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Nieman Reports

TO PROMOTE AND ELEVATE THE STANDARDS OF JOURNALISM

THE SIGNAL AND THE NOISE

Journalism and the future
of crowdsourced reporting
after the Boston Marathon
bombings

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Residents and journalists
gather around a police officer
after the arrest of the Boston
Marathon bombing suspect



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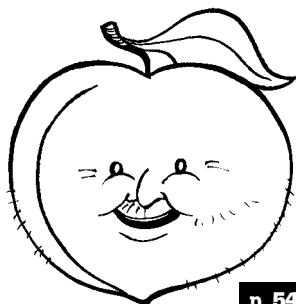
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Signal vs. Noise



WHEN THE FIRST OF THE BOMBS darkened the sunny euphoria at the Boston Marathon finish line, Nieman Fellow David Abel crouched mere yards from the blast, steadying a camera from Harvard's Department of Visual and Environmental Studies, where he had been studying introductory video.

Abel, a Boston Globe reporter who worked during his Nieman year to acquire visual storytelling skills, found generous support from professor and filmmaker Ross McElwee. The short documentary Abel was making for McElwee's class featured the inspirational story of Juli Windsor, who was about to claim marathon history as one of the first two dwarfs entered in the grueling race.

But at 2:49 p.m., as Abel waited with his camera to capture Windsor crossing the finish line, a bleaker narrative emerged. Windsor, like many runners, was stopped after the percussive blasts brought terror to Boston, while Abel documented the tragic aftermath in what would become one of the most heavily viewed videos of the year. In addition to his news footage and eyewitness account for the Globe, Abel completed his short movie, a stirring account of Windsor's interrupted quest.

Abel's contributions to coverage of the Boston bombings were significant and widely distributed. They were also but the most visible contributions made by Nieman Fellows, several of whom were at work on projects or analyses that found new urgency in the aftermath of the marathon attack. Some of that work is documented in this issue and focuses on the need to manage the speed and volume of breaking information, which, during the Boston coverage, tripped up trained reporters just as it did the crowd. The unprecedented power to publish possessed by every owner of a smartphone requires new tools and practices.

That notion is central to the work of Nieman visiting fellow Hong Qu, a programmer and one of the earliest developers at YouTube. We invited him to Nieman in order to amplify cross-disciplinary discussion between journalists and the technologists building new tools. He used his time at Harvard to develop Keepr, an open source application for separating good sources from bad while following breaking news on Twitter. The need for such a tool grew more pressing in the aftermath of the bombing.

One tweeter boasted of a "game-changing victory" for crowdsourcing in the early hours of the Boston area manhunt. But what began as a low-grade fever on Twitter and Reddit spiked with the wrongful naming of a bombing suspect. All the while Hong was testing Keepr as a screen for credibility and posting early results on the Nieman Reports website as the story



unfolded. The live test drive helped him refine an algorithm and criteria for credibility that he hopes will help journalists and others tracking the next big story.

For French fellow and editor Ludovic Blecher, the challenge to journalists working with crowdsourced information during breaking news events is twofold: saying too much by passing along inaccuracies, or staying silent "when social media is producing so much noise." Blecher, working with Nieman fellows Borja Echevarría de la Gándara of Spain and Paula Molina of Chile at MIT's Center for Civic Media, has been developing a peer-to-peer journalism app that would segregate verified information from the chaff during breaking news stories. The key to their approach is an acknowledgement that the crowd is no longer a passive recipient but a partner. Breaking news isn't just for journalists anymore, writes Blecher, "but we still have a mission: to organize the noise."



JULIO CORTIZ/THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Other fellows identified non-technological ways in which journalism could be fortified and communities better informed. German fellow Souad Mekhennet, a Muslim who has covered Islamic radicalization in the West, reflects on her experience and belief in the importance of having Muslim journalists report on Muslim communities. And in her essay, Betsy O'Donovan, our community journalism Nieman Fellow, logically argues for educating citizen observers who document breaking news with common journalistic reporting standards, particularly in rural communities where journalists are few.

The fellows' approaches vary, but in each of these stories lies a common longing: to harness the beast and steer it in the service of truth and accuracy.

