capitol to launch the new “Make Our Food Safe” coalition. Established by the Pew campaign, the alliance intends to raise awareness of food-borne illness and urge policy makers to modernize the nation’s outdated food safety laws.

Nearly one year after the Pew Commission on Industrial Farm Animal Production recommends that America reform the way livestock are raised on factory farms, U.S. Representative Louise Slaughter and Senator Ted Kennedy introduce the **Preservation of Antibiotics for Medical Treatment Act of 2009**. The bill seeks the withdrawal of antibiotics important to human health from use on factory farms unless animals are sick.

The Pew Campaign on Human Health and Industrial Farming, a joint project of the Pew Environment Group and the Pew Health Group, helps update the legislation and is encouraging congressional leaders to support it through co-sponsorship.

Senators Herb Kohl and Chuck Grassley sponsor the **Physician Payments Sunshine Act of 2009**, which would require pharmaceutical, biotech and medical-device companies and their subsidiaries to publicly report payments over \$100 to doctors every year.

In a major step toward the passage of such a bill, Senator Max Baucus includes the Physician Payments Sunshine Act in his plans for major health reform legislation, outlined in a memo to the Senate Finance Committee.

Pew's Prescription Project has worked to shape the legislation and educate lawmakers and the general public about the need to bring transparency to financial relationships between physicians and the medical industry.

At least 10 states introduce such measures, including transparency bills or bans on pharmaceutical- and medical-device-industry gifts to prescribers, creation of physician education programs and restrictions on the use of prescriber records to target pharmaceutical marketing. In addition, the pharmaceutical industry implements a voluntary code that bans gifts of branded office supplies and other trinkets to doctors.

Congress passes and President Obama signs the **Credit Card Accountability, Responsibility and Disclosure Act** in May, culminating a long effort led by the Pew Safe Credit Cards Project and others to help consumers avoid hundreds and sometimes thousands of dollars in fees and escalating interest rates.

The project, an initiative of the Pew Health Group, helps set the stage earlier in the year when it issues a set of standards designed to prevent deceptive and dangerous credit

card practices and calls for legislation to enforce its recommendations.

Developed after more than a year of research, including reviews of more than 400 credit cards from the largest issuers and extensive outreach with industry and consumer representatives, the Safe Credit Card Standards seek to protect consumers while preserving banks' ability to manage risk when extending credit.

As the report notes, the Federal Reserve previously outlawed a number of the same credit card practices addressed in Pew's independent standards, but issuers are not required to adhere to those guidelines until July 2010. The project calls on legislators to accelerate enforcement of the Federal Reserve's rules and add new protections similar to those described in the project's standards, including limits on punitive penalty interest-rate increases and harmful payment-processing methods.

The project releases its findings, together with its Safe Credit Card Standards, during a week when both houses of Congress deliberate reform bills, and the new legislation ultimately reflects many of the project's standards.

Doug Chapin, director of Election Initiatives for the Pew Center on the States, testifies before the Committee on House Administration Subcommittee on Elections on "**The 2008 Election: A Look Back on What Went Right and Wrong?**"

Chapin recognizes the successes of election officials, but also provides evidence of remaining election administration challenges, particularly on voter registration.

His testimony is based on findings from the 2008 *Survey of the Performance of American Elections*, conducted for Pew by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology with support from AARP and the former JEHT Foundation. The study suggests that as many as 3 million registered voters did not vote in the 2008 general election due to voter registration problems.

The Pew Center on the States' **Government Performance Project** launches a partnership with three states in a yearlong effort to strengthen state operations and save tax dollars. Each collaboration addresses a different challenge: achieving savings through statewide-purchasing reform in



Groceries	\$63.29
Credit card costs*	
Raised interest rate	\$11.88
Overlimit fee	\$39.00
TOTAL	\$114.17

Americans can't afford to wait for credit card reform

From an ad produced by the Pew Safe Credit Cards Project.



© iStockphoto.com

© Getty Images

Georgia; applying best business practices to Ohio's personnel system; and strengthening West Virginia's planning and budgeting.

The states receive a planning stipend and intensive management support from Pew experts and advisors to accelerate state improvements.

This work builds on a center report, *Trade-off Time: How Four States Continue to Deliver*, on how states are tackling the fiscal crisis and which states are leaders in using program-performance information to make program-reduction and investment decisions.

At their winter meeting, members of the **National Lieutenant Governors Association** resolve to "seek to provide three- and four-year-old children in the nation with the opportunity to participate in high-quality, voluntary pre-k and to enhance pre-k program quality."

The resolution, which passes with not a single dissenting vote, is to be sent to the president, congressional leaders and the chairs of the Republican and Democratic national committees. Pew's Pre-K Now project works on resolution language with the authors, and project manager Danielle Gonzales provides testimony at the association's meeting.

