



# Trust

The Pew Charitable Trusts

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***Sharks: Beautiful and Necessary***  
***CIRCLE Informs Civic Engagement***  
***The Death Penalty: Making it Fair  
and Just***  
***Philadelphia Evaluated***



## Dominoes

**D**omino toppling is an interesting activity. Players line up their “bones,” or tiles, then push the first and watch the others proceed in sequence, unless a glitch, like a misalignment, stops the action.

The “domino effect,” of course, has become a part of our language: a series of successive events, each irreversibly causing the next. It is an apt analogy for Pew’s work, which we organize not only sequentially but also *consequentially*: later stages are determined by the previous results. Through research, we identify a problem of wide public concern, define a niche by which we can address it, produce unbiased, data-based information, apply this knowledge to potential solutions, assess public opinion and then promote policy change where the facts are clear and compelling. Furthermore, collaborations with others can make this pattern of events occur more rapidly and decisively.

Pew’s work to stop the wasteful and brutal practice of shark-finning—the at-sea removal of shark fins and the discard of live sharks or carcasses—began with data showing that over-fishing imperiled the world’s fisheries. Studies on sharks find up to 73 million killed annually—an unsustainable level for nearly all species.

Importantly, sharks are the first tile in their own domain. They top the ocean food chain, and the sharply reduced abundance of these animals disrupts everything below. The result has been “a cascade of unexpected effects,” as *The Washington Post* described it when reporting that an increase of rays and skates, normally kept in check by sharks, caused such devastation of the North Carolina scallop fishery that it closed in 2004.

Studies supported by Pew and others have identified the challenges confronting ocean management and the conservation measures needed to rebuild depleted fish stocks. This knowledge led us, with our partners, to launch the Shark Alliance, based in Amsterdam and representing a coalition of 30 organizations working to generate public support and overcome the perception that sharks, as fearsome creatures, are not worth preserving.

The alliance also advocates for the closing of loopholes in shark-finning regulations in the European Union and seeks to secure responsible, science-based fishing limits for both the sustainability of sharks and the health of the ecosystem. Initial support from several countries—for example, Belgium, Germany and the United Kingdom—may attract other countries. And success in Europe will help strengthen a broader resolve to protect sharks and thus the biological integrity of entire marine ecosystems.

**D**ata were also the starting point for Pew’s work on reforming the death penalty system so that it is administered in a just manner. Research revealed the need for three key reforms: access to DNA testing, adequate legal representation, and procedural safeguards such as trustworthy eyewitness identification—all goals of the Death Penalty Reform Initiative, supported by Pew and our donor partners.

Importantly, the project takes no stand on the death penalty itself. Instead, it alerts the public and policy makers to a view shared by both supporters and opponents of capital punishment—that innocent people should never be sentenced to death or executed, and society is best served when the actual perpetrators are in custody and trials are fair and accurate.

The initiative created a climate that led to the bipartisan Justice for All Act, federal legislation (which includes the Innocence Protection Act) encourag-

ing states to reform their death-penalty systems. The project now works to ensure that all states apply the new law, and it is promoting reform specifically in Illinois, Georgia, Tennessee and Texas, where new policies may have a bellwether effect on the other 34 states with the death penalty.

**D**omino toppling reportedly started in college dorm rooms, so it may be only appropriate that its effect can be seen in encouraging young people to become civically engaged. Until recently, the percentage of young voters was decreasing. But research explored the incentives that motivate young people to participate and explained how to implement the findings. This work was carried out by the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE), based at the University of Maryland and supported by the Carnegie Corporation and Pew.

CIRCLE disseminates the research results—for instance, that young Americans will often turn out to vote if contacted in a personalized or other interactive way—and it offers constructive advice to organizations that reach young voters. The dominoes are now falling in a positive direction: More young people are voting, others are getting the word that it’s “cool” to participate, and politicians are taking this constituency more seriously.

Like a successful tumble of dominoes, reaching solutions to challenging social issues requires the thoughtful alignment of building blocks. At Pew, our investments are designed to serve the public interest. With that goal in sight, we develop fact-based strategies, leverage public participation and build momentum for bold action—a process more complex than a string of dominoes but experienced-tested and a powerful tool for change.

*Rebecca W. Rimel  
President and CEO*

## Trust

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Cover art: Nature takes its course off the New England coast. Photographer Brian J. Skerry found this blue shark with a parasitic copepod attached to its dorsal fin.

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Sharks are at the top of the marine food pyramid. Were they to disappear, the havoc to ocean ecosystems would be catastrophic.



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The Pew Charitable Trusts serves the public interest by providing information, advancing policy solutions and supporting civic life. Based in Philadelphia, with an office in Washington, D.C., the Trusts will invest \$248 million in fiscal year 2007 to provide organizations and citizens with fact-based research and practical solutions for challenging issues.

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

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**S**harks are not obviously charismatic, but the oceans surely need these mysterious—and intelligent—creatures.

**T**hirty years ago, *Jaws* terrorized cinema-goers around the world on its way to becoming the first true blockbuster action film. An entire generation learned to fear “man-eating” sharks, and there are plenty of people out there who can’t swim in the ocean without hearing the film’s famous daa-dum soundtrack playing in their head, the tempo quickening as the hungry predator approaches.

In actuality, however, people have never been the prey of sharks, as was so erroneously depicted in the movie. Indeed, the reverse is true. An estimated 27 to 73 million sharks a year are killed by fishermen

**S A V I N G**





Jeremy Stafford-Deitsch

A great white shark, as *Jaws* viewers may remember. The species, like many others, needs protection. One of the movie's most enduring and destructive legacies is the notion that sharks pose a significant threat to people—a bias that *Jaws* author Peter Benchley lamented having helped solidify until the day he died.

predominantly for their fins, according to an analysis co-authored by leading shark-trade expert Shelley Clarke, Ph.D., of the University of Hawaii, and Ellen K. Pikitch, Ph.D., director of the University of Miami's Pew Institute for Ocean Science. Millions more are killed for meat, sport or as bycatch, when they cross paths with fishing gear intended to snare other species.

The result has been the collapse of many of the world's shark populations, with several species now in danger of extinction and troubling implications for the ecological stability of the oceans. Once a key predator of the Gulf of Mexico and the U.S. South Atlantic, smalltooth sawfish have declined by 99 percent, due primarily to incidental catch. The population has been listed by the U.S. Endangered Species Program and likely needs a century to recover.

Female spiny dogfish, a diminutive shark species so common it was regarded as a nuisance by North Atlantic fishermen as recently as the early 1990s, are now so depleted that the population has produced record-low numbers of pups for nearly a decade, fished to oblivion to supply British fish-and-chip shops and German beer gardens. Even the great white shark—the dreaded star of *Jaws*—has been added to the World Conservation Union's Red List of Threatened Species.

"We don't use the term *decimated* because that means 'reduced by one tenth,'" says Ali Hood, director of conservation for the Shark Trust in Plymouth, England. With pointed irony, she notes, "If sharks had merely been 'decimated,' we would be much happier."

**S**harks are fish, but have a reproductive profile similar to that of large mammals: They grow slowly, mature late and produce few young over their

Enrie Sala



A ship's deck shows the bounty after shark-finishing.

Brian Skerry / National Geographic Image Collection



A tiger shark finds a conch shell on sea grass and is about to eat it as well as the mollusk that lives inside.



Shark-finning in real time.

John Nightingale

relatively long lives. Spiny dogfish carry their pups—between two and 15, depending on the size of the mother—for nearly two years. Atlantic dusky sharks do not mature until after the age of 20, and both basking sharks and dogfish are thought to live for 50 years or more.

“These characteristics make sharks especially susceptible to overfishing, and once their populations are depleted, it can take decades or even centuries for them to recover,” says Sonja Fordham, the Brussels-based policy director of the Pew-led Shark Alliance, which is in the midst of a campaign to reform the European Union’s shark-fishing policies. Dusky sharks off the east coast of the United States will take 100 to 400 years to recover, she notes, despite a decade-old fishing ban.

Paradoxically, shark fishing is growing even as the animals themselves are becoming rare. Twenty years ago, sharks were generally targeted only by “big game” sport fishermen, whose numbers grew substantially after the release of *Jaws*. Commercial fishermen usually caught them incidentally while fishing for tuna, swordfish and other more valuable species. The meat of most sharks has a high urea content and needs careful processing to remain fresh. Even when fresh, it was generally worth only pennies a pound.

Shark fins, however, are worth a great deal. Dried fins have a ready market in Hong Kong and mainland China for use in the preparation of shark fin soup, an ancient delicacy that retails for as much as \$120 a bowl. The fins, nearly tasteless themselves, provide what is said to be a gelatinous texture to the soup, allegedly improve men’s sexual potency and serve as a symbol of status. By the late 1990s, Honolulu fishermen were getting \$30 a pound for fins at the dock.

As China has grown more prosperous and trade barriers have been

relaxed, demand for shark has increased dramatically. Shark fins can now sell for more than \$300 a pound, and a single fin from the particularly favored Atlantic basking shark once fetched \$10,000. In 2002, researcher Shelley Clarke estimated the global shark fin trade to be increasing by 5 percent a year.

With few tuna and cod left to catch in many regions, fishermen have been targeting sharks instead. With all the value concentrated in the fins and limited space aboard their vessels, there’s considerable incentive to slice off the sharks’ fins and throw the rest of the carcass overboard, in some cases while the animal is still alive. This wasteful and cruel practice, called finning, is still perfectly legal in much of the world. Even where it is regulated, there are often loopholes that allow fishermen to fin two or three sharks for every body they take back to port.

“Most nations don’t have any shark management plans for their own coastal waters, let alone the high seas,” says J. Charles Fox, a senior officer in Pew’s Environment program specializing in the protection of living marine resources. “You can count the ones that do on one hand.”

Wiping out sharks can have negative consequences for the broader community of marine life, with potentially devastating consequences for important commercial species. In March, the journal *Science* published the results of a study by a team led by the late Ransom A. Myers, Ph.D., of Dalhousie University that ties the collapse of the century-old North Carolina bay scallop fishery to the decline of large sharks off the U.S. Atlantic coast. Most large sharks declined dramatically since the early 1970s, while populations of the rays they preyed upon seem to have increased. The rays feed on bay scallops and appear to have depleted them. (Myers, a tireless proponent of marine

conservation, died of a brain tumor three days before the paper's publication.)

"A lot of people have asked me through the years why we should care about sharks," says Pikitch of the Pew Institute for Ocean Science, which helped support the study as part of its global shark assessment. "This study shows us what an important ecological role apex predators like sharks play. If you lose the fish at the top, you can have unforeseen impacts on other parts of the ecosystem."

**A**n obvious first step to protect sharks and, by extension, the integrity of marine ecosystems is to start managing the quantity caught and methods by which people catch them. While the United States and Australia have shark management plans that include prohibitions on finning, most of the rest of the world does not. Fox says that most other large shark-fishing nations like Indonesia, China and Japan are thought to be relatively impervious to outside pressure on the issue, at least in the near term.

An exception is the European Union, whose members include several of the world's leading shark-fishing nations and which has considerable influence in international fishing bodies.

"At the Trusts, we were well aware of the crisis facing sharks, and we wanted to see what would be the most cost-effective and fruitful course of action to strengthen protections for these animals," Fox says.

"We decided to focus first on the E.U., because many of their member states had shown an interest in examining their shark management practices, including finning."

European shark fisheries are generally unregulated, with just a few limits on the numbers of sharks caught and type of gear used. Although white and basking sharks were recently pro-

Brian Skerry / National Geographic Image Collection



A team of divers photograph a Caribbean reef shark as it swims nearby.

Caribbean reef sharks swim over coral reef.



Brian Skerry / National Geographic Image Collection





Brian Sherry / National Geographic Image Collection

Feeding time for some hungry sharks.

tected due to international obligations, the vast majority of European shark, skate and ray species are not subject to fishing limits.

In 2003, the E.U. passed a regulation that prohibited shark-finning in its waters and by E.U. vessels worldwide, and also required E.U. fishermen to bring to land the sharks' bodies, not just their fins. Unfortunately, the rules contain loopholes that enable fishermen to fin two or three sharks for each one that they dock.

"Before you authorize a fishery, ideally you should assess the population and figure out what catch levels and methods are sustainable, and yet shark fisheries are regularly hampered by lack of data," says Fordham of the Shark Alliance. "But finning regulations are really a no-brainer, something you don't need any more information to enact."

**T**o encourage reforms, in March 2006, Pew created the Shark Alliance, a coalition of European shark-conservation, scientific, diving and fishing organizations, most of which are relatively small and nationally focused.

(Pew's partners contributing to the alliance include the Oak Foundation, the Lenfest Foundation and the Sandler Family Supporting Foundation.)

Alliance members conduct media briefings and public information campaigns from the United Kingdom to Italy, and coalition members hold meetings with government officials and members of the European Parliament in an effort to get finning and management reforms on policy makers' agendas.

Meanwhile, the Lenfest Ocean Program has supported a series of scientific workshops where researchers explored key issues, including the best methods for fishery wardens to ensure that no shark-finning is taking place and an assessment of the status

of open-ocean sharks, which resulted in several being added to the World Conservation Union's Red List of Threatened Species.

"Working as a coalition has helped enormously," says Eleonora de Sabata, coordinator of the Rome-based Med-Sharks Project, one of the now 30 members of the Shark Alliance. "Many organizations are small and dominated by scientists, so we know the facts, but we often don't have the political background or the strategic vision to know when key meetings are taking place and how to time our actions so the message is heard."

"We've been used to having to be jacks-of-all-trades, but now we're able to learn and benefit from specialists within the alliance," says Hood of the Shark Trust, one of the founding members of the coalition, which brought considerable experience in engaging the public in shark issues. "We've been able to achieve far larger goals that we could not have achieved without this framework."

**T**he challenges are considerable, not least of which is the sharks' reputation as vicious monsters. Many people fear even the docile nurse shark, which eat shrimp, squid and urchins (and are known to enjoy belly rubs from divers who know how to handle them), or the whale shark, which at more than 40 feet long are the world's largest fish but dine exclusively on fish eggs and plankton.

Some large sharks can be dangerous, but "attacks" are extremely rare: generally between 50 and 70 a year worldwide, with four to seven fatalities, according to statistics compiled by the International Shark Attack File. Residents of the coastal United States, it adds, are many times more likely to be killed by the drive to the beach.

"They still have an image problem, particularly with the generation that

is old enough to have seen *Jaws* and is quite hard to persuade,” says the Pew project director of the Shark Alliance, Uta Bellion, who is based in Amsterdam. “The younger generation has a completely different attitude. As soon as you explain the issues surrounding sharks—the reproductive facts and so forth—they understand it very quickly and show a lot of respect and care. It’s a complete conversion.”

Another major obstacle: the hard realities of the fishing industry in Spain, by far the largest shark-fishing nation on the continent and the fourth biggest in the world.

Spain has a history of long-distance fishing. In the 1500s, entire fleets of fishing vessels were sailing across the Atlantic to work the cod banks of Newfoundland. By the 1970s, Spain had the second-largest fishing fleet in the world after the Soviet Union, despite the fact that the country had few fisheries within its own territorial waters.