Additional Nieman articles about coverage of the Boston Marathon bombings online: <http://nieman.harvard.edu/marathon>

NIEMAN REPORTS

“A Marathon Without a Finish” by David Abel, NF ’13

Boston Globe reporter David Abel was standing on the finish line of the Marathon with a video camera when the bombs went off

“The Story of a Lifetime” by David L. Marcus, NF ’96

Two weeks after the bombings, Boston Globe editor Brian McGrory explains how his regional newspaper stayed ahead on national news

“Social Media and the Boston Bombings” by Hong Qu

Hong Qu used Keepr to identify the tweets that “broke” news of the bombing. Read more from Qu in “Organize The Noise” in this issue

“Journalism & The Boston Marathon Bombings” by Jonathan Seitz

In a town hall discussion at the Nieman Foundation, citizens, journalists and public officials discussed coverage of the bombings

**“Nieman Cover the Boston Marathon Bombs”
“Terror at Home, Abroad”**

Two collections of coverage by Nieman Fellows

“Mapping the Twitterverse”

MIT researcher Todd Mostak shows how the news spread on Twitter

NIEMAN JOURNALISM LAB

“Breaking News Pragmatically: Some reflections on silence and timing in networked journalism” by Mike Ananny

“Wrong narratives may outweigh wrong facts, but reporting with respect means getting both right” by Caroline O’Donovan

“When the media—traditional or new—get a suspect wrong, what are the legal ramifications?” by Jeffrey Hermes

“Double coverage: How The Boston Globe used its dual sites to cover the marathon bombing” by Justin Ellis

NIEMAN STORYBOARD

“The story of a moment” by Paige Williams

How a Nieman writing class reacted to news of the bombings

“Why’s this so good?’ No. 77: Danny and the carjackers”

A dissection of The Boston Globe’s profile of the carjacking victim

“You can have it all if you define what it is you want”

The Associated Press’s executive editor Kathleen Carroll on the agency’s business model, work-life balance, and managing people

*As executive editor of The Associated Press, Kathleen Carroll oversees a staff of some 2,300 journalists working in more than 100 countries. The news they gather is distributed to the AP’s 1,600 member newspapers in the U.S. and to the rest of the globe through its content licensing business. Since taking the position in 2002, Carroll has expanded the AP’s footprint. In 2012 the AP became the first Western news organization with full media privileges in North Korea. In speaking at the Nieman Foundation with **Laura Wides-Munoz**, NF ’13, the AP’s Hispanic affairs writer, Carroll emphasized the importance of accuracy, a point she underscored to her staff a few weeks later after the AP made errors in its coverage of the Boston bombings. Edited excerpts:*

ON THE AP’S NORTH KOREA BUREAU

The North Koreans didn’t know anything about us. We took quite a bit of time to explain what our journalism was all about and that we weren’t going to change it. We wanted to come in and cover the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) in our way, and it wasn’t going to be the same way that they cover it. They very highly valued personal relationships, so we worked hard to get to know them over dinners and karaoke. And they waxed us; we were awful singers. But we brought enthusiasm to the effort.

There’s no tradition of open media in the DPRK, so the man on the street or the shop owner or the brewery foreman has no experience with talking to a reporter and knowing where that information is going and what they should say. The challenge for us is to help, just by constantly being there and asking questions,

create the culture where people will feel like they can talk to you about things.

We don’t submit our content to anybody. We don’t ever submit our content to censors, with the possible exception of when it is required by the Israeli military. And we label that content as having been submitted. I actually had an interviewer once say to me about our North Korea bureau, “Well, the White House says you might be getting propaganda and you shouldn’t be there.” I remember thinking, “What’s the right amount of time for a pregnant pause for this?”

ON THE AP’S BUSINESS MODEL

Around 85 percent of our revenue comes from content licensing to newspapers, news agencies, portals and broadcasters, with US newspapers accounting for about 20 percent of it. And the rest comes from several sources, primarily a newsroom production system and

broadcast services businesses. AP diversified starting about 20 years ago. We have the largest newsroom production system for broadcasters in the world and another business that provides services to broadcasters. If you are a television news organization and you don’t want to drag all that stuff to some location, you can send your correspondent, in and we’ll provide all the other services and book the satellite time for you.

Our ad-supported AP Mobile News app is a rapidly growing business for us. It’s not a huge part of our revenue but it’s growing. There are a thousand local news providers that participate in AP Mobile and we’ve done a lot to make that more flexible over time. It used to be that if you looked for Boston news on the mobile app, The Boston Globe and Boston Herald content was together. Now you have a choice. You can choose that you want to read the Globe or you want to read the Herald.