In May, Pre-K Now's report *Leadership Matters: Governors' Pre-K Budget Proposals FY10* notes that, despite the



Jim Saah/Jim Saah Photography

current economic climate, governors, by a ratio of five to one, are proposing to protect or increase pre-k offerings rather than reduce them.

In addition, the governors of Alaska, North Dakota and Rhode Island recommend creating the **first state-funded pre-k programs** in their states, and the Obama administration's stimulus package includes funding for early education programs such as Head Start.

These findings underscore a growing interest among policy makers in targeting limited public resources to effective programs backed by research. Legislatures in several other states have already increased pre-k funding, partially as a result of Pre-K Now's efforts to raise awareness of the long-term benefits of investing in early childhood.

Federal subsidies to Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac could reach \$290 billion in fiscal year 2009 and climb to \$389 billion between 2009 and 2019, according to an analysis by Subsidyscope, an initiative of Pew's Economic Policy department.

At those levels, projected subsidies to these two organizations will exceed the cost of the Troubled Asset Relief Program, which is expected to total \$356 billion over the same period. Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac are government-sponsored enterprises that purchase mortgages and guarantee pools of mortgages; they have been in conservatorship since last fall. TARP is a U.S. Treasury program that purchases preferred stock and provides loans and asset guarantees to banks and other institutions.

The Pew Charitable Trusts launched Subsidyscope last year to increase public and policy-maker attention to the size and scope of all federal subsidies. While Subsidyscope's early work has been on financial subsidies, it will be expanding its focus to transportation and housing later this year, and to energy, agriculture and other sectors next year. The project is guided by a bipartisan advisory board of budget, tax and financial experts. (See "Always Relevant, Surprisingly Timely," pages 8-11.)

Information Today, a newspaper that reports on the information industry, gives the Pew Research Center its annual **BUDDIE Award** (for Best Unknown Database). The publi-



cation acknowledges that the center “isn’t exactly unknown”—the media frequently cite its reports—“but there is a strong iceberg effect here: The total [Pew Research Center] production is much larger and more diverse than you might think, and it deserves your fuller attention.”

The article praises the center’s reports as “models of dispassionate analysis,” notes that the site is “attractive and intuitive with uncluttered, logically arranged pages [and] minimal but effectively deployed graphics,” and credits its researchers with “a keen, almost clairvoyant, sense for the issues of greatest public concern and interest.”

A poll by the Pew Research Center’s Internet & American Life Project finds that 39 percent of Americans have “positive and improving” attitudes about their **mobile communication devices**, which in turn draw them more deeply into digital life. The remaining 61 percent, according to the study, include many who have access to information and communication technology but who consider technology “on the periphery” of their interests.

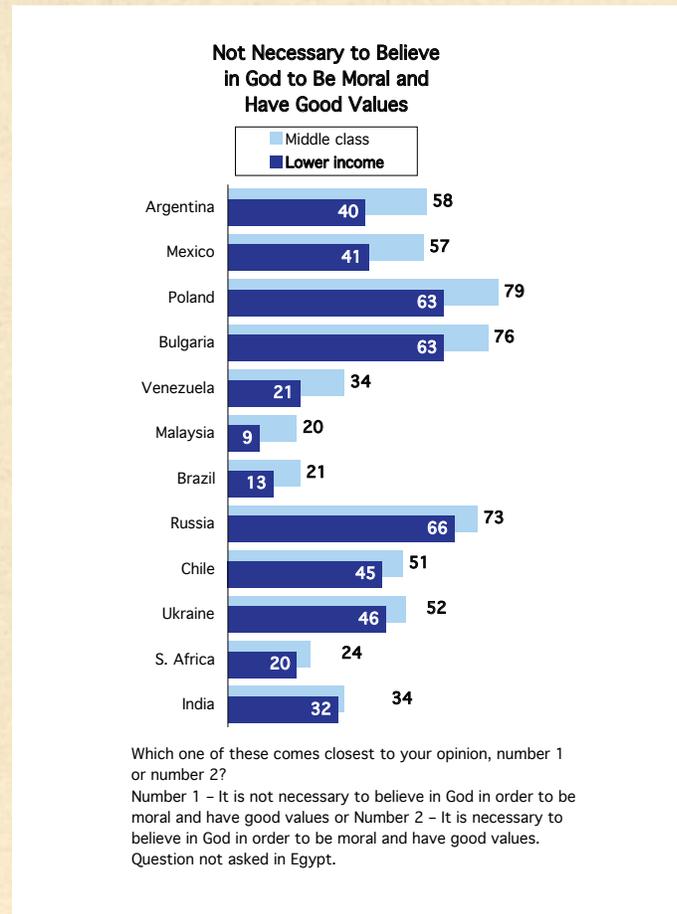
These results are the centerpiece of the project’s second typology of users of such technology, who are categorized according to the gadgets they have, how they use them and how they feel about the technology’s role in their lives.