Then it was hit with two calamities. Starting in 1977, nations moved to protect their fisheries resources from overfishing by foreign fleets. When countries extended their exclusive economic territory to 200 miles offshore, Spain’s fishermen lost access to many productive grounds, including most of the Newfoundland banks. Although the fleet shrank, it was still too large for the other Western European nations, which insisted it be further slashed before they would allow Spain to join the E.U. in 1986.

“When Spain joined the E.U., there were 150,000 fishermen. Now there are only 50,000, and our government sees its role as defending the interests of the fishing industry, not the fish resources,” says Xavier Pastor, Madrid-based European director of the international group Oceana, another Shark Alliance member. “Still, the fleet is completely disproportionate to the fisheries resources of Spain, so these boats have to go all over the

Brian J. Skerry



Off the coast of Western Australia, a whale shark near “free divers,” humans who go deep underwater without any external breathing apparatus.

world trying to find fish and depleting stock after stock.”

The public and media, he adds, still hold the notion that there are plenty of fish in the sea and that the only issue at hand is who will catch them, all of which makes arguing for improved management extremely difficult.

Despite Spanish opposition, the alliance’s efforts to raise the visibility of the issue have led to early successes. Last October, the European Parliament rejected a Spanish proposal to advise European fisheries ministers to further weaken finning

regulations. Instead, representatives passed a measure that urges authorities to strengthen the finning ban and provide a shark management plan by mid-2007.

One issue has to do with the standards by which authorities determine if finning is taking place. Even when they bring the whole shark to market, some fishermen prefer to remove and separately store the fins at sea, arguing that carcasses are then more efficient to stow. To ensure no finning takes place, the United States requires a fin-to-body ratio of no more than 5 percent of dressed weight, which is regarded by scientists as a generous, upper limit for that fishery. (The term refers to a fish's weight without the guts, head and fins.) The E.U. standard is 5 percent of the whole weight, the equivalent of about 12 percent of dressed weight, potentially allowing fishermen to legally carry two to three times more fins than could be accounted for by the carcasses in their vessel's hold.

"This vote was a crucial test of the campaign's legitimacy in Europe," says Pew's Bellion. "I think we're well on the way to strengthening the finning ban."

In December, E.U. member states approved, without objection, a measure to protect spiny dogfish and porbeagle sharks under the Convention on the International Trade in Endangered Species, setting the stage for a

limit in international trade. The European recommendation will need the support of two-thirds of the signatories of the convention when it holds its biannual meeting this June in The Hague, Netherlands.

## Shark success in Europe might augur success elsewhere.

"Europe will be pushing this forward," says Bellion, "but a lot will depend on whether the U.S. and Canada, relatively progressive countries in terms of shark management, decide to support the measure."

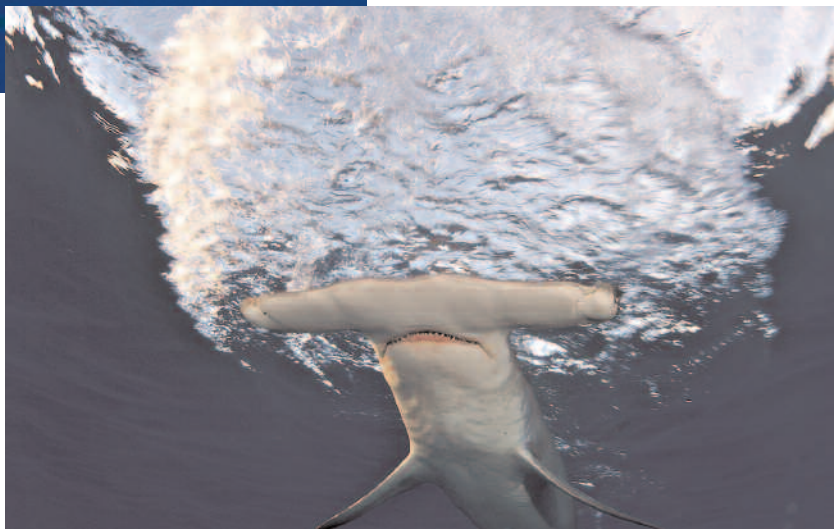
There have also been encouraging signs that the E.U. may create management plans for their shark populations, a principal goal of the alliance. In March, E.U. fisheries commissioner Joe Borg committed to adopting an action plan on the issue, although without a firm timeline.

Borg has also said that the European Commission intends to propose new shark protection measures in international forums, such as tuna commissions, which have neglected the sharks that are increasingly taken in the fisheries they regulate.

If Europe does get its shark policies in order, it may help increase pressure on other countries to take action. "The E.U. is a key player, but there are scores of other nations with unsustainable shark fisheries," says Fox of the Pew Trusts. "Shark populations are in peril worldwide, and we're exploring how to advance this work beyond Europe." ■

**The Shark Alliance Web site, full of facts, news and advice for taking action, can be found at [www.sharkalliance.org](http://www.sharkalliance.org).**

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Brian J. Sherry

Great hammerhead shark.



THEY SAY THAT  
PRACTICE MAKES PERFECT.  
MAYBE IT IS RESEARCH  
THAT LETS PRACTICE  
MAKE PERFECT.



Coinciding with the seismic shift in political fortunes following last fall's midterm elections was another change that, of its kind, was potentially more momentous: a massive surge in voting by young people. An estimated 10 million Americans under the age of 30 voted, an increase of at least two million over the number who cast ballots in the 2002 midterm elections.

Young adults accounted for 13 percent of all votes cast, compared with 11 percent in 2002. In fact, the youth turnout was perhaps the largest for a midterm election since 1982, according to the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE) at the University of Maryland.

And CIRCLE, which the Pew Trusts launched in 2001 and which now has support from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, ought to know. Scrupulously nonpartisan, CIRCLE was founded to conduct, sponsor, evaluate and promote research on civic involvement by the approximately 30 million Americans who are between the ages of 15 and 25 in a variety of civic and political activities—behaviors that can range from simply following current events to volunteering to participating in school government to voting in local, state and national elections and possibly entering politics.

Prior to CIRCLE, the civic engagement of young people “was a remarkably under-studied area,” says William A. Galston, Ph.D., CIRCLE's first director and now a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. Because it is as teens and young adults that most of us learn the civic behaviors that we display for the rest of our lives, “it

struck me that much more needed to be known,” he points out, “and that, if we knew more, we could in all probability foster civic engagement more effectively.”

The need to know was particularly urgent because civic engagement by many measures had fallen to appallingly low levels. The voting age in the United States was lowered to 18 in 1970, and in the subsequent presidential election of 1972, the turnout of young voters began promisingly when 55 percent of those under 30 cast ballots. But the percentages fell steadily over the next 30 years.

In addition, Robert D. Putnam's 1995 book *Bowling Alone* raised the image of a fading national and community spirit, leading to declining civic participation—a thesis that had “surprising public salience,” said Galston and a colleague, Peter Levine, Ph.D., in a 1997 article.

Levine has been with CIRCLE from the start and now serves as its director. “We were designed to create a new field—civic development—which draws on psychology and creates a bridge between theory and practice,” he notes.

Although the center “conducts and funds research, not practice,” its Web site points out, “the projects that we support have practical implications for those who work to increase young people's engagement in politics and civic life.”



CIRCLE has seeded the field by funding research by such Pew-supported groups as Young Voter Strategies at George Washington University and the New Voters Project, a partnership

between George Washington University and the student Public Interest Research Groups. CIRCLE is the research advisory arm to projects on the ground. Says Galston, “We sent emissaries to talk with these organizations, to clarify the links between academic research and practice.”

And the organization supports academic scholars, who have produced more than 50 research working papers on topics ranging from the effects of state laws on young-adult voting to the role of sports in developing the character of young people. Carrying the idea of civic engagement to its logical extension, it adopted a young staffer's suggestion and sponsored a grant competition in which teenagers designed their own research projects to help them better understand the nature of their schools and the best ways to get engaged.

CIRCLE disseminates the findings of its reports, working papers and fact sheets through conferences, a quarterly newsletter, regular e-mail alerts to interested journalists, policy makers and practitioners, and its Web site, where it also places its data sets so that others may analyze and check the conclusions.

The project's major areas of investigation are:

**Civic engagement index.** Every two years—in 2002, 2004 and 2006—CIRCLE has compiled a “civic engagement index,” a comprehensive national survey using 19 possible forms of participation to measure the extent to which young Americans take part in politics and communities. “We have challenged people's thinking about youth civic engage-

ment by helping to develop, refine and apply a wide array of measures, going well beyond volunteering and voting,” notes Levine.

Among the thought-provoking findings of last year’s study:

- Young Americans are involved in many forms of political and civic activity—a finding that confounds the conventional wisdom that most of them are apathetic.

For instance, 30 percent said they had boycotted a product because of the conditions under which it was made or the values of the company that made it.

Nevertheless, a considerable proportion of this age group were not particularly engaged, including 17 percent who had not participated

than their elders, although the margins have declined since 2002.

- Young people have lost confidence in government. Two-thirds of them believe that government should do more to solve problems, but a plurality, no matter which political party they identify with, are also more likely than they were in 2002 to say that government is almost always wasteful and inefficient.

On the other hand, young people who are more engaged in their communities have more positive views of government than those who are less involved.

- Types of civic engagement vary widely with race and ethnicity. Young African Americans are the most politically engaged racial or

the Bush administration.

Levine, who oversaw the project, notes that it “sharpened the policy debate about civic education by demonstrating that the standard interventions, such as social science classes, actually work but are in decline” as a result of schools’ fear of controversy, emphasis on testing and budget cutbacks. The report recommended that schools establish civic-education curricula, incorporate discussions of current events into the classroom and encourage students to participate in community service and in school governance.

Levine himself puts this into practice. He works with Maryland high school students on a community-oriented Web site. Further, the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, a project of the Council for Excellence in Government, is promoting the report’s recommendations.

In a separate finding that could bolster the case for civic education, CIRCLE’s research is beginning to demonstrate that investments in civic opportunities for young people pay off for society as a whole. For example, teenagers are more likely to complete school if they are given service-learning opportunities. A working paper commissioned by CIRCLE found that, whatever their socioeconomic status, students participating in civic activities were more likely to graduate from high school and attend college than other students.

Other CIRCLE research indicates that the connection works two ways: Better-educated people are more likely to engage in civic activities. CIRCLE provided the data for the National Conference on Citizenship’s 2006 report *Broken Promises*, which noted that college graduates outnumber college dropouts in civic participation, and high school dropouts even more.

**Youth voting.** The 2004 presidential election brought a new level of atten-

**ON ELECTION NIGHT 2004, CIRCLE WAS FRONT AND CENTER WITH DATA THAT CORRECTED A NEWS REPORT THAT THE YOUTH TURNOUT WAS LOW. IN FACT, IT HAD RISEN DRAMATICALLY. THE POSITIVE COURSE CONTINUES IN 2006.**

in any of 19 activities within the previous 12 months.

- Political knowledge is generally poor. Like most Americans, many young people in this country are misinformed about or feebly grasp important aspects of politics and current events.

For example, 53 percent are unaware that only citizens can vote in federal elections. Only 30 percent can correctly name at least one member of the president’s Cabinet (and of those, 82 percent named Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice). And only 34 percent know that the United States has a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council.

- Young people are tolerant, with more favorable views toward (for instance) immigrants and gays

ethnic group. Their Asian-American peers are highly engaged in volunteering and other pursuits.

Although young Latinos are generally less engaged, 25 percent said that they had participated in a protest—more than twice the proportion of any other racial/ethnic group—perhaps reflecting the marches concerning federal immigration policy in May 2006.

**Civic education.** In 2002, CIRCLE and Carnegie convened a series of meetings of leading scholars and practitioners in this area to determine the components of an effective civic-education program. The result was a report, *The Civic Mission of Schools*, which was released in 2003, lauded by *Washington Post* columnist David Broder and officially received by



tion to CIRCLE's data and analysis, resulting in high-profile stories in major newspapers.

On election night, the Associated Press ran a misleading story claiming that the youth vote had again fallen short, even though a record 20.9 million of this group had voted. It seems that AP had simply compared the percentage of youth who voted to the overall turnout rate, which was also high.

By early the next morning, CIRCLE had provided journalists and advocates with data showing that, to the contrary, youth turnout was up dramatically. Not only had 4.6 million more young people voted than in 2000, but the percentage of 18-to-29-year-olds who voted was 51 percent, up from 42.3 percent in 2000.

This accurate and timely revision helped prove the value of CIRCLE's research and confirm its place as the most reliable source on youth voting statistics for the media, academics and policy makers.

From the first, CIRCLE has also played an important role in disseminating the groundbreaking research by Donald Green, Ph.D., and Alan Gerber, Ph.D., two Yale political science

professors, into what techniques are most effective in encouraging young people to vote. Their finding: Old-fashioned, shoe-leather, door-to-door campaigning still works best, compared to robotic phone calls, recorded messages automatically dialed.

It's paradoxical, Galston notes: Having grown up in a media-saturated environment, teens ought to be receptive to the impersonal "robo-calls," but in fact, possibly because they are inured to technology, this kind of solicitation does not work.

To further help reverse the downward trend in youth voting, CIRCLE and Young Voter Strategies collaborated on a 2006 booklet, *Young Voter Mobilization Tactics*, in which they compiled the most recent research on turnout tactics, including:

- Personalized and interactive contact counts. Studies have found that it does not matter whether the message is partisan or nonpartisan, positive or negative. Rather, "quality contact" matters.
- Begin with the basics. Young people need nuts-and-bolts practical information on how to vote.

- In ethnic and immigrant communities, start young. Young people are cost-effective targets, particularly because there is less need than with their elders to translate campaign materials into a different language.
- Initial mobilization produces repeat voters. Educating young people about voting today will result in long-term benefits.
- Leaving young voters off contact lists is a costly mistake. Young people are just as responsive to solicitation as older voters.

Of course, not every candidate got the message in time, and robo-calls still flooded into homes. Still, there are signs that both political parties are returning to more personal campaigning. For example, Charlie Crist, Florida's new governor, organized grassroots voter groups at colleges, and Sherrod Brown, Ohio's new senator, ran a grassroots campaign that reached out to his party's voters of all ages.

Levine thinks that the turnout in 2006 was due partly to greater efforts by both parties, inspired in part by research, to mobilize young people. While 2004 was a good year, he says, "2006 seems to have stopped the hemorrhaging."

And CIRCLE's role? Levine credits it for broadly "changing the stereotype of young people as slackers." There is certainly an appetite for the information, and the project's data are trusted by organizations involved in registering nonvoters—and by the media. CIRCLE is "considered the pre-eminent authority on young people and politics," said *Rolling Stone*, one of the premier youth-oriented magazines—which ought to know. ■

CIRCLE can be found on the Web at [www.civicyouth.org](http://www.civicyouth.org).

Sandra Salmans is senior writer of Trust.