ON WORK/LIFE BALANCE

First you need a good partner, you know? Whoever your life partner is going to be, you’ve got to have somebody who’s going to be tolerant of your schedule and flexible. Steve [Twomey, Carroll’s husband, a journalist and author] and I, for a very long time, managed a “your turn, my turn” kind of a thing. And this job kind of



blew that out. But he's doing book writing now, so it seems to work out.

Look, I started out in this business in 1973 when I got my first job at the Dallas Morning News. God bless them, there was no maternity policy there. I was one of the first girls—because I was 18, so I was a girl—who didn't have to go through the women's pages. There were two other women in the city room, and one of them had to have her children while on vacation or quit. It's so much better now. The women ahead of us didn't have a choice. It was very hard for them to have families and have careers. I've had a choice;

is just a wonderful editor, a wonderful mother and grandmother. So, she said, "You know, well, you can't have it all. You just have to choose." My variation of that would be, "Well, what's 'all'?" You get to define what all is. You can have it all if you define what it is you want. Do you make choices? You bet. But you can do it.

ON USER-GENERATED CONTENT

We've never had to skinny back on a piece of user-generated content that wasn't verified. To be careless with user-generated content is to deliver your reputation to a person who doesn't work for you and you may not even know.

to find the person who took the video and talk with them to verify that they are who they say they are, and where they were, and they can describe where they were when they took it.

Fact checks are great and lots of organizations are doing them, but the most discouraging thing is they don't make a damn bit of difference to the people whose conduct you're fact checking.

ON BEING A MANAGER

There are three dirty little tricks that I tell new managers. One is to use your journalistic skills, meaning—ask questions. Two is, after you ask questions, listen to the answers. People sometimes, when they become managers, think that they've suddenly been invested with all the answers and they talk all the time. The last is to use your calendar to your benefit. Schedule time for the things that nourish you and that you care about, schedule time to be with people without it being transactional. That doesn't necessarily have to be lunch. But use your calendar to give yourself discipline. **NR**

Fact checks are great ... but the most discouraging thing is they don't make a damn bit of difference to the people whose conduct you're fact checking

you have a choice. Now men are in this conversation, which is fantastic.

I raised the question of work/life balance the other day with Sandy Rowe, who is the retired editor of The Oregonian and

Before we'll even contemplate putting something on the air, we need to know where the original source is. Seeing a piece of video that's on a website that is not the originator isn't good enough. We backtrack to the original source. We try



Back to Bosnia

RON HAVIV/VI

A book collaboration brings Gary Knight, NF '10, and other Niemans together, again

IN SEPTEMBER 2011, A GROUP OF photographers and writers who had covered the war in Bosnia met for lunch at a photo festival in the south of France. By the time coffee arrived, we had decided to make a book to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the outbreak of war. We had the support of a cast of hundreds but no money. We all agreed we wanted to make the book ourselves, design it and edit it without a publisher. We didn't want anyone who wasn't there to tell us how to do it, which is consistent with the way the photographers covered the war—and live their lives, for that matter.

More than 50 photographers and writers from all over the world submitted

their work, which was published in “Bosnia: 1992-1995,” a book that was translated into English and Bosnian and printed in Bosnia. The book was funded by selling excerpted rights in advance of publication and through a Kickstarter campaign that took only three days. The success of the campaign was probably due to the very tight social group that was born from the war that includes journalists, aid workers, U.N. peacekeepers, and hundreds of Bosnians who became close friends—and in some cases, husbands and wives—to the foreigners who lived in Bosnia during the war. The book is much richer for that initiative.

We printed 1,500 copies of the book and gave 250 to the library system of Bosnia and to local civil society organizations.

A soldier in Arkan's Tigers, a Serbian paramilitary squad responsible for killing thousands, kicks a Bosnian Muslim civilian in Bijeljina, Bosnia in March 1992

It's a nonprofit exercise and we priced the book low so it could be sold in Bosnia, where it became a number one bestseller. The contributors include, among many others, Gilles Peress, Ron Haviv, Christopher Morris, James Nachtwey, and Janine Di Giovanni as well as **Anja Niedringhaus**, NF '07, and **Santiago Lyon**, NF '04. From the book came a reunion in Bosnia in 2012, which saw hundreds of journalists fly into Sarajevo from as far as New Zealand and South Africa to meet local and overseas colleagues. It was a very emotional meeting that resulted in many of us re-engaging with the country and determined to do more there.