While many adults “reach a plateau in their technology use,” the report notes that, as more and more people gravitate to wireless and mobile access to supplement their home high-speed wired connections and have greater opportunity to share their advice, creativity and observations online, the “penalty” for having little or no access increases.

As many newspapers struggle to stay afloat, fewer than half of Americans (43 percent) say that **losing their local newspaper would hurt civic life** in their community “a lot,” and only one third say they would personally miss reading the local newspaper “a lot” if it were no longer available. Those are among the findings of a survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press. (Nearly 85 percent of respondents say they are aware of the newspaper business’s financial problems.)

Less than a quarter of those under 40 (23 percent) say they would miss the local newspaper they read most often if it folded. However, even young people—41 percent of those under 40—say the shutdown of their local paper would hurt civic life in their community “a lot.” Nearly half of all Democrats and independents say their communities would be hurt by the loss of the local newspaper, compared to one third of Republicans.

As economically developing countries grow more prosperous, their middle classes understandably become more satisfied with their lives. But many of their basic values also appear to change. Over time, the **values of the middle classes in emerging countries** become more like those



Source: Pew Research Center

of the public in advanced nations, according to a new analysis by the Pew Global Attitudes Project, conducted in partnership with *The Economist* magazine.

The study finds that, in 13 middle-income nations from regions around the globe, people tend to hold different opinions about democracy and social issues once they reach a certain level of wealth.

Compared to poorer people in emerging countries, members of the middle class assign more importance to democratic institutions and individual liberties, consider religion less central to their lives, hold more liberal social values and express more concern about the environment.

The analysis, which is based on the project’s 2007 survey, supports the hypothesis that economic well-being is linked with support for democracy.

A national survey by the Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends project finds that nearly half (46 percent) of the public would **rather live in a different type**



Denver Metro Convention & Visitors Bureau

Denver and its environs look good.

of community than the one they're in now—a sentiment most prevalent among city dwellers.

When asked about specific metropolitan areas where they would like to reside, respondents rate Denver, San Diego and Seattle at the top of a list of 30 large cities and Detroit, Cleveland and Cincinnati at the bottom.

People are also asked, "just for fun," whether they would prefer to live in a place with more Starbucks or more McDonald's. The Golden Arches win the contest, 43 percent to 35 percent; the remainder have no preference.

Paul Taylor, executive director of the Pew Research Center, provides **invited testimony at a Senate Finance Committee hearing on middle-class tax relief.** Taylor shares findings from *Inside the Middle Class: Bad Times Hit the Good Life*, a 2008 report by the center's Social & Demographic Trends project that combines results of a Pew Research Center survey with analysis of relevant economic and demographic trend data from the U.S. Census Bureau.

"Even before the current recession settled in, the American middle class felt stuck in its tracks," Taylor says. Nonetheless, middle-class Americans also believe they have a higher standard of living than their parents had. "Income data from the Census say they're right on both fronts," he notes.

Taylor adds that about half of all Americans think of themselves as middle class and that, like the nation overall, they are older, better educated, less likely to be white and less likely to be married than their counterparts 40 years ago.

The Pew Hispanic Center, a project of the Pew Research Center, releases demographic portraits of **American voters in the 2008 presidential election**—the most diverse in U.S. history, according to the center's analysis of Census Bureau data. Voter turnout among eligible African Americans rises nearly 5 percentage points over the last four years (from 60.3 percent in 2004 to 65.2 percent in 2008), and participation levels increases by more than two percentage points among both Asians and Hispanics, to 47 percent and 49.9 percent, respectively.

Pew's Cultural Data Project, a Web-based data-collection system for arts and culture organizations, **welcomes three new states:** Illinois on May 1 and Massachusetts and New York on June 1. These three states join Pennsylvania, California and Maryland as project participants.

The project helps streamline the grants application process for arts groups by providing a centralized online repository for detailed financial and programmatic information, using technology to reformat the data to match the needs of participating funders. The project also yields reliable, verifiable and standardized data that can be used for research and analysis.

The Philadelphia Research Initiative, created in Pew's Philadelphia Program last November, issues **reports on a variety of city-centric topics**, from a survey on the quality of life to a wide-ranging *State of the City* report that depicts Philadelphia making progress on a number of key fronts but still struggling with long-term forces of decline. (For a free, bound copy of *State of the City*, e-mail info@pewtrusts.org.)