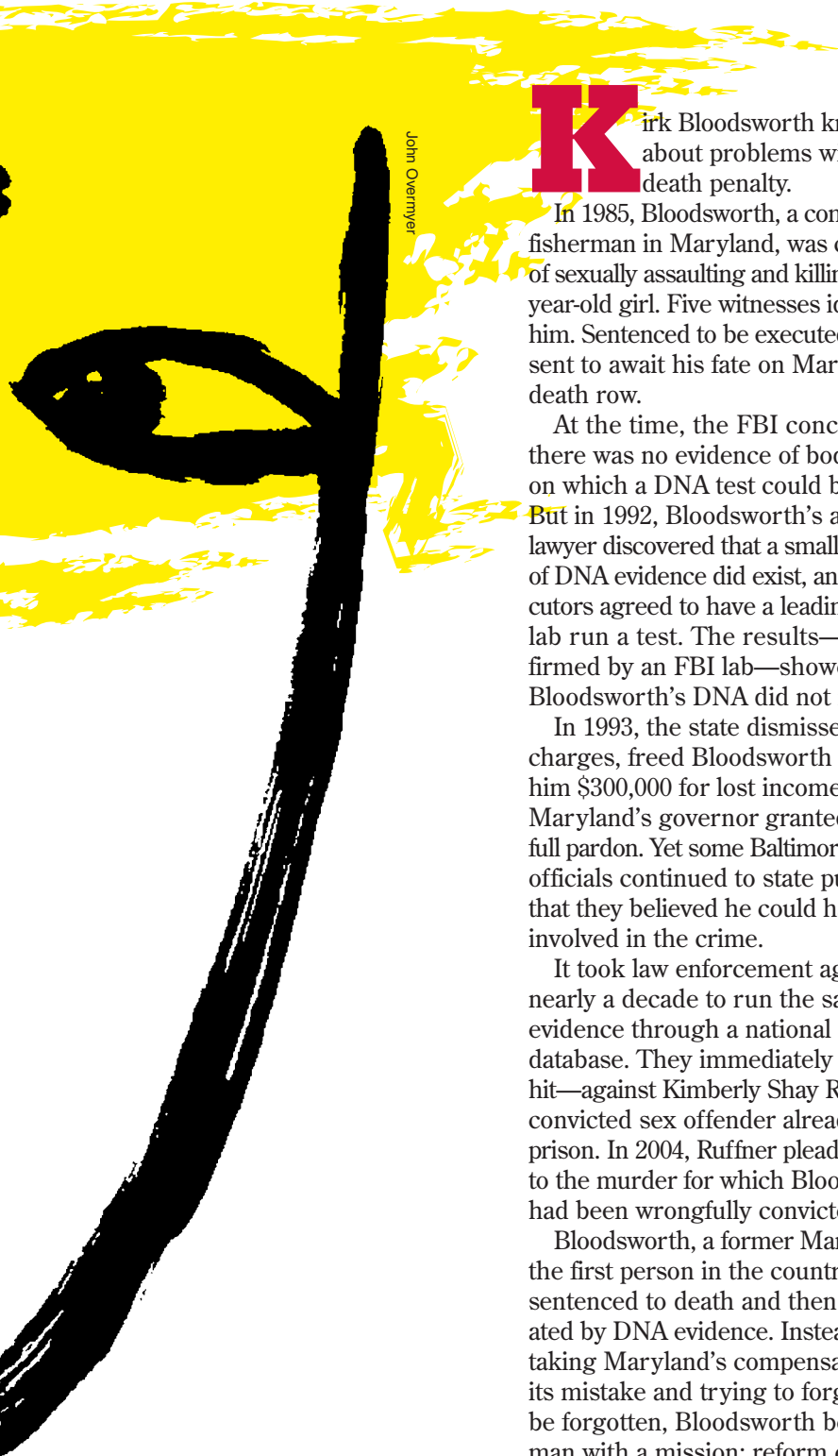


# **IN ROOM FOR MISTAKES**

*By Marc Schogol*

Regardless of one's opinion on capital punishment, error-free trials are in everybody's interest.





**K**irk Bloodsworth knows all about problems with the death penalty.

In 1985, Bloodsworth, a commercial fisherman in Maryland, was convicted of sexually assaulting and killing a nine-year-old girl. Five witnesses identified him. Sentenced to be executed, he was sent to await his fate on Maryland's death row.

At the time, the FBI concluded there was no evidence of bodily fluid on which a DNA test could be run. But in 1992, Bloodsworth's appellate lawyer discovered that a small amount of DNA evidence did exist, and prosecutors agreed to have a leading private lab run a test. The results—confirmed by an FBI lab—showed that Bloodsworth's DNA did not match.

In 1993, the state dismissed the charges, freed Bloodsworth and paid him \$300,000 for lost income, and Maryland's governor granted him a full pardon. Yet some Baltimore County officials continued to state publicly that they believed he could have been involved in the crime.

It took law enforcement agencies nearly a decade to run the same evidence through a national DNA database. They immediately got a hit—against Kimberly Shay Ruffner, a convicted sex offender already in prison. In 2004, Ruffner pleaded guilty to the murder for which Bloodsworth had been wrongfully convicted.

Bloodsworth, a former Marine, was the first person in the country to be sentenced to death and then exonerated by DNA evidence. Instead of just taking Maryland's compensation for its mistake and trying to forget and be forgotten, Bloodsworth became a man with a mission: reform of the nation's death-penalty system. He's now working for the Trusts-supported Justice Project Education Fund,

which uses the tools of public education and coalition-building to make the death-penalty system fair and just—to make sure, in other words, that the guilty are caught and the innocent are not punished.

**E**ver since capital punishment was reinstated by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1976, more than 110 people on death row have been exonerated based on new evidence of their innocence. "They're finding them every day," Bloodsworth says—or so it can seem from the publicity attending reversals of capital convictions.

A majority of Americans still support capital punishment. But concerns about innocent people being wrongfully convicted—and the truly guilty going free as a result—seem to have taken a toll. A Gallup Poll released in October 2006 found that 67 percent of Americans support the death penalty, a significant drop from the high of 80 percent in 1994. A Gallup survey in May 2006 found that when given the choice between capital punishment and a life sentence without parole for murderers, more respondents opted for the life sentence (48 percent) than the death penalty (47 percent) for the first time in two decades.

Wariness among both citizens and policy makers about problems in the way capital punishment is applied has likely contributed to a number of recent, striking developments across the country. There were 53 executions in 2006, the lowest level in a decade, and 45 of those were carried out by just six of the 38 states that allow capital punishment, according to statistics compiled by the nonprofit Death Penalty Information Center. The number of death sentences imposed last year was less than half the annual

total throughout most of the 1990s.

Among states taking action, New Jersey legislators passed a moratorium on executions and appointed a commission to study the state's death-penalty system. The commission ultimately recommended that the state abolish the practice, and lawmakers are considering next steps.

In Maryland, after the state's highest court issued a stay on executions until officials developed a new protocol for lethal injections, a newly elected and strongly anti-death-penalty governor urged state legislators to use the opportunity to repeal capital punishment. At this writing, Maryland lawmakers were debating abolition as well as several other proposals, including a bill that would limit the death penalty to just a few types of offenders.

In other states, policy makers were deliberating a range of reforms, from taping of murder-suspect interrogations and new procedures for eyewitness identifications to revised methods for execution by lethal injection.

Not all states are headed in the same direction. Lawmakers in some jurisdictions, such as Texas, have moved to broaden eligibility for the death penalty to include repeat child sex offenders. Last November, 56 percent of voters in Wisconsin—a state that abolished the death penalty in 1853—approved a non-binding resolution recommending that capital punishment be reinstated for first-degree intentional homicide cases if DNA evidence supports a conviction.

**S**till, concerns about wrongful convictions disturb death-penalty supporters and opponents alike. In 2001, citing cases in which death row inmates had inferior representation and may not have had access to DNA testing that could have cleared them, then-Justice Sandra Day O'Connor of the U.S. Supreme Court said in a speech that the death-penalty system “may well

be allowing some innocent defendants to be executed.” And in a 2005 speech, Justice John Paul Stevens noted that a “substantial number of death sentences have been imposed erroneously.”

That view is far from unanimous on the Supreme Court. In a case last year in which the Court, by a 5-4 decision, upheld the constitutionality of Kansas's death penalty, Justice Antonin Scalia strongly criticized as baseless the concern among some of his colleagues about executing the innocent. But in the past several years, some key Court decisions have cheered reform supporters. With evidence showing that mentally retarded and juvenile defendants are more likely to make false confessions, the Court ruled in 2002 that the execution of mentally retarded defendants was unconstitutional and in 2004 that executing defendants who committed crimes when they were younger than age 18 was unconstitutional as well.

Also in 2004, Congress passed and President George W. Bush signed the Innocence Protection Act—a landmark law authorizing \$400 million to help states provide death-penalty defendants with adequate counsel and access to DNA testing. The act was part of a larger bill, the Justice for All Act, authorizing more than \$1 billion to eliminate a backlog in DNA testing in criminal cases, upgrade criminal laboratories and provide DNA-evidence training to medical and law-enforcement personnel.

The Education Fund collaborated with a range of organizations to disseminate research documenting flaws in the system and to tell the stories—in the media, at public events and in invited testimony before lawmakers—of cases such as Kirk Bloodsworth's. Meanwhile, The Justice Project, Inc., worked with members of Congress to develop the legislation, address members' concerns and build bipartisan support. It also developed a coalition of victims'-rights groups and



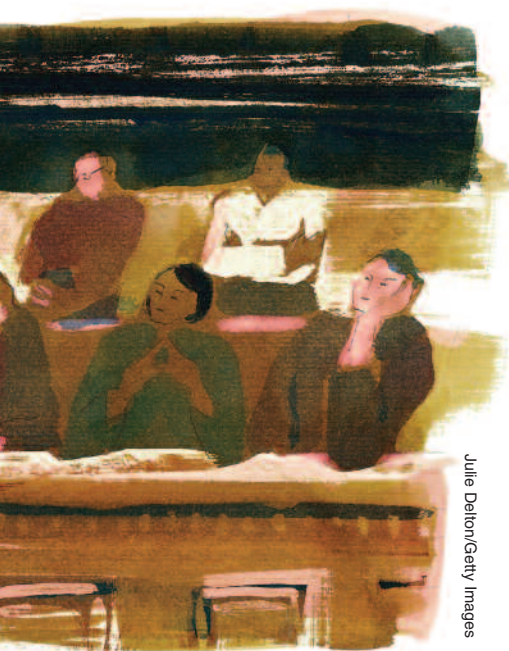
## Reformers aim to create a state level, where most

other allies who endorsed the bill.

(The Justice Project actually consists of two separate organizations: The Education Fund, a 501(c)(3) supported by Pew and other funders, focuses on educating the public, media and state and federal policy makers about the need for reforms and policy options. The Justice Project, Inc., a 501(c)(4), builds advocacy coalitions and lobbies for particular legislative solutions.)

**T**he Innocence Protection Act “is the only piece of progressive death-penalty reform that has been passed in Congress in recent decades,” says John Terzano, president of the Education Fund, and its approval indicates that “policy makers have become more aware of what causes wrongful convictions.”

Among those endorsing the act was Beth Wilkinson, the federal prosecutor in the Oklahoma City bombing case who successfully sought the death



Julie Delton/Getty Images

## climate for change at the executions take place.

also victims and society at large.”

Another supporter of the Innocence Protection Act—and longtime ally of the Education Fund—is Anne Seymour, co-founder of Justice Solutions, a nonprofit, nonpartisan, victims’-rights and assistance organization. Seymour was previously involved with Mothers Against Drunk Driving, and she co-founded the National Victim Center, now called the National Center for Victims of Crime.

Seymour says she sees both sides of the death-penalty issue.

“I never second-guess someone for or against the death penalty,” she explains. “It’s a very personal moral issue. People at prison protests of executions have the right to be there, just as families of victims who witness executions do. I’ve had to help many victims go through the process. . . . It’s helping them go through the hardest time in their lives.

“Most of the folks I work with want everyone to have a fair and just trial. Every time someone brings up the [1995 incident of a defense] lawyer falling asleep [in a Texas courtroom during a murder trial], I could bring up victims not being notified of hearings, not being allowed to be present, victims not getting their legal rights observed. Everyone in my field feels it needs to be fair for everyone.”

Victims want to see a system where cases aren’t in the appeals courts interminably, says Seymour. “We want to make sure it was a strong conviction, and accurate.”

**A**mong supporters of reform, no one is certain whether such efforts might actually mend or end capital punishment. Some would like to see the death penalty abolished; others firmly believe that murderers who are guilty should pay for their crimes with their lives. But they find common ground in the belief that as long as capital punishment exists in this country, the govern-

ment must ensure that trials are fair, innocent people are not wrongly convicted, and the truly guilty are caught.

It is within that arena that the Education Fund has established its credibility and influence. Rather than being identified with one side or another in the emotionally charged debate, where there often seems to be no middle ground for rational discussion, the group has been able to reach out to both sides and, through a campaign of educating the public, media and state and national leaders, persuasively argue that reforms that strive for fairness and accuracy are in everybody’s interest.

Both the Education Fund and The Justice Project, Inc., collaborate with other groups to raise awareness among lawmakers and the public about serious flaws in the administration of capital punishment. They conduct some research of their own and frequently publicize the research of others to document the case for change. And they use media campaigns, conferences, invited testimony before legislators and a range of other tactics to amplify the voices of prominent supporters and opponents who endorse reform.

All of these efforts are aimed at creating a climate for change at the state level, where the vast majority of American executions take place—and it appears the work is taking root.

A growing number of states are exploring reforms such as expanding access to DNA testing for death penalty defendants; audio recording or videotaping all custodial interrogations of homicide suspects; establishing more reliable eyewitness-identification procedures; toughening rules governing investigations and prosecutions; and improving legal representation for indigent defendants.

“There is much more of an awareness of the flaws in the justice system” since the Education Fund began its efforts, says Terzano.

penalty against Timothy McVeigh. Wilkinson is co-chair of the Death Penalty Initiative of the nonprofit Constitution Project, which frequently collaborates with the Education Fund on death-penalty reform efforts. The initiative is a bipartisan commission of prominent death-penalty supporters and opponents who seek reforms.

In 2001, Wilkinson was invited to testify on the legislation before the Senate Judiciary Committee. “When a [death-penalty] defendant has ineffective counsel, the state, the families of victims and society all suffer,” Wilkinson told lawmakers. “Litigation becomes protracted, complicated and costly, putting legitimate convictions at risk. This subjects the victims’ families to continuing uncertainty and deprives society of the knowledge that the real perpetrator is behind bars.”

On the other hand, she continued, “Ensuring competent counsel to defendants facing the death penalty benefits not only the defendant, but

**S**ome states present greater opportunity for reform, or have bigger problems in their capital-punishment systems, than others. The Education Fund, with support from Pew and other funders, launched intensive death-penalty reform education efforts in Illinois, Texas, Tennessee and Georgia. “We either have individuals on the ground in those states, or else we work with organizations already on the ground,” Terzano says.

By providing detailed information through nonpartisan research and analysis, media outreach and other efforts on what has been done and is being done across the country, he explains, “we help educate individuals in those states about these serious problems and make recommendations how to resolve them.” The Education Fund hopes reforms achieved in those states and others exploring change will be models for the rest of the country.