Rediscovering Latin American Jewry

In Peru, Graciela Mochkofsky, NF '09, tells a dramatic tale of truth and faith

Ten years ago I came upon the story of Segundo Villanueva, an impoverished Peruvian who, as a result of his reading of the Bible, concluded that Catholicism was a fraud. So he embarked on a search for the true church and eventually converted to ultra-Orthodox Judaism. A community of 150 followed him and emigrated to Israel, where they were taken to Jewish settlements in the West Bank, becoming involuntary players in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. After their success, a wider movement started in Perú. More and more people converted to Judaism to emigrate to Israel and escape poverty. Today, around 500 Peruvian converts are settlers in the West Bank.

I published their story in a book, believing that Villanueva's community was an isolated event in Latin America and one of a very few

in Jewish history. But in the coming years I discovered that they had been the first emergence of a phenomenon of massive conversions that is changing the landscape of Latin American Jewry—and the definition of who is Jewish in the 21st Century.

Yet, their story remains to be told, which is what I intend to do in the next couple of years through a book and a documentary, which I will write and co-direct with Canadian film producer Julia Rosenberg. I approached Villanueva's journey as a dramatic tale of one man's search for truth in the written word, and a story about faith and truth and how they can (or can't) be reconciled. And I saw it also as an extraordinary story of personal transformation and identity, which is also my approach to this larger phenomenon.

THE TRANSNATIONAL EXPRESS

With CONNECTAS, Carlos Eduardo Huertas, NF '12, links the Americas through journalism

"Who in Latin America would be interested in transnational journalism?" was a question raised during the first round of fundraising for CONNECTAS, the Latin American media platform I developed as a Nieman Fellow in 2012. "I know about local, national and international journalism," said one skeptic, drawing each on a piece of paper as a separate circle. "But I don't see transnational journalism. Probably it doesn't exist." I took his pen and drew a line that intersected each circle: "There it is."

CONNECTAS is fueled by my belief that the broad dissemination throughout Latin America of solid journalism on key development issues can help improve the quality of life. Each milestone in the project has confirmed that there is a market for journalism on transnational issues in the Americas. The first test was the Kickstarter campaign that attracted 73 donors and exceeded its target of \$3,500 by 15 percent in 20 days. This support made it possible to publish in Spanish, Portuguese and English a multimedia report on a subject that had been undercovered. "The Jungle Highway"

examined the social and environmental impact of the first highway to cross the once inhospitable Amazon region of Peru, Bolivia and Brazil. It was published in two daily papers, one magazine, and six websites and has received more than 330,000 page views from 103 countries.

For its second report, CONNECTAS has partnered with the Boston-based New England Center for Investigative Reporting. Venezuelan journalist Emilia Díaz-Struck led an investigation into the ethanol market in the United States, Brazil, Colombia and Peru to identify the "czars" of this industry and explain how the political maneuvering to secure their business interests is as important as the time and energy devoted to their crops.

Latin America in some ways is in an enviable position today. Economic growth has outpaced the world average for the past nine years though the region remains one of the most unequal in the world in terms of income distribution. Yet the region's shared history and culture make it feasible to work together across national boundaries. And work-



Pastureland has replaced rainforest along this stretch of the Interoceanic Highway in Brazil

ing together on infrastructure, energy, technology, environment and telecommunications issues is crucial for bringing about change.

New partnerships are being cultivated to move CONNECTAS forward in its goal of connecting the Americas through journalism that crosses borders. Among the projects in the works is a series of reports on Central America that will be prepared in partnership with the International Center for Journalists, based in New York.

Writing Naked

Former poet laureate Donald Hall talks to **MIKE PRIDE, NF '85**, about what journalists can learn from poetry

DONALD HALL, FORMER U.S. poet laureate, has lived at Eagle Pond Farm, with its white clapboard farmhouse and weathered barn, in Wilmot, New Hampshire, since 1975. Hall grew up in the Connecticut suburbs but spent his summers at the farm haying, milking and doing other chores with his grandfather. I got to know Don in 1978 after moving to New Hampshire, when I read “String Too Short To Be Saved,” his memoir of his summers here. The rural life has long been his muse. I started inviting Don to visit the paper I edited, the Concord (N.H.) Monitor, to talk to staff about poetry and place and journalism. Don has written poetry, essays, criticism, plays, short stories, a novel. You name it, he’s done it, including journalism. He’s written for Sports Illustrated, the Ford Times, Yankee Magazine, and many, many others. I now come up here about once a month, and Don and I go over to a place we call Blackwater Bill’s to eat hot dogs. Don likes his hot dogs with the

spicy mustard, and relish, and onions. We sat down at Eagle Pond to talk about Don’s work and the writer’s craft. Edited excerpts follow. —**Mike Pride, NF '85**

A transcript and video of this conversation and of Hall reading his poems are available at www.niemanreports.org.