The initiative's budget brief *Tough Decisions and Limited Options: How Philadelphia and Other Cities are Balancing Budgets in a Time of Recession* is released in May to budget officials, other leaders and reporters both locally and in each of the other 12 cities examined. Media coverage includes the Philadelphia Associated Press and the Reuters newswires, and articles in *The Economist*, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, *The Kansas City Star*, *York (Pa.) Daily Record*, *Worcester (Mass.) Business Journal*, *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, *Detroit Free Press*, *Indianapolis Star*, *The Boston Globe* and the *Dallas Morning News'* blog—beyond the circle of cities analyzed in the report. In addition, project director Larry Eichel is interviewed on the radio in Philadelphia, Chicago, Seattle and Boston as well as for the network of stations of Clear Channel Radio Pennsylvania.

As the body of research grows, the findings are cited in Philadelphia City Council and other public meetings as well as by candidates for office in the city's recent primary election, and Eichel is invited to discuss them at the staff meetings of Mayor Michael Nutter. ■

Two hundred years after Charles Darwin's birth and 150 years after the naturalist published his groundbreaking *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*, the Pew Research Center's **Forum on Religion & Public Life** undertook an ambitious look at the history of the battle over evolution in the United States—and found that, 85 years after the Scopes “monkey” trial, it is being fought today with as much passion as ever, and on a larger scale.

Darwin's theory of evolution initially set off a firestorm of controversy in Britain, writes David Masci, a senior research fellow at the Forum. Religious leaders argued that it directly contradicted many of the core teachings of the Christian faith, including the notion that man had a special, God-given place in the natural order. Within a few decades, however, it had gained general acceptance in Britain, even among many in the Anglican clergy, and when Darwin died in 1882, his burial in Westminster Abbey “was seen by some contemporaries as symbolic of an uneasy truce between science and religion in Britain.”

In the United States, however, the furor over Darwinism was just beginning, and by the early 1920s it had become one of the most important wedge issues dividing liberal and evangelical Protestants. Increasingly, the focus of the debate became the teaching of evolution in schools—the charge brought successfully against a teacher named John Scopes in Tennessee in 1926. It was not until 1968 that the Supreme Court put an end to state and local prohibitions on teaching evolution; subsequent rulings have barred schools from offering “creation science” in its place.

Nonetheless, school boards, town councils and legislatures continue to skirmish over the teaching of evolution: The Forum recounts controversies in 14 states in the past decade,

On the Record

For context and specifics, go to www.pewtrusts.org

“The Obama Administration’s plan for the first national standard for tailpipe greenhouse gas emissions is a significant step forward in American energy and global warming policy, to the benefit of us all. This will ensure that automakers produce the fuel-efficient cars Americans demand, saving consumers’ money at the pump, reducing our dependence on oil and cutting the pollution that threatens the public’s health and our environment.

“This ends years of dispute over who should regulate tailpipe emissions. Due to the president’s leadership, state officials, automakers and environmentalists, who have long debated these standards in the courts, now endorse a federal plan that gives industry predictability while protecting states’ rights to clean-car regulation.”

Phyllis Cuttino, director of the Pew Environment Group’s U.S. Global Warming Campaign, on President Obama’s national plan cutting global warming pollution from new cars and light trucks.

“These results are a reminder that people consider protection from violence and crime to be the basic city service. Unless Philadelphians feel safe, little else matters to them.”

Larry Eichel, Philadelphia Research Initiative, following release of a poll that probed residents’ attitudes about the factors that make the city a good place to live.

“From my perspective, which is that of an advocate who is interested in seeing

the arts sector in the community thrive, it may not be such a bad thing that [arts journalism] is migrating from print to online, maybe a kind of mixed situation. Our primary interest is still in seeing that the arts sector is maximally accessible to its audiences and has the maximum kind of life in the public discourse.”

Marian Godfrey, senior director, Pew’s Culture Initiatives, participating on a panel on the future of arts journalism hosted by Christie’s.

“In the coming year, Congress is likely to establish a new framework for financial regulation that may well be with us for the next 50 years. We can make a valuable contribution on a host of important issues by ensuring that we incorporate the lessons learned from past regulatory interventions.”

Peter Wallison, the American Enterprise Institute, on the launch of the Pew Financial Reform Project, whose task force of academics, financial industry representatives and policy experts he chairs with Martin Bailey of the Brookings Institution.

“While massive escapes often make headline news, the daily, unreported leakages from open-net salmon farms can be equally devastating to the surrounding marine ecosystem.

“The industry needs to adopt better technology to dramatically reduce the number of escapes before it’s too late.”

Alex Munoz, Oceana Chile, a partner organization in the Pure Salmon Campaign, a global coalition.

including various efforts to teach “intelligent design,” the belief that life is too complex to have evolved through natural processes without the intercession of an outside, possibly divine force. “Indeed, the teaching of evolution has become a part of the nation’s culture wars,” Masci writes, noting that the subject came up even in the 2008 presidential campaign.