A major focus of the Education Fund’s attention since its creation has been Illinois, where the current death-penalty reform movement burst into life seven years ago. In 2000, then-Governor George Ryan imposed a moratorium on the death penalty after his state had executed 12 death row inmates and exonerated 13 others—a number of them based on DNA evidence—in the 23 years since the death penalty there was reinstated.

Ryan, who as a legislator had co-authored the measure re-establishing Illinois’s death penalty, created a commission to study the system and propose reforms to ensure that the state didn’t carry out unwarranted executions. The commission, whose members were a mix of death-penalty supporters and opponents, issued a report with 85 recommendations.

Then, as he was about to leave office in early 2005, Ryan emptied death row, pardoning four convicts and

commuting the death sentences of 167 others to life imprisonment. It was a highly controversial move, but Ryan said he could do no less, given a system that was “haunted by the demon of error: error in determining guilt and error in determining who among the guilty deserves to die.”

Meanwhile, many of the Ryan commission’s recommendations earned widespread bipartisan support from the Illinois state legislature, which in 2003 adopted a significant package of reforms. One of the most widely hailed was the nation’s first-ever law requiring start-to-finish recording of all murder interrogations. Maine, New Mexico and Washington, D.C., subsequently enacted similar laws, and the practice is in use in local and county jurisdictions in other states.

### **Eyewitness identification is particularly prone to “good-faith mistakes.”**

Other changes adopted by Illinois lawmakers include pre-trial screening of testimony by jailhouse informants, or “snitches,” and a pilot program to ensure more accurate lineup procedures to avoid mistaken eyewitness identification, the leading cause of wrongful convictions.

In 2005, the legislature appointed a commission to study the impact of those reforms and recommend further measures. Today, the death-penalty moratorium is still in effect, and the commission created by the state legislature is more than midway into its five-year study.

**E**ducation Fund staff members have been invited to testify before legislative committees examining reforms and joined forces with prominent state leaders, such as Thomas P. Sullivan, the former U.S. attorney for the

Stockdisc/Getty Images



Northern District of Illinois, to educate policy makers, the public and the media about the need for change.

Sullivan co-chaired the original Ryan commission and now chairs the legislative study commission. He was one of the prime advocates of interrogation recording, having spoken and written widely on the subject and thrown his considerable reputation as a former prosecutor into the fight.

Sullivan also is deeply involved in the effort to encourage states to re-vamp eyewitness-identification procedures, noting, “It’s probably the biggest area where you can make good-faith mistakes.”

Studies show that when eyewitnesses look at a group of people in a lineup or a group of photographs, they tend to make a relative judgment and pick the one that most resembles the person they saw. But close resemblance isn’t good enough.

An alternative is “sequential, double-blind” identification. In this practice, a witness is shown photographs of potential suspects, or participants in a lineup, one at a time rather than all at once; in addition, the police administrator of the test does not know who the “correct” suspect is.



Per-Anders/Petersson/Getty Images

and consistency” to the process, since whether or not a defendant is sentenced to death for a crime often depends on the county in which the trial takes place.

Reformers will have to grapple with all of these issues over and over again because the death penalty is chiefly a matter of state law, he says: “There are 50 states, and it’s a struggle in every state.”

**I**t’s an especially tough struggle in Texas, far and away the state with the most per-capita executions. Texas garnered international headlines in 2005 after significant evidence emerged that the state may have executed an innocent man—Ruben Cantu—in 1993. Among other developments, the sole eyewitness in the case recanted his testimony, claiming that the police pressured him to identify Cantu; and Samuel Millsap Jr., the former county district attorney who successfully prosecuted the case back in 1985, has declared publicly that Cantu “was probably innocent.” At this writing, officials were still investigating the claims.

Texas also earned prominent public and media attention last year after the *Chicago Tribune* published a three-part series casting doubt on the guilt of another man, Carlos DeLuna, executed by the state in 1989.

Mishandled evidence has been one of the biggest controversies in Texas, where serious problems were documented in evidence-processing work done in the crime laboratory of the Houston Police Department, which consequently shut down its DNA division in 2002. It wasn’t until June 2006 that a national forensic association gave the DNA operation the accreditation it needed to reopen. The state legislature created a commission to oversee state forensic testing and investigate allegations of misconduct or other failures in crime labs, but the commission is still awaiting full operat-

ing funding to carry out its work.

Adequate legal representation for poor defendants eligible for the death penalty has also been a major issue in Texas. In 2005, Governor Rick Perry created an advisory commission to look at the state’s criminal justice system. The Education Fund and The Justice Project, Inc., are working with several organizations in Texas to analyze problems in how the state administers the death penalty and assigns lawyers to indigent defendants, including those accused of capital crimes, and to make that information available to the commission, the public and the media.

One of the Education Fund’s partners, the Texas Defender Service, last year issued a study recommending that the governor’s panel look at the findings of the original Ryan commission in Illinois as it examines Texas’s issues. Meanwhile, in April 2006, the State Bar of Texas became the first state bar association in the country to adopt any form of the American Bar Association’s Standards for Death Penalty Representation, which the U.S. Supreme Court has cited as an appropriate performance standard for defense counsel in capital cases.

Concerns about Texas’s system of legal representation in capital cases are not limited to what death-eligible defendants receive at trial. Last fall, a series by the *Austin American-Statesman* raised troubling questions about “shoddy legal work” by court-appointed lawyers responsible for handling critical *habeas* appeals by death row inmates, and criticized Texas’s highest criminal court for failing to ensure that the inmates receive competent legal help. Following the coverage, the court adopted new rules to identify substandard lawyers and remove them from the court’s list of eligible *habeas* attorneys. Now it is waiting for additional recommendations for reform from a task

Illinois tried this in a pilot study, but the Chicago Police Department questioned its accuracy in a March 2006 report. The department’s methodology was strongly criticized, and the National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers, in conjunction with Northwestern University’s School of Law, has filed a lawsuit seeking access to the data used in compiling the report.

Meanwhile, Sullivan continues to support the innovative, sequential, double-blind approach—and a growing number of municipalities, counties and states are adopting it. “It results in far fewer picks of non-perpetrators because the relative judgment is removed,” says Sullivan.

He also advocates a system to conduct pre-trial reviews of prosecutors’ decisions to seek the death penalty “to bring much-needed rationality

force created by the State Bar of Texas to study the *habeas* representation system.

**T**he Education Fund has also targeted particular problems in Tennessee and Georgia. The effort in Tennessee has focused on the need for better-trained and qualified lawyers to represent indigent defendants, including those accused of crimes eligible for the death penalty, and the taping of murder interrogations and confessions. Through nonpartisan research and analysis and a joint public and policy-maker education effort with the Tennessee Bar Association on the issue of capable lawyers, and by bringing in Sullivan to talk to law enforcement officials about taping, the organization's prospects for seeing change are encouraging.

The Education Fund, partnering with other nonprofit groups such as the Innocence Project, also sought to raise public and media awareness of the case of Paul House, who has spent 20 years on Tennessee's death row for a 1985 murder he claims he did not commit. Last year, in a closely watched decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that House was entitled to a new hearing in federal court because new DNA and other evidence not available at his trial raised sufficient doubt about who committed the crime. As *The New York Times* noted, it was the first case "in which the Supreme Court has factored the result of modern DNA testing into the equation in re-examining a death sentence."

Perhaps no state better reflects the shifting and difficult landscape of death penalty reform than Georgia. In 2004, Georgia lawmakers enthusiastically approved a new statewide, state-funded system for providing and monitoring lawyers who represent indigent defendants, including those facing potential death sentences. The

Education Fund collaborated with a highly regarded, Atlanta-based nonprofit organization, the Southern Center for Human Rights, to educate lawmakers, the media and the public about the importance of effective and well-supported legal representation.

Today, however, the agency that oversees the state's public defenders is facing a funding crisis, and some lawmakers are calling for an overhaul of the system. A hot-button issue is the soaring price-tag—at least \$1.4 million—of legal counsel for Brian Nichols, facing the death penalty for allegedly killing a judge and three others in 2005.

The Education Fund, the Southern Center and other partners are working to educate Georgia policy makers and the public about the need for other key reforms, including electronic recording of interrogations and improved eyewitness-identification procedures. Last fall, the Education Fund collaborated with the Atlanta Bar Association and the Georgia Innocence Project to convene prosecutors, judges, chiefs of police and other leaders around the state to discuss best practices for conducting eyewitness lineups.

**A**cross these states and others, the Education Fund continually emphasizes the need to find common ground with a wide range of leaders and organizations that share the conviction that fairness and accuracy in the administration of the death penalty benefits everyone. Few bring greater credibility to the cause than William S. Sessions, director of the FBI from 1987 to 1993 and a former federal judge.

Like Beth Wilkinson, Sessions is a member of the Constitution Project's bipartisan commission, where he, too, is a death-penalty supporter who advocates reform.

As a U.S. district court judge in Texas, Sessions ruled in 2002 that the federal death-penalty statute was

unconstitutional because rules of evidence and the rights of confrontation and cross-examination that a defendant had at trial did not apply at the sentencing proceeding. (That ruling was later overturned.)

Sessions also played an influential role in a 2004 Supreme Court decision overturning the death sentence of a Texas inmate because of prosecutorial misconduct. He joined several other former judges on an *amicus* brief arguing that the sentence "implicates the integrity of the death penalty in this country."

Now in private law practice, Sessions continues to crusade for death-penalty reform and for the use of DNA evidence, which was the subject of a pioneering study he ordered the FBI to conduct during his tenure as its director. That investigation, he says, first demonstrated that DNA was "an overwhelming weapon that could be used by both the government and defense counsel"—just as it was in the case of Kirk Bloodsworth, who emerged as a defendant and a victim of the system.

**B**loodsworth does not believe in the death penalty—even for Kimberly Shay Ruffner, the man eventually found guilty of the crime for which Bloodsworth originally was convicted, sentenced to die and wasted eight years of his life in prison. But in his work for the Education Fund, he puts his personal feelings aside and stresses the need for reforms so "there's never another Kirk Bloodsworth."

"My goal is not to end the death penalty necessarily," he says. "The advent of DNA has shown we have a problem. It's obvious things need to be changed." ■

**The Justice Project Education Fund can be found on the Web at [www.thejusticeproject.org](http://www.thejusticeproject.org).**

*Marc Schogol previously wrote about Amachi for Trust.*

# THE Philly FACTOR

*By Cindy Jobbins*

*What forces will determine  
Philadelphia's future?  
And what strengths do Philadelphians  
have to shape those forces for the better?*

Where is Philadelphia headed? Is its civic spirit rising or on the decline? Are its leaders in both the private and public sectors actively engaged in shaping its future, or are they largely “weak, inadequate and disengaged,” stewards of a city that “settles for being just okay”?

Those sobering quotes come from a 1999 Pew-supported study of Philadelphia by Basil J. Whiting with Tony Proscio, who clearly did not mince words. But was the situation beyond repair? Earlier this year, they sought to answer that question in a follow-up report, *Philadelphia 2007: Prospects and Challenges*.

The data on crime, poverty, local taxes and jobs remain grim, Whiting and Proscio found. But



they also uncovered data that indicated a higher quality of local life. Even more, they found a new spirit among the city's leaders. What they did not find, however, was much collaboration between public and civic leadership—an absence that could undermine the good that had emerged since 1999.

But it was a promising start. As they note in the report, “While leadership that is positive and engaged may not guarantee success and progress, leadership that is disengaged and

**Voters were “strikingly negative” about the city’s prospects, leaders were positive. What’s needed to help optimism win?**

negative almost certainly guarantees failure and decline.”

*Philadelphia 2007* evaluates the city’s strengths and weaknesses relative to six comparable American cities: Atlanta, Baltimore, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit and Pittsburgh. It defines the factors that are working for and against these cities and identifies issues that most affect their future trajectories, and it compares today’s Philadelphia with that of eight years ago.

The authors split the cities between them, collected available studies and relevant news stories, and interviewed a wide range of observers and decision-makers in each city about the major factors that seem to be governing their city’s economic and social health. Whiting covered Atlanta, Baltimore, Boston and Philadelphia; Proscio, Cleveland, Detroit and Pittsburgh. The authors also engaged the Urban Institute to collect and examine a wide array of data on the seven cities and their surrounding regions.



City of Philadelphia

From the 1870s well into the 1890s, sculptor Alexander Milne Calder (top photo) created more than 250 relief and freestanding sculptures for Philadelphia’s City Hall. Eight of them, made of bronze, stand with William Penn on the building’s clock tower.

The statues, depicting settlers, Native Americans and majestic eagles, are said to represent the struggle for freedom during our nation’s birth. Due to their location, the statues have been exposed to everything from coal residue in the early 20th century to inclement weather.

In a project supported by Pew and others, they were recently cleaned with state-of-the-art laser technology. A new lens system will illuminate the sculptures, and an interpretive plaque will describe them and their history.



*Photo credits:* Pages 21 and 24: Gabriel Harrison. This page (three restoration pictures): Andrzej Dajnowski. Dajnowski is founder and director of Conservation of Sculpture and Objects Studio, Inc., where Harrison is project manager. This firm performed the restoration and conservation of the Calder statues.



## Prospects and Challenges in Six Other Cities

Philadelphia was not Whiting and Proscio's only stop. They studied six other metropolises but found such different trajectories that they did not make sweeping generalizations about the state or direction of "urban America." Still, they offered these particulars about the six:

- Eight years ago, Atlanta was reported to be corrupt and stagnant but is now enjoying a turnaround. The city is experiencing its first increase in population in 50 years, the highest average household income in the study (\$69,000, despite a 28 percent poverty rate) and development that is at an all-time high.
- Baltimore was a contradiction eight years ago with a booming Inner Harbor economy in contrast with the rest of the city, which had lost 34 percent of its population in the previous 20-some years and was beset with social problems. But the city has stopped losing population and jobs, development is occurring all over town, crime has dropped 40 percent, and school test scores and graduation rates are up.
- In the 1999 study, Boston was "off the chart" in a positive direction, and it remains a city that is enjoying singular success on most measures. But a few concerns have caused angst in the city: It now has arguably the nation's highest cost of living, insufficient affordable housing and increasing transportation problems.
- Cleveland was considered a "come-back" city in 1999, but Whiting and Proscio now find that it has fallen on harder times. The absence of a driving coalition in civic affairs leaves the city feeling adrift at a time of rapidly deteriorating fundamentals. The city has lost 27,000 jobs in the last decade, and its population is down 10 percent in just the past half-decade. On the upside, local foundations and business leadership have created the Fund for Our Economic Future, a \$30-million fund aimed at high-impact economic development initiatives.
- Detroit is, if anything, even more troubled than it was eight years ago. The Big Three automakers recently announced plans to reduce their hourly workforces by some 200,000 jobs. In the last few years, household incomes in the city have fallen at the rate of 6.4 percent per year, and one out of every three citizens lives in poverty. But some progress is evident with urban condo conversions and new office construction downtown and along the Detroit River.
- In many ways Pittsburgh rivals Boston and Atlanta as a desirable city to visit, live, work and invest in. The crime rate is among the lowest of the top 25 U.S. cities, the downtown is growing and vibrant, and only 19 percent of the population is poor. But the city lies in southwestern Pennsylvania, an area that is shrinking, both economically and in population. Pittsburgh is losing population more steeply than any other city examined, it has the smallest percentage of foreign immigration, and its finances remain precarious.