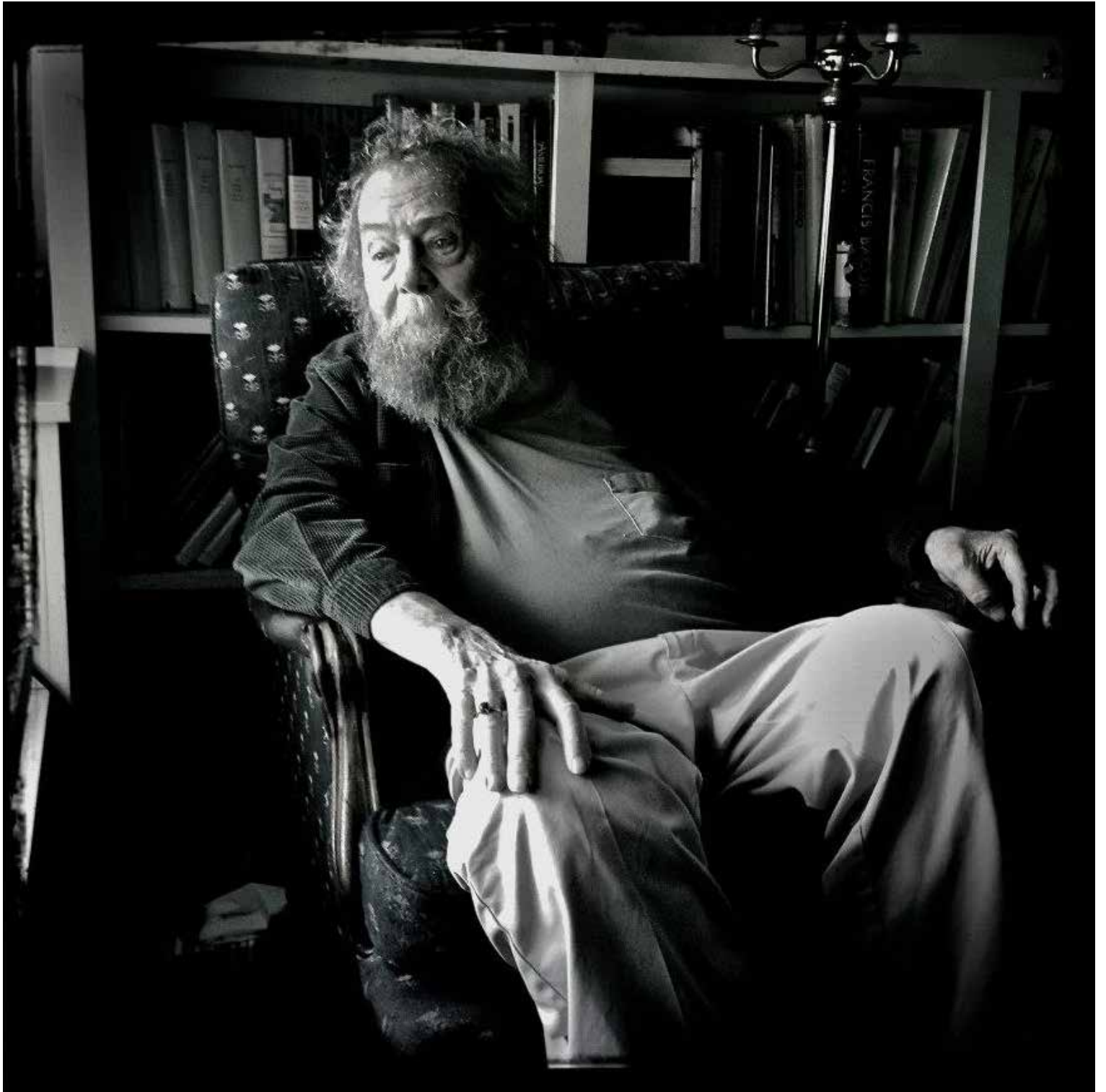
MIKE PRIDE: *Do you still read the paper regularly?*

DONALD HALL: Yeah, I read two newspapers almost all my life. The New Haven Register and the New Haven General Courier. The Courier was the morning paper, the small, poor one. The Register was the big one. I moved to Ann Arbor, where I was a teacher at the University of Michigan [and] read The Ann Arbor News, which was not very good. I added The Detroit Free Press to it, so I read two papers a day. Then I came up here, and it is the Concord Monitor, which is the local paper, and The Boston Globe. I should say I read The Economist also. The Economist is a Time magazine that

happens to be good. There’s a part of me that doesn’t seem like the rest of me that wants to know what’s happening everywhere. The Economist fills me in on the rest of the universe. I get the simple local news from my newspapers.