Polls by the Pew Research Center indicate that the anti-evolution forces have significant popular support. A 2006 survey by the Forum and the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press found that 63 percent of Americans believe that humans and other living things either have always existed in their present form or have evolved over time under the guidance of a supreme being.

For its package on evolution, the Forum also drew on its landmark 2008 U.S. Religious Landscape Survey to investigate how religion influences attitudes toward the topic. It found that large majorities of Catholics, Jews, Buddhists, Hindus and the unaffiliated favor evolution as the best explanation for the development of human life, while at least 7 in 10 members of evangelical Protestant churches, Mormons and Jehovah's Witnesses reject it. The more religious the individuals, the likelier they are to reject the idea of evolution.

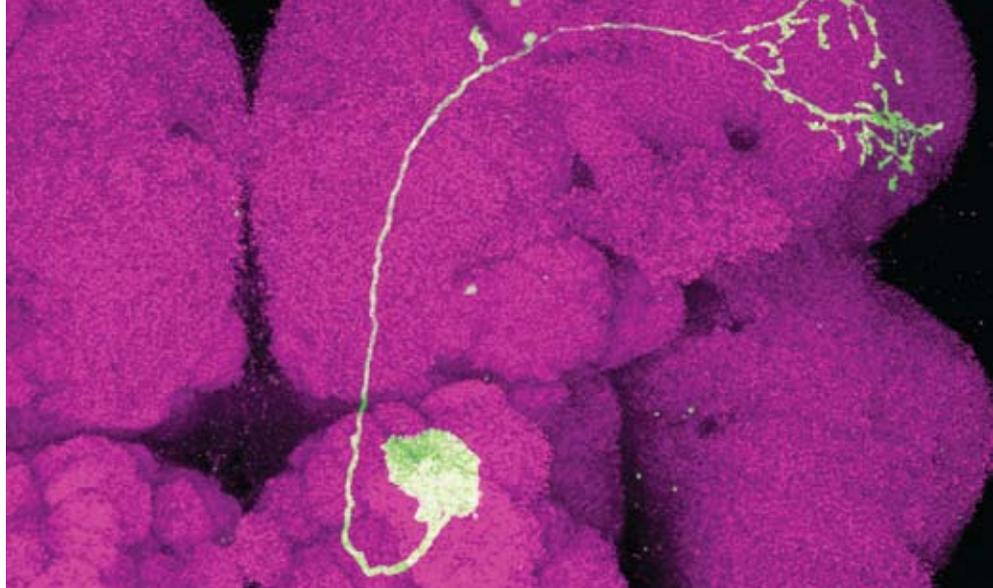
The Forum's discussion of Darwin's theory and the ensuing controversy are presented in a six-part package. To read the full report, go to <http://pewforum.org> and search for "Darwin."

Pew Biomedical Scholar Rachel I. Wilson, Ph.D. (Class of 2005), an assistant professor of neurobiology at Harvard Medical School, has won a MacArthur Foundation fellowship, commonly called a "genius award." She studies the cellular mechanisms that underlie the sense of taste.

In previous work, Wilson developed sophisticated methods for monitoring the activity of single neurons in the brains of living fruit flies. In recent years, as a Pew scholar, she has further explored the taste signals that are sent from the taste-receptor neurons on the fly's tongue to the brain neurons that interpret the gustatory signals.

Using advanced approaches in genetics and imaging, she is determining the information that the gustatory-receptor neurons encode—for example, whether they respond to single classes of taste molecules, such as bitter, sweet or salty—and to identify and characterize the secondary neurons in the brain to which these primary receptor cells report.

Knowing how the brain recognizes flavor has potential clinical applications for weight control and more palatable



A single neuron (green) in the fruit fly brain (magenta), through the process of confocal fluorescence microscopy. Image courtesy of Rachel I. Wilson.

medications, and knowing more about electrical activity in the brain may affect treatments for Parkinson's disease and deafness.

In 2007, Wilson won the International Grand Prize in Neurobiology from the journal *Science* and Eppendorf AG for her research suggesting that the brain identifies odor by decoding a pattern of impulses from a diverse set of receptor neurons.

For more on the Pew Scholars Program in the Biomedical Sciences, go to www.pewscholars.org.

In addition, a member of the Pew Scholars Program's National Advisory Committee has won the Nobel Prize in Chemistry. **Roger Y. Tsien**, Ph.D., shared the award with two other chemists last year for their discovery and development of GFP, the green fluorescent protein that, because it glows, enables scientists to follow the movements, positions and interactions of other proteins in real time.

With GFP, researchers can track nerve cell damage during Alzheimer's disease or the creation of insulin-producing beta cells in the pancreas of a growing embryo, the Nobel committee said, adding, "In one spectacular experiment, researchers succeeded in tagging different nerve cells in the brain of a mouse with a kaleidoscope of colors." The work is credited with revolutionizing the fields of cell biology and neurobiology.