Whiting and Proscio were struck by two positive changes in Philadelphia—the surge in development in Center City and surrounding neighborhoods and a new sense of optimism in the city's leadership. They note that, for the most part, the 39 civic and political leaders interviewed for the new report "reject the fatalism and negativism that we found so common eight years ago."

At the same time, they call the leadership "bifurcated." On one side of the divide are the administration of Mayor John Street and its allies, "feeling misunderstood and mistreated." On the other is a decentralized civic and community leadership that is "positive and bustling with projects."

Contact between those two realms is limited, the writers state: "To be sure, plenty of good things are happening in Philadelphia these days that can be attributed to the work of those marching on either sidewalk. This progress may well continue. But one wonders what will happen if they encounter a fork in the road, if one group wants to do something the other doesn't want to see happen, or if something needs doing that both support but that would require both to work in close harmony."

This finding is perhaps the most nuanced among others that are more clear-cut. For instance, Whiting and Proscio applaud the following:

- An expansion of Philadelphia's tax abatement program has allowed Center City and surrounding neighborhoods to share in the nationwide housing boom of the first half of this decade, helping create an exciting, 24-hour environment downtown that has contributed to the city's sense of forward momentum.
- Mayor Street's five-year Neighborhood Transformation Initiative has



had signal successes, including the speedy execution of an abandoned-car removal program and thousands of market-rate housing units built, planned or under construction. The initiative's goal of demolishing 14,000 vacant buildings has been missed, however, with only 4,551 brought down.

- Philadelphia's institutions of higher education, which have long made major economic contributions to the city, have "stepped up" further in recent years by working successfully to improve their surrounding communities.
- Tourism, the Navy Yard (a 1,200-acre site now dedicated to private development) and the airport have become important drivers of economic growth.

On the other hand, the writers identify problems that, they acknowledge, might not surprise locals:

- The high tax burden and cost of doing business in Philadelphia remain economic drags.
- School test scores, while improving, are still among the worst in the state with two-digit disparities between whites and African Americans. Since 2002, however, retention and graduation rates have increased, and more schools are meeting the standards of the federal No Child Left Behind legislation.

- Philadelphia is still losing both people and jobs. Between 2000 and 2005, the city's population of 1.5 million declined by 55,000, and 37,000 jobs were lost.
- A quarter of the population lives in poverty, up by 2 percent since 2000.
- Recent data indicate that crime is rising again. 2006 was the city's worst year for homicides since 1997, with 406 murders, up from 380 in 2005.



Whiting and Proscio place Philadelphia's "prospects and challenges" in the context of similar American cities. For example, mayoral leadership has contributed to significant improvements in Atlanta and Baltimore in recent years. Although traditional business leadership is declining virtually everywhere, a more decentralized leadership structure is taking its place. Once-cloistered "eds and meds"—universities and hospitals—have emerged as major players in city after city. Philanthropies are playing an increased role in helping cities grapple with their biggest problems. And demographic problems or weak regional economies can undermine the efforts of even the most enlightened civic leaders.

"So," the writers state in conclusion about Philadelphia, "how do all

of these positive and negative factors balance out now and for the next several years? Is the optimism of the moment among many of those leaders we interviewed justified?" Polls of voters conducted last year, they say, were "strikingly negative" about the city's prospects, while much of the euphoria came from "new leaders" and Center City residents. "People riding the crest of a wave they have helped create perhaps understandably think it is the wave of the future. Is it in this case?"

Much will depend, they say, on whether the positive factors continue and the damaging ones can be turned around, and especially on whether leaders in the public, private and civic realms "can make common cause when needed." Currently, they note, "the optimists seem to hold the field." ■

*Philadelphia 2007: Prospects and Challenges* is available for download at [www.pewtrusts.org](http://www.pewtrusts.org).

Additional data comparing the cities and metropolitan regions for both the prior and present reports (this time drawing on several new databases) were provided by G. Thomas Kingsley, Peter A. Tatian and Leah Hendey of the Urban Institute, and can also be found on Pew's Web site.

The opinions expressed in the report are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of The Pew Charitable Trusts.

*Cindy Jobbins is an officer in Public Affairs at Pew.*



# TOWARD A VOTING SYSTEM WORTHY OF A DEMOCRACY

BY GLEE HOLTON

**T**he prolonged, contentious aftermath of the 2000 presidential election established one fact: The nation deserves better than to be left with debates over “hanging” and “pregnant” chads.

In 2001, Pew, with a long-standing interest in restoring public confidence in our nation’s elections, initiated the Election Reform Information Project, better known as Electionline.org, located at the University of Richmond. The project began as a neutral clearinghouse for information about election reform, but over time, it has guided federal, state and local election officials on trends, important issues and best practices in election reform. Without engaging in advocacy and while remaining scrupulously nonpartisan, Electionline.org forms opinions based on its research and evaluates the most effective approaches to reform.

For instance, Electionline.org’s report on the 2006 elections—the 15th in a series of policy briefings—found widespread accounts of voting-system troubles, sporadic incidents of voter intimidation and poll-worker confusion over voter-identification requirements, and isolated breakdowns at polling places because of problems with newly mandated voter-registration systems. The next two years are expected to see intense activity in election administration.

Electionline.org’s information reaches policy makers and election officials through briefing papers on best practices and innovations, annual reports on the status of election reform and convenings of state and local officials. Electionline.org’s work informs and guides the work of the federal Election Assistance Commission by providing research, data and analysis on states’ election-reform efforts. The project’s work is available to all through



Mayor Robert/Cobis Symma

Members of the Broward County (Fla.) Canvassing Board review the chads in contested presidential ballots.

its Web site ([www.electionline.org](http://www.electionline.org)) and a weekly electronic newsletter.

In 2006, Planning and Evaluation, at the request of the staff of Pew’s State Policy Initiatives program, designed an evaluation of Electionline.org. The review was timed to (1) provide the Trusts’ board, senior leadership and program staff with objective information about the value of Electionline.org to the election-administration and reform communities; and (2) help inform program staff’s thinking about the role the project might play in the Trusts’ programming if integrated as a key component of an expanded election-reform strategy.

The evaluation was done by Andrew Rich, Ph.D., associate professor of political science at the City College of New York and the Graduate Center at the City University of New York. He reviewed documents from the Trusts and Electionline.org and interviewed staff from both organizations as well as election administrators (e.g., secretaries of state, county registrars and state election directors), policy makers involved in election reform, journalists who cover the issue, and advocates and researchers of election systems. He also examined print media both nationally and in the states of California, Maryland and North Carolina to understand how the project contributed to discourse on the way we conduct elections.

## SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Rich determined that (a) Electionline.org is considered a highly valued resource and a trusted authority in the field of election administration; (b) its value is recognized by representatives of a wide range of stakeholders; (c) it is emerging as an agenda-setter through the issues it identifies and the information it provides; and (d) it is well positioned to produce or commission more original research that will inform the thinking and direction of decision-makers.

### *As a Clearinghouse*

Since it began, Electionline.org has become a highly credible source of information. Its materials about our system of elections is up-to-date, comprehensive, timely and useful. Advocates, researchers and journalists alike affirm that they use Electionline.org’s data in their work and credit the project for being trustworthy, nonpartisan, balanced and knowledgeable—in fact, the best resource on election-reform issues.

### *Impact*

Electionline.org has helped build the election-administration community, and its data have raised the level of informed discussions. Because the project frequently serves as the key place for information, it tends to drive the issues that receive decision-

makers' attention. By illuminating best practices, it helps set the agenda for election administrators, policy makers and journalists.

Some interviewees expressed the wish that Electionline.org be less reserved about providing judgments about possible policy alternatives and the best directions for election-reform efforts.

### Media Coverage

Over the period studied, Electionline.org was referenced in 126 media stories, establishing that it was a consistent contributor to discussions about the state of our elections. The coverage was politically neutral; typically, Electionline.org was described as an objective and nonpartisan research group.

Twenty-eight of the stories were written by Electionline.org staff and appeared in the journal *Campaigns and Elections*, demonstrating the regularity of Electionline.org's reach into one of the most important election-reform publications. As would be expected, coverage was higher in election years.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

- *Protect and develop the high regard Electionline.org has attained.* Because Electionline.org occupies a somewhat unusual niche in that key stakeholders—election administrators, journalists and advocates—find it to be timely and politically neutral, Electionline.org must maintain its reputation as reliable and independent as it undertakes new activities.
- *Cultivate a more influential role for Electionline.org.* Earning the trust of election-administration officials is one of Electionline.org's major accomplishments. The time is ripe for Electionline.org to move from generating reports to an expanded research program by conducting original research on



trends around the country, interviewing election-administration officials directly, and exploring alternative options for election reform in greater depth. By partnering in research efforts that both report on and outline policy options, Electionline.org might develop insights that build on its clearinghouse role.

- *Stay focused on an agenda-setting role for election administrators and journalists.* Sustaining and expanding Electionline.org's agenda-setting role is of paramount importance if it is to remain a relevant contributor to a reform agenda.

By producing research, and not being merely a clearinghouse, Electionline.org is more likely to have substantive influence on election reform. It should maintain its steadfast commitment to providing facts and trustworthy information, and offer an evidence-based foundation for election officials' decision-making, helping inform their options for reform.

### AFTERMATH

In a relatively short time, Electionline.org has made tremendous strides in establishing itself as an important clearinghouse on voting practices and election reform. Key stakeholders—election officials and administrators, researchers, journalists and advocates—report a high level of confidence in Electionline.org and confirm their reliance on it for the most current and comprehensive information.

Yet, as an operating project of Pew, it has the potential to do even more. (In becoming a public charity in 2004,

Pew gained the flexibility to operate its own projects when effectiveness and efficiency could be optimized.) Electionline.org will help further the objectives of Make Voting Work, the Trusts' broader election-reform strategy initiated this past winter.

Electionline.org brings critical assets to this expanded initiative. Its strong reputation, comprehensive base of knowledge, ability to translate and disseminate arcane and complex material and its relationships with those in the election field offer a solid foundation for Make Voting Work.

To play this role, Electionline.org must reach a broader audience that includes civic leaders, policy makers and the public, and its voice must be consistently and clearly heard beyond the narrow confines of the election cycle.

To succeed, Pew is committed to deepening Electionline.org's capacity to diagnose problems in the election system and identify and rigorously evaluate proposed solutions. Having already developed a core competence in collecting comprehensive cross-state information, Electionline.org will take the next step: strengthen significantly its ability to drill down into the most critical issues, provide more analysis and assessment, and commission and manage the independent research that the field acutely needs.

Above all, Electionline.org will preserve its reputation as a trusted source of unbiased, accurate and objective information. In fact, the only way to move a reform agenda is by grounding it in the best research and using the knowledge gained to guide policies and practices that will serve the public well. Electionline.org will continue to merit the field's respect as it spearheads the research and analysis that guide Pew's efforts in election reform. ■

*Glee Holton is a senior officer in Planning and Evaluation at Pew.*



Nick Caloyiannis/National Geographic/Getty Images

A beluga whale, member of a sociable species that faces many natural and human-caused threats.

## ADVANCING POLICY SOLUTIONS

### Environment

#### *Conservation of Living Marine Resources*

Marine Fish Conservation Network  
Washington, DC, \$305,000, 1 yr.  
For the Magnuson Implementation Project to defend existing fisheries conservation policies and advance key recommendations of the Pew Oceans Commission through public education, policy analysis and strategic communications.  
Contact: Lee R. Crockett  
202.543.5509  
[www.conservefish.org](http://www.conservefish.org)

The Pew Charitable Trusts for the Fisheries Conservation Initiative  
Philadelphia, PA, up to \$5,664,000, 2 yrs.

To support a series of activities designed to monitor, assess and influence the administrative actions of fisheries managers in key regions of the United States.

Funding partners of this initiative are the Oak Foundation, The David and Lucile Packard Foundation,

the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and the Sandler Family Supporting Foundation.

Contact: Steve Ganey  
503.230.0901  
[www.pewtrusts.org](http://www.pewtrusts.org)

Protecting Whales in the 21st Century: A Campaign of the Pew Charitable Trusts  
Philadelphia, PA, up to \$4,000,000, 2 yrs.

Contact: J. Charles Fox  
202.552.2140  
[www.pewtrusts.org](http://www.pewtrusts.org)

**W**hales are the largest and most charismatic of all marine species, but these characteristics did not protect them from aggressive whale hunting, which severely depleted virtually all species until a worldwide moratorium adopted by the International Whaling Commission in 1982. By most measures, that moratorium was a significant success, although some species remain on the verge of extinction, and the three whaling nations—Iceland, Norway and especially Japan—appear to be growing less discriminate in the species they target.

To conserve whales and constrain commercial whaling,

this new project supports four activities: a symposium on the current state of whale conservation; research through the Lenfest Ocean Program refuting Japan's claim that killing whales protects fish stocks for human consumption; efforts to increase the number of whale-advocate nations at the International Whaling Commission; and strategies for building a constituency in Japan to protect whales.

Save Our Wild Salmon Coalition  
Seattle, WA, \$2,250,000, 27 mos.  
For general operating support.  
Contact: James P. Ford  
208.345.9067  
[www.wildsalmon.org](http://www.wildsalmon.org)

The University of British Columbia  
Vancouver, BC, \$2,500,000, 2 yrs.  
To refine and expand the Sea Around Us Project's database of information and analysis on the ecosystem impacts of commercial fishing and the overall health of the world's oceans.

Contact: Daniel Pauly, Ph.D.  
604.822.1202  
[www.seaaroundus.org](http://www.seaaroundus.org)

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

### *Global Warming and Climate Change*

CNA Corporation  
Alexandria, VA, \$150,000, 9 mos.  
For the Climate Change and National Security project to conduct nonpartisan research, analysis and outreach on how global climate change will affect our national security.  
Contact: Sherri Goodman  
703.824.2097  
[www.cna.org](http://www.cna.org)

Ceres, Inc.  
Boston, MA, \$400,000, 2 yrs.  
For the Climate Change project to expand business support for global warming solutions through nonpartisan technical research, analysis and outreach to the insurance and coal industries, the electric sector and the financial community.

Contact: Mindy S. Lubber  
617.247.0700  
[www.ceres.org](http://www.ceres.org)



DILLIC/Corbis

The humpback whale is known for its breaching and its "song."