In a talk at the annual meeting of the Pew biomedical scholars and

Pew Latin American fellows earlier this year, Tsien described the development of GFP, some applications and observations it permits, current limitations and its use in the high-school classroom (attracting youngsters to science is a passion of his).

Finally, he gave "some lessons for young scientists":

- Try to put your neuroses to constructive use.
- Try to find projects that move you deeply.
- Accept that your batting average will be low but hopefully not zero.
- Accept that your best papers may be rejected from the fashionable journals or may be accepted for the wrong reasons (the same for grant proposals).
- Learn to make lemonade from lemons; sometimes persistence pays off.
- Prizes are ultimately a matter of luck, so avoid being motivated or impressed by them.
- Find the right collaborators and exploit them kindly for mutual benefit.

The Star-Spangled Banner yet waves at the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History, thanks to an undertaking supported in part by Pew. The preservation project, which included a state-of-the-art gallery for the nearly 200-year-old flag, was part of a two-year, \$85-million renovation of

On June 1, The Philadelphia Inquirer celebrated its 180th anniversary by reprinting Vol. 1, No. 1, from June 1, 1829. Among the shipping news, front-page advertisements, legal reports, political endorsements and other items, the editor took space to explain the paper's purpose. He plainly and forcefully affirmed the values of a "free press and free discussion" and pledged the publication's devotion "to the maintenance of the rights and liberties of the people, equally against the abuse as against the usurpation of power."

Those are still the ideals of the American press and, in carrying them out, its work still matters. Yet many newspapers nowadays find themselves on the financial brink (see "Bleak House," pages 18-24). Donald Kimelman, a former newsmen of 25 years' experience who now serves as Pew's managing director of Information Initiatives, contributed to the growing pool of new economic ideas with an op-ed that appeared in The Boston Globe in April and is reprinted here with minor cuts.

A "Hybrid" Path for Saving Newspapers

By Donald Kimelman

The increasingly urgent debate over how to maintain robust news coverage in America during a time when the economic model appears to be collapsing has been taking place on two parallel tracks: for-profit and nonprofit solutions. Each appears insufficient in its own way.

Now Senator Ben Cardin of Maryland has proposed legislation that would allow a hybrid model to emerge—one that would take advantage of revenue streams from both sources. This particular bill may not be the answer. But given the drawbacks of other alternatives, the dual-track approach it embraces is worth a serious look.

Those advocating for for-profit solutions see the greatest potential in

online revenue streams that would pay news organizations for their original content. But we seem a long way from a meaningful model, and for a lot of newspapers, time has grown short.

Meanwhile, people in the nonprofit world are focused on creating supplemental news operations to fill gaps created by the decline of traditional media. ProPublica does first-rate investigative reporting; Kaiser Health News covers health policy; MinnPost.com covers regional news in Minneapolis.

These initiatives have value. But they can't begin to match the scale or reach of the journalism that they are seeking to replace. Newspaper companies last year brought in \$38 billion in advertising, more than 90

AT A TIME WHEN NO-NEWSPAPER TOWNS MAY BECOME A REALITY, AN APPROACH THAT ALLOWS BOTH FOR-PROFIT AND NONPROFIT REVENUE STREAMS "IS WELL WORTH CONSIDERING."

percent of it from print. An estimated \$20 million was spent on nonprofit alternatives.

David Swensen, manager of Yale University's endowment, has proposed a way to bring the nonprofit approach to scale: convert struggling newspapers to nonprofits and create large endowments to cover their editorial operations. He has written that, for \$5 billion, *The New York Times* could be preserved in perpetuity. Steve Coll, president of the New America Foundation, has noted that *The Washington Post* could be endowed for \$2 billion.

Forget for a moment where all those billions would come from. Endowing an entire news staff is a solution that exceeds the dimensions of the problem. Advertising is declining at major newspaper companies, but it is a long way from vanishing. It is a revenue

source that needs to be supplemented, not replaced.

It is also hard to justify spending philanthropic donations on all forms of journalism. Underwriting *The Washington Post's* coverage of the financial crisis seems a justifiable use of charitable dollars. The same can't be said of the *Post's* voluminous Redskins coverage. But lively coverage of sports is as valued by a newspaper's readers as coverage of the weighty issues of the day.

Which brings us to the hybrid approach. Senator Cardin's proposed Newspaper Revitalization Act would allow a newspaper like the *Post* or *The Boston Globe* to do everything it currently does—or has yet to invent—to earn revenue. But it would also allow it, after converting to nonprofit status, to accept tax-deductible contributions as well.

Ad revenue would likely still pay for Redskins coverage, but grant money could underwrite that expensive bureau in Baghdad. A newspaper could still raise an endowment to ensure its future. But with ad dollars continuing to flow in, a newspaper like the *Post* wouldn't need anything close to \$2 billion.

This merging of for-profit and nonprofit models faces some serious objections. Why should the tax laws give an advantage to newspapers over other kinds of media? How will the recipients of philanthropic dollars avoid having their news agendas distorted by donor preferences? Would the crutch of donor support hinder the search for new commercial revenue necessary for news organizations' long-term viability?

All are good questions, worthy of debate. But at a time when the prospect of no-newspaper towns is looming, an approach that allows newspaper companies to benefit from both for-profit and nonprofit revenue streams is well worth considering.

the entire museum, to better showcase the fabulous treasures of the building fondly known as “America’s attic.”

To see the flag, visitors walk into a five-story, sky-lit atrium and beneath an “abstract” sculptural representation of the flag made of 960 pixels of reflective polycarbonate. There, displayed behind glass and horizontally in conformation with the U.S. flag code, lies the original Star-Spangled Banner. All support structures and mechanisms are hidden from public view, so that it appears to be floating.

As Edward Rothstein reported in *The New York Times*, “The flag, 30 by 34 feet of wool and cotton, is stunningly laid out on a tilted metallic slab in its own, dimly lighted, environmentally controlled chamber, protecting it from anything remotely like the rockets’ red glare that Francis Scott Key saw at Fort McHenry in 1814 before writing the national anthem.”

The banner’s story is told with sound, video and objects, with an interactive table allowing visitors to research key details. The exhibition explores the flag’s history as a family keepsake in the 19th century, the Smithsonian Institution’s efforts to preserve it since 1907 and ways Americans have used the Star-Span-

gled Banner—both the flag and the song—to express diverse ideas of patriotism and national identity.

People who can’t get to the exhibition can see it online at the museum’s site, www.americanhistory.si.edu.

In Washington, D.C.—a city whose currency is ideas—diverse voices are a critical ingredient in every public policy discussion, and a vibrant nonprofit sector is a vital contributor to the deliberations.

Ensuring that the nonprofit community has a convening place to call its own within earshot of national policy makers and opinion leaders is the purpose of The Pew Charitable Trusts’ new state-of-the-art **D.C. Conference Center** at 901 E Street, NW. In an era of tightening budgets and ever-rising rents, the Center has been designed and built to meet the specific needs of nonprofit organizations.

Thirty-six rooms, all constructed with collaboration in mind, can accommodate meetings with as few as two guests and events with up to 160. An open floor plan and comfortable public areas will facilitate gatherings and ad-hoc networking among the many interrelated groups utilizing the space. And a full suite of in-house services—from catering to

video conferencing to online collaboration tools—will enable nonprofit meeting planners and attendees to focus on the agenda and its objectives instead of worrying about logistics and other details.

In light of its longstanding commitment to environmental responsibility and the goals of a green economy, Pew renovated the entire 901 E Street structure within guidelines established by the U.S. Green Buildings Council. Pew is working with the council to gain Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) certification, which would signify that the building meets the highest green-building and performance measures and offers a clean, healthy setting for productive work.

Located within walking and Metro rapid-transit distance of the White House, Capitol Hill and numerous federal agencies, the D.C. Conference Center is more than just a meeting destination. It is a physical extension of Pew’s mission to generate knowledge and apply its power to solving today’s most pressing challenges.

For reservations and more information, e-mail John Anderson, senior manager of the Conference Center, at janderson@pewtrusts.org, or phone him at 202.552.2148.

The Pew Fellowships in the Arts program, an initiative of the Pew Center for Arts and Heritage, annually awards grants to artists working in a wide variety of performing, visual and literary disciplines. For the past two years, it has produced films directed by Glenn Holsten (Pew fellow, 1997) and featuring new fellows in five-minute segments, homing in on their art, their wider lives, their interaction with the Philadelphia community that is their home—whatever is most important for each artist. (Stills from this year’s production are on the facing page.) You can see the films of all the 2007 and 2008 fellows at www.pewarts.org. **T**

National Museum of American History



The Star-Spangled Banner in its new enclosure, with Key’s words on the back wall.

The film is a project of the Pew Center for Arts and Heritage through the Pew Fellowships in the Arts with additional support from the Marketing Innovation Program.