League of Conservation Voters Education Fund  
Washington, DC, \$350,000, 15 mos.  
For the Global Warming Public Education Campaign to educate and engage the public, media and opinion leaders about global warming as a pressing national priority.  
Contact: Gene Karpinski  
202.785.8683  
[www.lcveducation.org](http://www.lcveducation.org)

Natural Resources Defense Council, Inc.  
New York, NY, \$200,000, 2 yrs.  
To facilitate the development of coal gasification projects with carbon capture and storage in the interior west of the United States.  
Contact: Dale S. Bryk  
212.727.2700  
[www.nrdc.org](http://www.nrdc.org)

Securing America's Future Energy Foundation  
Washington, DC, \$200,000, 1 yr.  
For the Business Leaders Outreach on Oil Dependence project to strengthen and expand the involvement of prominent business leaders in the debate over solutions to our nation's oil dependence by supporting a series of regional roundtables, research and analysis, and media outreach.  
Contact: Robbie Diamond  
202.295.4715  
[www.secureenergy.org](http://www.secureenergy.org)

World Resources Institute  
Washington, DC, \$125,000, 2 yrs.  
To build consensus about the appropriate regulatory framework to govern the development and monitoring of large carbon-capture and storage projects.  
Contact: Jonathan Pershing  
202.729.7600  
[www.wri.org](http://www.wri.org)

#### *Old-Growth Forests and Wilderness Protection*

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

Trout Unlimited National Office  
Arlington, VA, \$750,000, 1 yr.  
For the Theodore Roosevelt Conservation Partnership to more fully and effectively engage America's 40 million hunters and anglers in

an effort to protect critical wildlife and fish habitat.  
Contact: Matthew B. Connelly  
202.508.3449  
[www.trcp.org](http://www.trcp.org)

United States Public Interest Research Group Education Fund  
Washington, DC, \$1,750,000, 1 yr.  
For the Heritage Forest Campaign to participate in new multi-state federal rule-makings to protect U.S. forest roadless areas from logging, mining and other commodity development.  
Contact: Marjorie Alt 617.292.4800  
[www.uspirg.org](http://www.uspirg.org)

### Health and Human Services

#### *Biomedical Research and Training*

The Chemical Heritage Foundation  
Philadelphia, PA, \$731,000, 3 yrs.  
Contact: Arthur A. Daemmrich  
215.873.8214  
[www.chemheritage.org](http://www.chemheritage.org)

**F**or more than 20 years, the Pew Scholars Program in the Biomedical Sciences has identified and invested in promising mid-to-early-career researchers by providing funding and other opportunities to advance their research. A parallel program, the Pew Scholars Oral History and Archives Project, has documented the scientists' experiences in their own voices, capturing the social, cultural, technological and scientific forces at play in the biomedical sciences.

This grant supports the transfer of the oral histories and archives to the Chemical Heritage Foundation. Staff at the foundation will catalog and digitize existing archives, conduct oral histories for new Pew scholars, re-interview selected alumni and develop Web pages to increase public access to the material.

By taking full advantage of the foundation's expertise, the project will continue to provide an intellectual portrait of modern science and insight into the factors shaping the careers of some of today's most accomplished biomedical scientists.

#### *National Program*

Community Catalyst, Inc.  
Boston, MA, \$6,000,000, 2 yrs.  
For the Prescription Project to en-



*Listening to Vivaldi's Four Seasons* by Molly Sand.

sure trust in the medical profession by eliminating conflicts of interest that jeopardize high-quality medical treatment.  
Contact: Robert Restuccia  
617.275.2814  
[www.prescriptionproject.org](http://www.prescriptionproject.org)

The Institute for College Access and Success, Inc.  
Berkeley, CA, \$3,000,000, 2 yrs.  
For the Student Debt Initiative to advance practical policy options to reduce the burden of student loan debt.  
Contact: Robert Shireman  
510.647.4303  
[www.projectonstudentdebt.org](http://www.projectonstudentdebt.org)

The Pew Charitable Trusts for Kids are Waiting  
Philadelphia, PA, up to \$4,000,000, 1 yr.  
In support of the Trusts' foster care initiative.  
Contact: Hope A. Cooper  
215.575.9050  
[www.kidsarewaiting.org](http://www.kidsarewaiting.org)

#### *Other Projects*

Camphill Village Kimberton Hills, Inc.  
Kimberton, PA  
I. For continued support of its Aging in Community program, \$120,000, 3 yrs.  
II. For continued support of its building maintenance program, \$180,000, 3 yrs.  
Contact: Richard Mangan  
610.935.0300  
[www.camphillkimberton.org](http://www.camphillkimberton.org)

Church Memorial Park  
Chester, NS, \$160,000, 4 yrs.  
For general operating support.  
Contact: Thomas Graves  
902.275.4628  
[www.churchmemorialpark.ns.ca](http://www.churchmemorialpark.ns.ca)

George Junior Republic  
Grove City, PA, \$300,000, 2 yrs.  
To construct a new family visitation center.  
Contact: James F. Bird  
724.458.9330  
[www.gjrnpa.org](http://www.gjrnpa.org)

La Salle University  
Philadelphia, PA, \$70,000, 2 yrs.  
For support of the Executive Service Corps of the Delaware Valley to improve the effectiveness of small nonprofit organizations in the Philadelphia region.  
Contact: Laura Otten, Ph.D.  
215.951.1118  
[www.lasallenonprofitcenter.org](http://www.lasallenonprofitcenter.org)

United Way of Southeast Delaware County  
Chester, PA, \$75,000, 1 yr.  
For the 2006 Annual Campaign.  
Contact: Louis C. Mahlman  
610.874.8646 x103  
[www.uwdelco.org](http://www.uwdelco.org)

United Way of Southeastern Pennsylvania  
Philadelphia, PA, \$1,040,000, 1 yr.  
For the 2006 Annual Campaign to assist agencies to improve the quality of preschool child care and education and for support of the Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia.  
Contact: Susan Forman  
215.665.2568  
[www.uwsepa.org](http://www.uwsepa.org)

#### *Correction*

The fall 2006 issue of *Trust* incorrectly identified individuals appearing in photos in association with support given to projects on improving the foster care system (Recent Grants, page 29). The man featured with two children in the top photo is Terry Cross, executive director of the National Indian Child Welfare Association.

The children in the two group photos were mistakenly identified as being in foster care. In fact, these children, from the Portland, Ore., area, were photographed while attending an association picnic last year and are not in foster care. The National Indian Child Welfare Association has a policy of not photographing foster children.

The pictures on these two pages are by children in a holistic program of early childhood education conducted by visual artist Jacqueline Unanue in Philadelphia.

## State Policy Initiatives

### Early Education

Action Against Crime and Violence Education Fund, Fight Crime:

Invest in Kids  
Washington, DC, \$330,000, 18 mos.

For the Business Leader Initiative to engage state and local business leaders in contributing to public debates on the need for high-quality early education and other essential supports for children.

Contact: David S. Kass  
202.776.0027 x119  
[www.fightcrime.org](http://www.fightcrime.org)

Committee for Economic Development

Washington, DC, \$312,000, 2 yrs.

To engage national business leaders and United Way members in support of quality prekindergarten.

Contact: Michael J. Petro  
202.296.5860 x15  
[www.ced.org](http://www.ced.org)

The Institute for Educational Leadership, Inc.

Washington, DC, \$4,950,000, 1 yr.

For Pre-K Now to support state public education and advocacy campaigns as well as inform national debates on the benefits of and need for high-quality prekindergarten for all.

Contact: Libby Doggett  
202.862.9865  
[www.preknow.org](http://www.preknow.org)

NCSL Foundation for State Legislatures

Denver, CO, \$400,000, 2 yrs.

To inform state policy makers of the options for and benefits of investments in high-quality prekindergarten for all 3- and 4-year-olds.

Contact: Steffanie Clothier  
303.856.1416  
[www.ncsl.org](http://www.ncsl.org)

National School Boards Association

Alexandria, VA, \$448,000, 2 yrs.

For Thinking Pre-K-12 to educate and engage local school-board members in support of quality prekindergarten for all children.

Contact: Patte Barth 703.838.6721  
[www.nsba.org](http://www.nsba.org)

Teachers College Columbia University

New York, NY, \$446,000, 2 yrs.

To build media knowledge of the issues surrounding universal prekindergarten and increase the quality of media coverage of early education.

Contact: Richard Lee Colvin  
212.870.1073  
[www.tc.columbia.edu](http://www.tc.columbia.edu)

### Improving Elections

California Voter Foundation

Davis, CA, \$591,000, 2 yrs.

For the Campaign Disclosure project to increase transparency and accountability of money in politics by improving the quality and quantity of campaign finance

disclosure in the 50 states.

Contact: Saskia Mills 530.750.7650  
[www.calvoter.org](http://www.calvoter.org)

### Make Voting Work

The Pew Charitable Trusts for the Make Voting Work Initiative

Philadelphia, PA, up to \$3,100,000, 1 yr.

Contact: Michael Caudell-Feagan  
202.552.2142  
[www.pewtrusts.org](http://www.pewtrusts.org)

The 2000 U.S. presidential election revealed a fragmented and antiquated election system. While the 2002 Help America Vote Act was intended to solve some of the problems, instead, states and localities have adopted technologies and practices without clear evidence of their impact, adequate preparation for their implementation or careful consideration of alternatives. Each election cycle provides further evidence that we are far from the state-of-the-art election system American voters want and deserve.

Make Voting Work is an effort to modernize elections by advancing policies and practices that make voting convenient for eligible voters without compromising accuracy. It will work with partners across the country to spur advances by: rigorously diagnosing problems in our elections; determining which innovations are most effective

at expanding access and improving accuracy through an array of applied research; piloting innovations from the business, high-tech and international election communities; disseminating best practices; and establishing consistent performance standards against which to measure progress in the field and hold states accountable for the conduct of elections.

### Other Projects

RAND Corporation

Santa Monica, CA, \$500,000, 2 yrs.

For the Gulf States Policy Institute in support of nonpartisan research and policy analysis on critical issues facing Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama in the wake of Hurricane Katrina.

Contact: George Penick, Ph.D.  
601.979.2449  
[www.rand.org](http://www.rand.org)

### Historical Interests

Cornell University

Ithaca, NY, \$2,000,000, 4 yrs.

For the Advancing Cornell's Mission in the 21st Century project for continuing the Cornell Presidential Research Scholarship Program for undergraduates and developing university-wide interdisciplinary curriculum and research initiatives on sustainable development, digital information and genomics.

Contact: Biddy Martin, Ph.D.  
607.255.2364  
[www.cornell.edu](http://www.cornell.edu)

Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania

Philadelphia, PA, \$2,000,000, 4 yrs.

To expand the Presidential Prize Fellowships Program, which supports Ph.D. students in the humanities and social sciences.

Contact: Rebecca W. Bushnell, Ph.D. 215.898.7320  
[www.upenn.edu](http://www.upenn.edu)

### INFORMATION

MacNeil/Lehrer Productions

Arlington, VA, \$125,000, 6 mos.

For the production of a second one-hour documentary of *Generation Next: Speak Up. Be Heard*, highlighting the lives, beliefs and aspirations of young Americans, to be aired nationally in prime time on PBS stations.

Contact: Dan Werner, Esq.  
703.998.2847  
[www.pbs.org/newshour/generation-next](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/generation-next)

Flowers by Ana Borgstede.



*Amnesia Curiosa*, 2006,  
by performance artist  
Geoffrey Sobelle. (Pew  
Fellowships in the Arts)



Mark Osterman



Paola Noguras

## CIVIC LIFE

### Culture

Greater Philadelphia Cultural Alliance  
Philadelphia, PA, \$392,000, 3 yrs.  
In support of establishing, at the Arts Council of New Orleans, the New Orleans FunGuide, an online calendar and half-price e-mail ticket program to increase awareness, attendance and earned income for cultural organizations in the Greater New Orleans region.

Contact: Thomas Kaiden  
215.557.7811 x17

[www.artscouncilofneworleans.org](http://www.artscouncilofneworleans.org)

The Pew Charitable Trusts for the Tessitura Consortium  
Philadelphia, PA, up to \$930,000, 1 yr.  
With financial support from the William Penn Foundation, to strengthen the capacity of the local culture community by establishing the Tessitura Consortium, a project to install a shared patron-management software system in several local nonprofit theater companies.

Contact: Gregory T. Rowe  
215.575.4875

[www.pewtrusts.org](http://www.pewtrusts.org)

Philadelphia Museum of Art  
Philadelphia, PA, \$3,000,000, 3 mos.  
For the acquisition of *The Gross Clinic*, an oil-on-canvas portrait of Dr. Samuel Gross painted by Thomas Eakins in 1875, and to permit the painting to be displayed publicly in perpetuity in Philadelphia. (See page 36.)

Contact: Anne d'Harnoncourt  
215.684.7701

[www.philamuseum.org](http://www.philamuseum.org)

*Philadelphia Center for Arts and Heritage*

The University of the Arts  
Philadelphia, PA, \$836,000, 1 yr.

Contact: Melissa Franklin  
267.350.4921

[www.pcah.us](http://www.pcah.us)

In 2005, the Trusts' six Artistic Initiatives, along with the Philadelphia Cultural Management Initiative, were moved to a single location, the Philadelphia Center for Arts and Heritage, in order to facilitate the exchange of ideas and sharing of intellectual resources among the programs.

Together, the initiatives develop programs that address both administrative and programmatic issues and encourage cross-disciplinary interactions among artists and cultural institutions.

Housing the programs together



Cyllia von Tiedemann

The Dirty Dozen Brass Band. (Philadelphia Music Project)

means that they can share core costs such as rent, utilities, office supplies and equipment, and can all take advantage of technology upgrades that would be prohibitively expensive for any single initiative.

More than merely a facility for housing the initiatives, the center has, in effect, become a new resource for the arts and heritage community with the ultimate beneficiaries being artists, institutions and audiences in the Philadelphia region.

Each year the seven programs at the center support more than 600 performances, exhibitions and other public programs. They also encourage the development of high levels of artistic and management capacity through seminars, publications and other activities designed to develop and sustain a rich array of world-class cultural programs for the region's residents and tourists.

The University of the Arts  
Philadelphia, PA, \$1,130,000, 1 yr.

In support of Dance Advance, a program to enhance the creation and presentation of dance by Philadelphia-area companies, artists and presenters.

Contact: William Bissell  
267.350.4970

[www.danceadvance.org](http://www.danceadvance.org)

The University of the Arts  
Philadelphia, PA, \$1,158,000, 1 yr.

In support of the Heritage Philadelphia Program, to provide grants and professional development to organizations in the region that preserve and interpret historic sites and collections that relate to the nation's founding and history.

Contact: Paula Marincola  
267.350.4950

[www.heritagephila.org](http://www.heritagephila.org)

The University of the Arts  
Philadelphia, PA, \$1,104,000, 1 yr.

In support of renewal of the Pew



Cyllia von Tiedemann

*Farewell My Concubine* performed by the Philadelphia Chinese Opera Society, 2004. (Dance Advance)

Pennsylvania Ballet's *Swan Lake*, 2004. (Dance Advance)



The Philadelphia Theatre Company's development workshop for Bill Irwin's *The Happiness Lecture*. (Philadelphia Theatre Initiative)

Fellowships in the Arts, a program that awards financial support to individual artists.

Contact: Melissa Franklin  
267.350.4921

[www.pewarts.org](http://www.pewarts.org)

The University of the Arts  
Philadelphia, PA, \$1,231,000, 1 yr.  
In support of the Philadelphia Exhibitions Initiative, an artistic development program that provides funding for public art exhibitions and publications in the Philadelphia five-county region.

Contact: Paula Marincola  
267.350.4930

[www.philexin.org](http://www.philexin.org)

The University of the Arts  
Philadelphia, PA, \$1,259,000, 1 yr.  
In support of the Philadelphia Music Project, a program to enhance the creation and presentation of music activities by Philadelphia-area nonprofit music organizations.

Contact: Matthew Levy  
267.350.4960

[www.philadelphiamusicproject.org](http://www.philadelphiamusicproject.org)

The renovated Christ Church Burial Ground. (Heritage Philadelphia Program)



Cyllia von Tiedemann

Cyllia von Tiedemann



In need of repairs: the Georgian building of Christ Church, a National Historic Landmark founded in 1695. The American Episcopal Church was born here, and the steeple (financed through a lottery organized by Benjamin Franklin) was the tallest structure in the colonies for 75 years.



The University of the Arts Philadelphia, PA, \$1,258,000, 1 yr. In support of the Philadelphia Theatre Initiative, a program to enhance the creation and presentation of theater activities by Philadelphia-area nonprofit professional theaters and artists. Contact: Fran Kumin 267.350.4940 [www.philadelphiatheatreinitiative.org](http://www.philadelphiatheatreinitiative.org)

#### Civic Initiatives

Central Philadelphia Development Corporation Philadelphia, PA, \$500,000, 1 yr. To highlight the handsome architecture along South Broad Street's Avenue of the Arts and to enhance nighttime appreciation of some of Philadelphia's most important cultural assets by designing and installing new facade lighting. Contact: Nancy A. Goldenberg 215.440.5548 [www.centercityphila.org](http://www.centercityphila.org)

Christ Church Preservation Trust Philadelphia, PA, \$500,000, 2 yrs. To support preservation of historic Christ Church in Philadelphia, which played an important role in the founding of the American republic.



Contact: Donald U. Smith 215.922.1695 x29 [www.oldchristchurch.org](http://www.oldchristchurch.org)

Congressional Management Foundation Washington, DC, \$313,000, 27 mos. Contact: Richard Shapiro 202.546.0100 [www.cmfwweb.org](http://www.cmfwweb.org)

The well-documented and continual decline in bipartisanship in Congress over the past decade is one of the most serious impediments to the efficient functioning of our federal government. To increase the opportunities for bipartisan compromise, senior staff in the offices of U.S. senators from both sides of the aisle initiated a series of pragmatic discussions in a promising effort to improve government effectiveness. Their effort, launched in 2004, now includes representa-

tives from two-thirds of the Senate offices.

This grant formalizes and expands the initiative to include a bimonthly dinner series, bimonthly breakfast discussions, workshops and a retreat for the chiefs of staff. These events will focus on promoting constructive collaboration, addressing common administrative challenges and building on the skills the chiefs require to create an environment that leads to better-informed and more effective public policy.

Eleutherian Mills - Hagley Foundation, Inc. Wilmington, DE, \$120,000, 3 yrs. For general operating support of the Hagley Foundation's Library Center for the History of Business, Technology and Society, which provides archives and research on America's economic and technological heritage. Contact: Theresa R. Snyder 302.658.2400 x344 [www.hagley.org](http://www.hagley.org)

The Foundation Center New York, NY, \$255,000, 3 yrs. For general operating support. Contact: Sara L. Engelhardt 212.807.3607 [www.foundationcenter.org](http://www.foundationcenter.org)

The Friends of Benjamin Franklin House London, England, \$150,000, 1 yr. In support of the restoration of the Benjamin Franklin house in London, where Franklin lived and conducted diplomatic assignments on behalf of the American colonies from 1757 to 1775. Contact: Márcia Balisciano, Ph.D. 44 020 7939 2006 [www.benjaminfranklinhouse.org](http://www.benjaminfranklinhouse.org)

The Gesu School, Inc. Philadelphia, PA, \$250,000, 1 yr. For the Building for Tomorrow project to support renovations and new construction that would expand and enhance the capacity of the Gesu School to educate students in one of Philadelphia's most impoverished neighborhoods. Contact: Christine S. Beck 215.763.3660 [www.gesuschool.org](http://www.gesuschool.org)

Mastery Charter High School Philadelphia, PA, \$250,000, 1 yr. To support the conversion of three low-performing Philadelphia district middle schools to mastery

charter schools, which would serve students in grades 7-12. Funding also would aid the expansion of the original Mastery Charter High School, the Lenfest campus. Contact: Scott Gordon 215.922.1902 [www.masterycharter.org](http://www.masterycharter.org)

National Center on Philanthropy and the Law, Inc. New York, NY, \$200,000, 2 yrs. In support of a series of conferences to provide a neutral forum for rigorous discussion of emerging issues affecting the nonprofit sector. Contact: Ingrid Hang 212.998.6168 [www.law.nyu.edu/ncpl](http://www.law.nyu.edu/ncpl)

National Constitution Center Philadelphia, PA  
I. For the development of a Constitutional Convention for high school students from all 50 states to take place around Constitution Day, \$100,000, 2 yrs.  
II. In support of the National Constitution Center's efforts to make Constitution Day a more significant national event through the creation of an online education initiative and on-site programming, \$200,000, 2 yrs. Contact: Jane Eisner 215.409.6600 [www.constitutioncenter.org](http://www.constitutioncenter.org)

The Pew Charitable Trusts for the Economic Mobility Project Philadelphia, PA, up to \$2,200,000, 2 yrs. To inform the national discussion on income mobility, a fundamental element of American capitalism, by (1) aggregating the best available data on the facts, figures and trends in the United States; and (2) widely disseminating these findings to the public, press and policy-maker communities. Contact: John Morton 202.552.2144 [www.economicmobility.org](http://www.economicmobility.org)

#### Religion

Quebec-Labrador Foundation, Inc. Ipswich, MA, \$250,000, 3 yrs. To support the Quebec-Labrador Foundation's ministry among the people and clergy of the Quebec North Shore, and to complete the documentation of the ministry's accomplishments during the last 43 years. Contact: Elizabeth Alling 978.356.0038 x6763 [www.qlf.org](http://www.qlf.org)



For more than a century, product advertising has been news journalism's bread and butter, the income generator. In this era of new technologies and types of competition, does that model still hold?

Audiences are splintered among a host of new and traditional news sources. Does this mean that the established metrics for measuring audiences are either flawed or obsolete?

Every media sector, even online news, is losing audience share (except radio and the ethnic press), and, to survive, they are finding allies among former competitors. What kinds of future do they see for themselves?

If there can be a hint of what's to come, it might well be found in *The State of the News Media 2007*, the latest of the annual reports on American journalism produced by the **Project for Excellence in Journalism**, an initiative of the Pew Research Center.

In addition to statistics on the media in the previous year, the reports identify key trends facing the media. In the past, the project (to quote the current study) has noted that "journalism's challenge is not from technology or lack of interest in news but from diminished economic potential; that power is moving to those who make news away from those who cover it; that there are now several competing models of journalism, with cheaper, less accurate ones gaining momentum; that while there are more outlets delivering news, that has generally not meant covering a broader range of stories."

For 2006, "the pace of change has accelerated," the study says. "The trends reshaping journalism didn't just quicken, they seemed to be nearing a pivot point."

A possibly irrelevant business model, outdated ways of measuring audiences, risky new lines of work and partnerships—all suggest that journalism is "entering a new phase heading into 2007—a phase of more

limited ambition." Rather than try to manage decline, many news organizations have taken the next step of starting to redefine their appeal and their purpose based on diminished capacity.

Increasingly, outlets are looking for brand or franchise areas of coverage to build audiences. Examples: more local coverage at the expense of news from elsewhere; personality and opinion; "citizen media" rather than professionally trained journalists. "In a sense," says the report, "all news organizations are becoming more niche players, basing their appeal less on how they cover the news and more on what they cover."

Potential consequences of the narrowed focus? Doing less. Letting bias rule. Becoming even less a part of Americans' information mix. What does the profession need? "New vision," the study advises, adding that journalism has tended to react tentatively, leaving experimentation to those outside the profession.

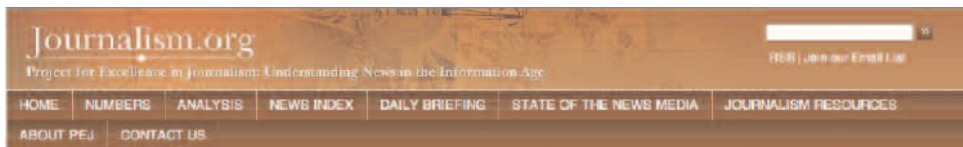
With that background, the study goes on to detail the major trends to watch—and questions to pose—in 2007:

- *News organizations need to do more to think through the implications of this new era of shrinking ambitions. Does localism mean provincialism? Should news organizations, so as not to abandon more high-level coverage, enlist citizen sentinels to monitor community news? To what extent do journalists still have a role in creating a broad agenda of common knowledge?*
- *The news industry must become more aggressive about developing a new economic model. Already the predictions of advertising growth on the Web are being scaled back.*

That has major implications—for instance, news organizations broadening what they consider the journalistic functions to include activities such as online searches and citizen media.

Perhaps most important, the math suggests they almost certainly must find a way to get consumers to pay for digital content. The notion that the Internet is free is already disproved. Those who report the news just aren't sharing in the fees.

- *The key question is whether the investment community sees the news business as a declining industry or an emerging one in transition. Yet if news companies do not assert their own vision here, including making a case and taking risks, their future will be defined by those less invested in and passionate about news.*
- *There are growing questions about whether the dominant ownership model of the last generation, the public corporation, is suited to the transition newsrooms must now make. Private markets now appear to value media properties more highly than Wall Street does. Are these potential new private owners motivated by public interest or merely by the profit possibilities after aggressive cost-cutting?*
- *Public ownership tends to make companies play by the same rules. Private ownership has few leveling influences.*
- *The "argument culture" of most talk shows—mock debates about issues—is giving way to something new, the "answer culture," in news outlets. Programs and journalists offer solutions, crusades, certainty and the impression of putting the blur of information in clear order for people.*



The tone may be just as extreme as before, but now the other side is not given equal play. “Answers” represent an appeal more idiosyncratic and less ideological than pure partisan journalism.

- *Blogging is on the brink of a new phase that will probably include scandal, profitability for some and a splintering into elites and non-elites over standards and ethics.* What gives blogging its authenticity and momentum—its open access—also makes it vulnerable to being used and manipulated.

Meanwhile, some very popular bloggers are already becoming businesses or being assimilated by establishment media. Will blogging, then, still be “citizen” media?

To protect themselves, some of the best-known bloggers are forming associations, with ethics codes, standards of conduct and more: the paradox of professionalizing to preserve one’s integrity as an independent citizen platform.

- *While journalists are becoming more serious about the Web, no clear models of how to do journalism online really exist yet, and some qualities are still only marginally explored.* The root media no longer strictly define a site’s character: The Web sites of *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*, for instance, are more dissimilar than the papers are in print. Sites have done more to exploit immediacy than to explore the potential for depth.

Go to <http://journalism.org> for the Project for Excellence in Journalism’s complete annual report.

**I**f Benjamin Franklin suddenly appeared in Philadelphia, he wouldn’t be able to go home—his house, in Philadelphia’s historic area, was razed in 1812, and existing records are insufficient to reproduce it. But he might be able to feel its vibes. That’s

because, marking the nation’s bicentennial in 1976, the architect Robert Venturi developed a skeletal, steel-framed version of the building—a so-called ghost structure connecting visitors to that founding father and the city’s revolutionary roots.



Ben Franklin “slept” here.

The site, Franklin Court, includes an underground museum with interesting artifacts, pictures and quotations that strengthen the history lesson. Over the years, however, this attraction has not fared well, partly because it does not offer visitors the opportunity to interact with the exhibits, the mode of museum presentation that now excites audiences.

To modernize the museum, an \$18-million redesign was announced in February. Pew pledged \$6 million, pending equal amounts from the federal government and from community and state leaders.

U.S. Secretary of the Interior Dirk Kempthorne was present to praise the effort, which he links to what he calls the “Centennial Challenge” benefiting the National Park System. In 2016, the system celebrates its centennial, and how bright the candles will glow depends on a proposed \$2 billion over a decade to fund the 390 parks and national monuments under the umbrella of the National Park Service; those funds are separate from the service’s annual budget. If approved by Congress, 10-year support of \$100 million yearly would be matched by

private pledges, with Philadelphia first to take part.

In March, at a U.S. Senate subcommittee hearing on his department’s budget, Kempthorne was asked how he thought other potential funders would respond to the matching challenge. “They do not want to be the margin of survival for the parks,” he said. “They’re willing to step up and to be the margin of excellence.” He cited the event at Franklin Court and the funding structure offered by Pew. “So there’s \$18 million that’s real that shows you the response we get from the foundations and the private sector.”

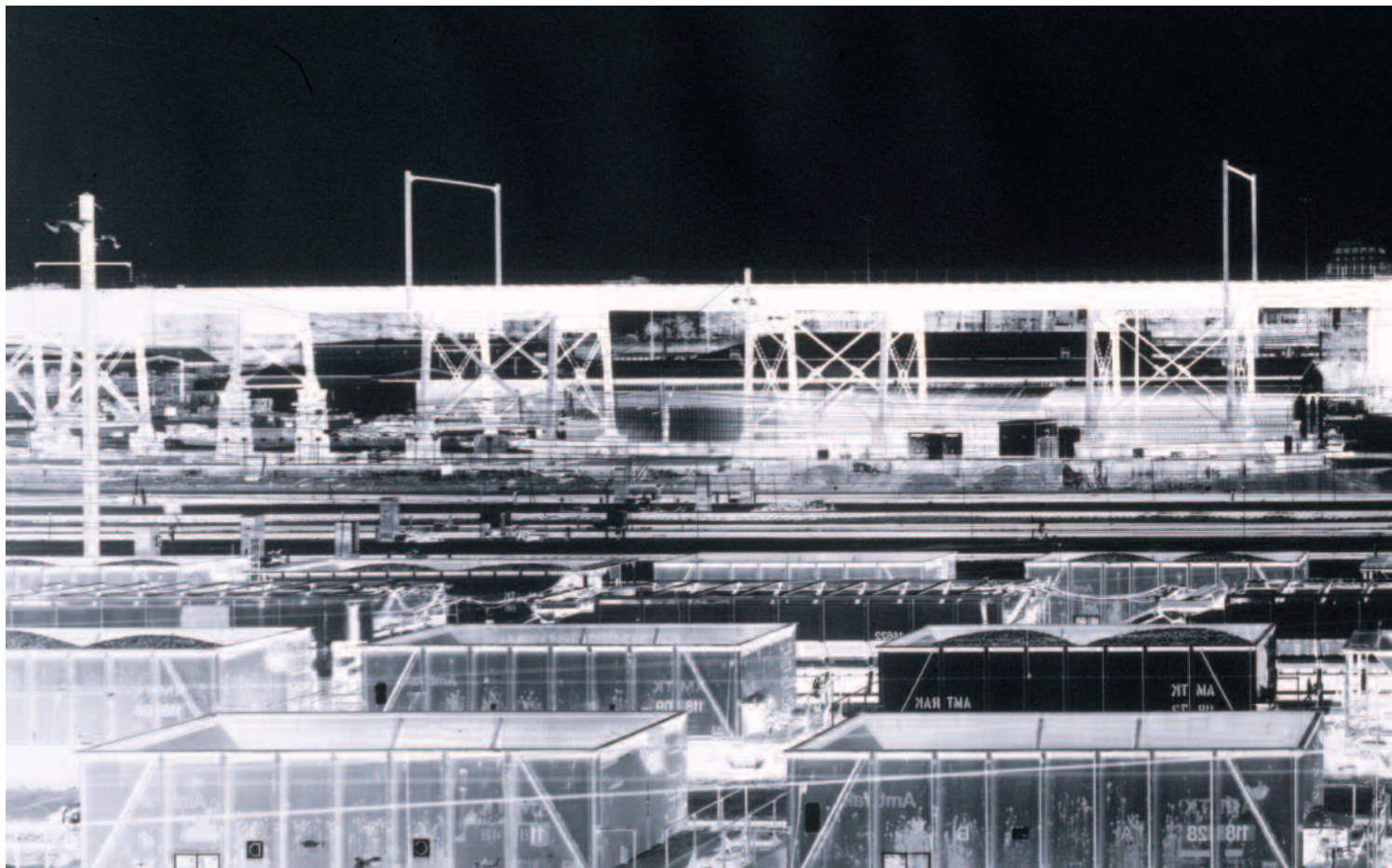
*Kyle Wind*

**B**logs, podcasts—the new communications often classified as “citizen journalism”—are clearly affecting our society. But how? Who’s involved? Technology commentator Mark Glaser says that the answers involve a lot of guessing. (He hosts the PBS-supported blog *MediaShift*, “your guide to the digital media revolution.”)