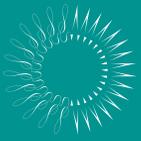
Some Fellows and Some Art from the Class of 2008

From the top:

Felix “Pupi” Legarreta, folk and traditional arts
Nana Korantemaa Ayebofo, folk and traditional arts
Mauro Zamora, painting
Edgar J. Shockley III, playwriting

From the top:

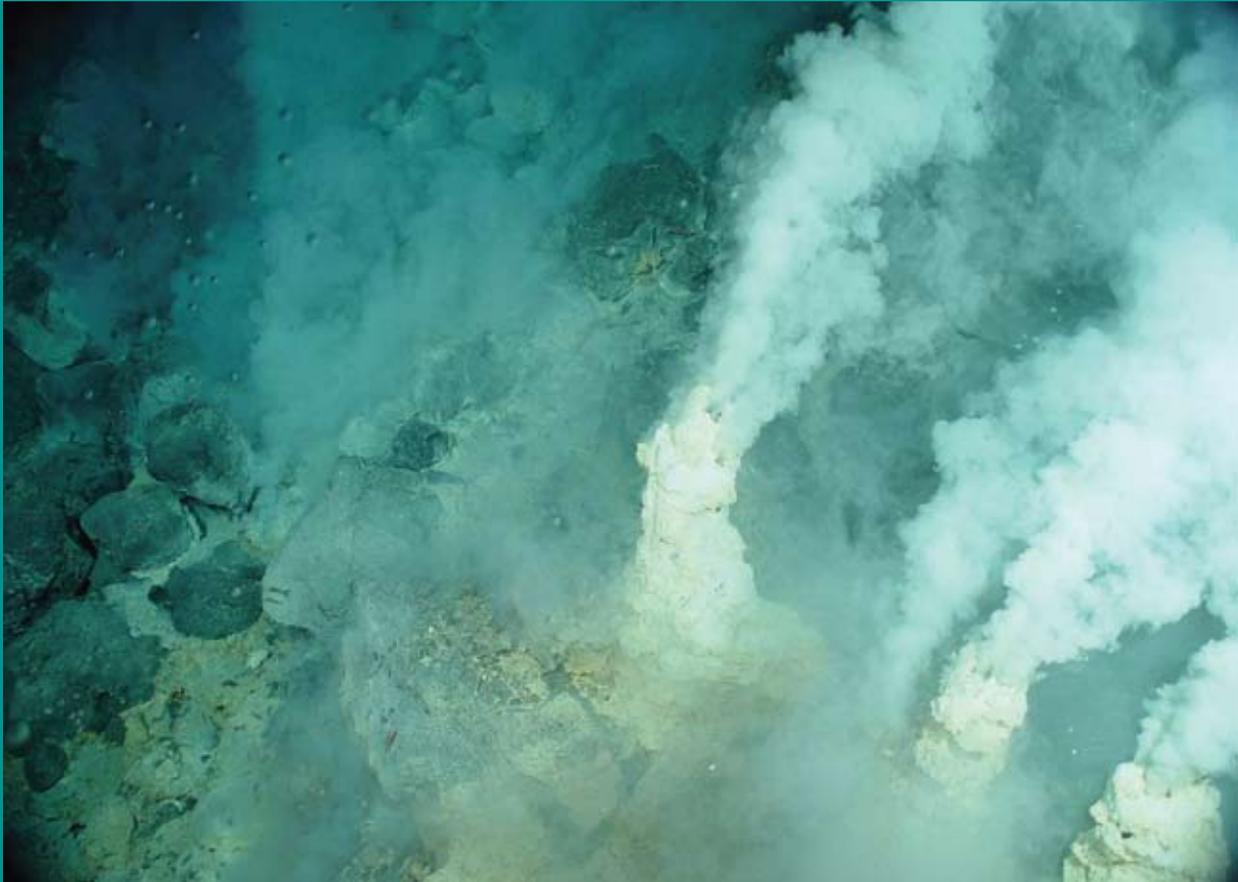
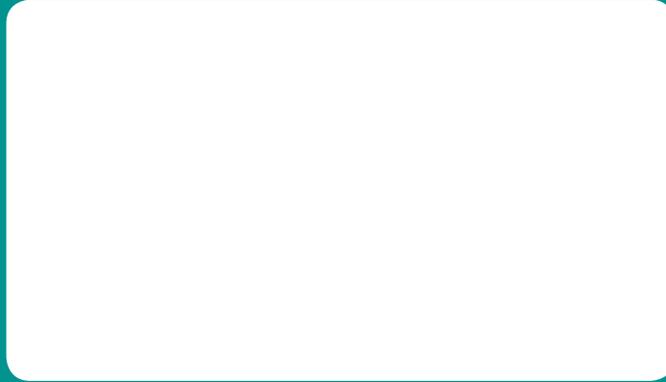
Venissa Santi, folk and traditional arts
Vera Nakonechny, folk and traditional arts
Matthew Cox, painting
Katharine Clark Gray, playwriting
Anne Seidman, painting



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NOAA, Submarine Firing of Fire 2004, Exploration and the NOAA Vents Program

One of the new marine national monuments is below sea level—the Marianas Trench, where active underwater volcanoes set the pace of daily life.