“But why rely on hunches and assumptions when there’s the **Pew Internet & American Life Project**,” he continues. “Every time an argument comes up around a hot new technology, Pew Internet is the authoritative source that can break through the hype with hard numbers.”

One hot topic is “social networking,” with the explosive growth of Web sites such as MySpace (founded in 2003) and Facebook (established in 2004). Here, people describe themselves through words, music, photos and videos, developing personal profiles that may attract a cyberspace following. This activity has grown from a niche pastime to one that reportedly involves (on MySpace alone) more than 150 million people worldwide, with some 230,000 joining daily.

According to the Pew Internet Project, 55 percent of Internet users from ages 12 through 17 in the United States participate; 70 percent of older



The camera obscura is the oldest and simplest photographic device—a box with a hole in it. Light passes through the hole and, on the opposite interior wall of the box, produces an image of the view outside.

When the opposite wall is photosensitive paper, a permanent image appears—eventually. Because the light

inside is so dim, long exposure times are required to capture the projection.

Thus it was that *30th Street Station, Philadelphia, IV: April 20, 2006* by Vera Lutter (above) required 105 minutes to record, too long to record people or trains passing by, although exceedingly slow objects might leave trace shad-

girls have profiles. Yet 66 percent of teens restrict access to their information—countering the idea that “they’re plastering personal information over their profiles for anyone and everyone to read,” says Amanda Lenhart, who wrote the study with Mary Madden; both are senior research specialists at the project.

And what are the teens doing with their sites? Ninety one percent stay in touch with friends. Girls generally reinforce pre-existing friendships, while boys are more likely to make new friends or “flirt in the comfort of an online environment,” says Madden.

The Pew Internet Project is an initiative of the Pew Research Center and can be found at [www.pewinternet.org](http://www.pewinternet.org).

*Kyle Wind*

**J**ames Madison avowed the importance of public opinion when he wrote, in the *Federalist Papers*, “Public opinion sets bounds to every government, and is the real sovereign in every free one.” No wonder, then, that we still value public opinion—as long as we can trust those who do the polling.

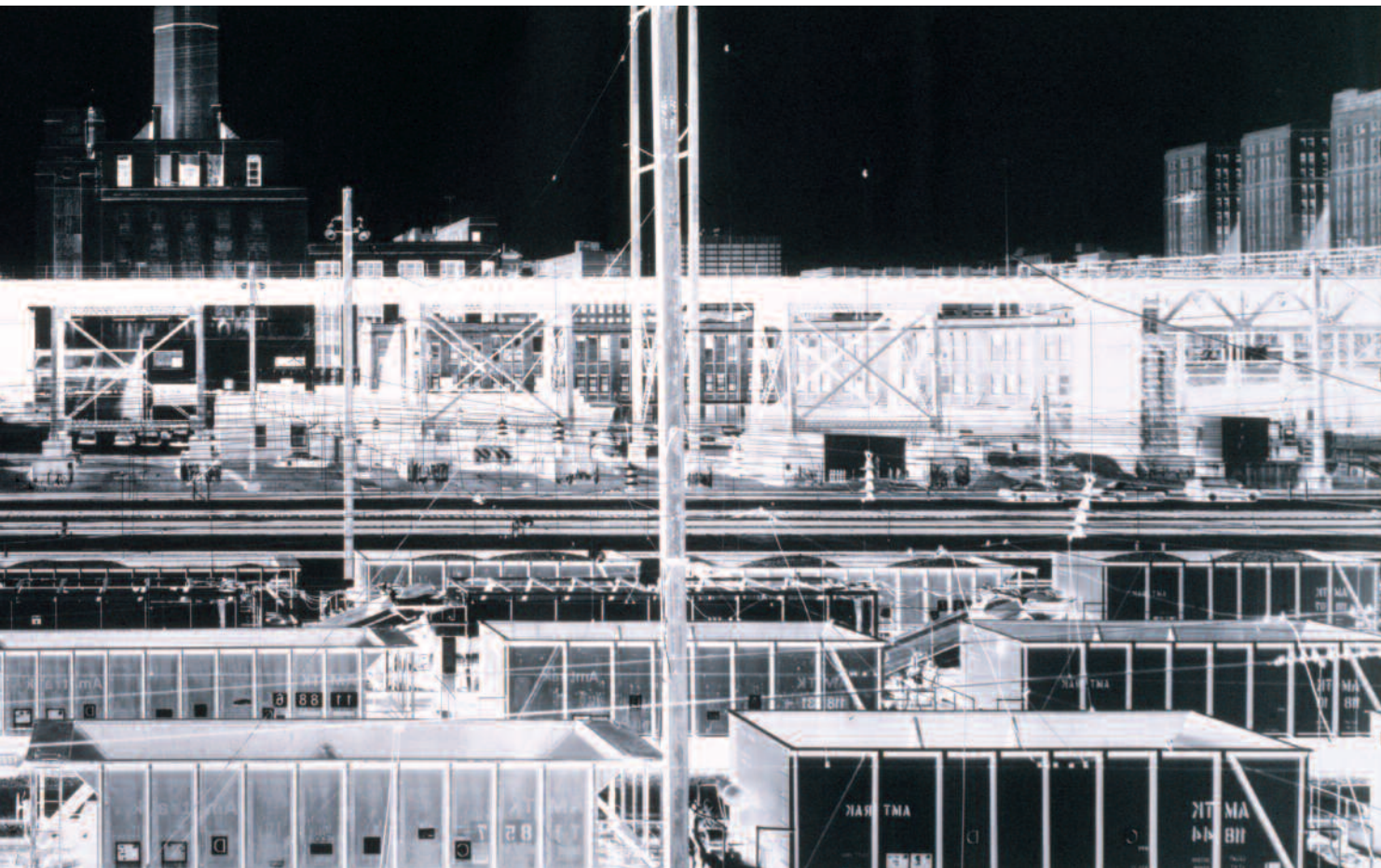
In December, *The Philadelphia Inquirer* listed some of the “most quoted and more reliable” survey groups, which included the **Pew Research Center** as well as Eurobarometer, Gallup and Zogby. The center, the article noted, “publishes a constant flow of information from its ongoing surveys of public opinion about government actions, the media, use of the Internet and other high-

visibility issues,” and can be accessed at <http://pewresearch.org>.

*Kyle Wind*

**T**here were headlines last fall when the American population reached 300 million, with 400 million predicted by 2043. Of less immediate concern were some of the implications. For instance, the number of American workers will grow, but will they be any better prepared for a financially secure retirement? Unfortunately, no—if existing trends continue.

Retirement saving has declined dramatically over the past ten years. In fact, according to the most recent Commerce Department report, the savings rate for fiscal



ows. Lutter used photographic paper, not negative film, making her photograph one-of-a-kind; its actual size is 50 3/8" x 146".

Lutter was joined by Ann Hamilton and Abelardo Morell in making long-exposure images in Philadelphia for the exhibition *Taken with Time: A Camera Obscura Project*,

presented last fall by The Print Center and supported by Pew's Philadelphia Exhibitions Initiative.

You can make a camera obscura from an oatmeal box or from an entire room. The Print Center's Web site, [www.printcenter.org](http://www.printcenter.org), has the instructions and much more educational information based on the exhibition.

year 2006 was a staggering negative 1 percent. These downward statistics are true across the spectrum of workers:

- Nearly one out of two American workers—totaling some 75 million—currently has no employer-sponsored savings plan.
- Only 1 in 2 employees who do have access to a saving vehicle is taking advantage of this resource.
- About 1 in 4 eligible employees “leaves money on the table” and fails to participate even when offered employer matching contributions and tax advantages for contributing.
- Even those who do save are often not saving enough. More than six

in ten workers who reported saving in the 2006 Retirement Confidence Survey (Employee Benefit Research Institute, 2006) have saved less than \$50,000.

A new book addresses this situation and proposes legislative and administrative changes that would make saving for retirement easier for middle- and lower-income households, while at the same time offering practical savings ideas for workers. *Aging Gracefully: Ideas to Improve Retirement Security in America* was published by the Century Foundation Press and written by William G. Gale, J. Mark Iwry and Peter R. Orszag, Brookings Institution scholars who are principals of the Pew-supported **Retirement Security**

**Project**, a partnership of Brookings and Georgetown University's Public Policy Institute.

The authors point out that the current retirement savings system does not work for lower-income households, who need it the most. The system offers few incentives to participate and little guidance to navigate through confusing issues such as level of contribution, retention and investment allocation. As Gale often puts it “You don't have to be a mechanic to drive a car, and you shouldn't need a Ph.D. in financial economics to navigate the pension system.”

Yet surveys and a Retirement Security Project research experiment have shown that people will save for retirement if it is made easy, and that

fact is the basis of the authors' common-sense recommendations for policy changes.

They argue for: automatic 401(k) features for workers in companies with employer-sponsored plans and automatic IRA enrollment for workers in companies without 401(k) plans, with workers always having the ability to opt out; improved "Saver's Credit" tax savings for middle- and low-income workers who participate in these savings plans; and reduced implicit taxes on retirement savings imposed through means-tested benefit programs such as food stamps, Medicaid and cash welfare assistance.

For more on retirement security, go to the project's Web site at [www.retirementsecurityproject.org](http://www.retirementsecurityproject.org).

Sara Friedman

**"I** am contacting you because I am currently working with a group in Virginia to develop a marketing plan as well as looking at ways they can improve their tourist-oriented product to offer a great visitor experience. We talked about audio tours, and I immediately thought of Sound-AboutPhilly."

This is the kind of note that often arrives in the mailbox of Pew-supported **SoundAboutPhilly**, a series of city tours that you can download on your MP3 player or access from anywhere via computer.

The excursions cover the city's less-well-known experiences, are free and come with dynamic mapping, engaging photography and narratives by real Philadelphians. They can be found at [www.gophila.com/soundabout](http://www.gophila.com/soundabout).

The letter (from Carolyn Brackett, senior program associate at the Heritage Tourism Program of the National Trust for Historic Preservation and printed with her permission) continues:

"I shared the Web site link with my client and told them I think this is the best tour program I have seen anywhere and encouraged them to

think about something along these lines. One of the appeals is that visitors can download the sections they are interested in. Since the region in Virginia is about 150 miles long, it solves the problem of 'which end to start' that would come with traditional CD-based tours."

Not resting on its laurels, Sound-AboutPhilly adds new tours constantly. Two of the latest: "Philly Noir," showing the city's black history, and "Vintage," a guide to finding collectibles.

**T**wenty-five years ago, the Philadelphia Museum of Art held an exhibition of the paintings of Thomas Eakins. In his review, the *New York Times* critic pointed out that Eakins might be America's greatest painter ever, with his medical panoramas *The Gross Clinic* and *The Agnew Clinic* especially notable for excellence. Other experts have been equally enthusiastic, calling *The Gross Clinic* "the great American masterpiece."

There's no need for "debate" about who might be the greatest—Eakins certainly ranks among them. In particular, he's a Philadelphian, and the subjects of some of his best works are the region's scenes and people. So when it seemed, in November, that *The Gross Clinic*, which was owned by Thomas Jefferson University, might be sold to the National Gallery of Art in Washington and the proposed Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art in Bentonville, Arkansas, Philadelphia's leaders were challenged with raising \$68 million in only 45 days to keep the painting in Philadelphia, where it has always been.

Shortly before the deadline in December, Philadelphia Mayor John F. Street announced the campaign's success: The city's philanthropic community had united with a nationwide grassroots effort to enable two local cultural institutions—the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and the Philadelphia Museum of Art—to jointly

purchase the painting; both institutions will exhibit it publicly.

The Annenberg Foundation is donating \$10 million to the effort. H.F. (Gerry) Lenfest, Joseph Neubauer and the Pew Trusts pledged \$3 million each. In addition, the drive to secure the painting resulted, to date, in more than 3,000 donations from all over the country. Wachovia Bank agreed to provide the balance of the financing as fundraising continues.

*The Gross Clinic* (right) is a dramatic 8-by-6.5-foot, oil-on-canvas painting of Samuel D. Gross, M.D., the first chair of surgery at Thomas Jefferson University's Medical College; witnessed by his students, he is performing bone surgery on a boy. Thomas Eakins, a Philadelphia native, for many years an instructor and a director of the Pennsylvania Academy, painted the portrait in 1875 after studying anatomy under Gross. Alumni of Jefferson Medical School bought the painting in 1878 for \$200 and donated it to the institution.

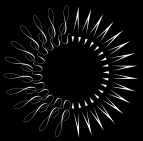
Echoing comments by the donors and other local leaders, *The Philadelphia Inquirer* praised the "community's can-do spirit" and noted the precedent it might serve for other important causes: "The *Gross Clinic* effort shows how the Philadelphia region can rally around a goal. Let's build on that."

Generous praise also came from the *Arkansas Democrat Gazette*. "It would have been nice" to have the painting in Arkansas, an editorial stated, but it belongs where it is—partly because it is "of Philadelphia by a Philadelphian" and partly because the city, in matching the offer, proved that it "has a sense of place" which merits such a treasure. "*The Gross Clinic* went from forgotten masterpiece, or at least one taken for granted, to a symbol of Philadelphia's renewed cultural spirit and civic gumption," the editors said. "Yo, Philly! More power to ya!" *Cindy Jobbins* ■





Seeking reform of serious flaws in the  
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