You don’t use the Internet at all?

I don’t have a computer. I’m probably the last person on Route 4 not to have a computer. I had a fax machine, and everybody I was faxing turned out to be keeping their fax machine only because of me. That was the quickest I had. Everything has to be quick now. I still write a lot of letters and get away with it. I worry about the general speeding up of words in the world. I worry about the intelligent young people, students, for whom reading is too slow. All they want is a bit of information. They can get that very easily from Google. Certainly they can get entertainment through games, television, television on the Internet, everything. Everything can be quick and sudden, delayed, or finished quickly.



When I was an editor, I would tell my staff to try to write for the newspaper as though they were writing a letter to an intelligent friend. I'm not even sure that if I said that today to a newspaper staff, they would be able to understand the analogy or the comparison.

A letter? What's that?

For many years, you and I drove together down to Lippmann House and spoke with the Nieman Fellows about what a poet could teach journalists about writing. Why don't we start with one of our favorite subjects, the dead metaphor?

Absolutely. All winter I read in The Boston Globe and probably in the Monitor about a "blanket of snow." Isn't that wonderful? It always annoys me, of course. There are words that are used in the headlines because they are short. But dead metaphors are something I notice all the time. You can kid yourself so easily. I have written a draft of a poem 50 times, 60 times, and see a gross dead metaphor in it. It's easy enough to do it.

I remember telling a girl over at Cornell one time that I never say "dart" for a person moving quickly because "dart" is English invented in pubs. A dart is an arrow and using that as a verb ... it's like, "I was anchored to the spot" or "I was glued to the spot" means that a ship in a harbor and Elmer's glue are the same thing. Remember that, and maybe it will help you avoid a dead metaphor.

From a practical standpoint, what you're really talking about is helping writers pick the more precise word, right?

It is precise, because it's not something under the surface, another object. It's looking straight forward. There are people who say that everything in language is originally a metaphor, and I don't understand the thought, but I don't deny it. With prose that is full of dead metaphors, no character can get through. Everything has a veil between the utterance of the speaker and the perception of the reader, the listener. Somehow plainness is more intimate

than the word "shrouded," the word "blanketed." A shroud is a shroud, and that's fine. A blanket is a blanket. I can write about it, but don't confuse it with an item that covers.

In your poems often sound is a driving force. To what extent do you think that is applicable to prose in newswriting?

I think sound has been for me the doorway into poetry, and by sound I particularly mean the repetition of long vowels more than anything else. It's always repetition, and repetition sometimes has a slight difference. I always say that I read not with my eyes and I hear not with my ears with poetry. I hear and see through my mouth, the mouth itself. Then a reaction to the sounds, it's kind of dreamy and intimate. It opens up (dead metaphor) the alleyway to the insides. This I particularly apply to poetry, and I think it is the chief difference. In poetry, we have the line break to organize the rhythm and sometimes to give emphasis.

Mix up long and short sentences.

Mix up complex and compound and simple sentences. That's easy. It is a matter of rhythm of the dance. There is something bodily about the rhythm of a paragraph, and there is a rhythm within a paragraph. Someone like John McPhee can write four pages without needing a paragraph because he is so terrific on transitions. But he is quite apt to have a four-page paragraph and then a one-line paragraph. That could be wonderful. Newspapers can do that, too, but most newspapermen do not have time to write 42 drafts of every piece.

The structure of a news story is a kind of form itself: the new news and the background afterwards and so on. An editorial writer is sort of freer to be wild and metaphoric than a news writer. The news writer, you know, the Jack Webb thing, "Nothing but the facts, ma'am." It has to feel like that, but there can still be adjustment in rhythm and the type of sentence to engage the aspects of the reader which do not have to do only with fact but with some bodily joy and pleasure.



Mike Pride, left, with Donald Hall at Eagle Pond Farm in New Hampshire

You recently stopped writing poetry. How did that happen?

It happened gradually and I didn't know it was happening. Poems used to come in little meteor showers. I would begin three or four poems in two or three days. They'd come to me. I'd be sitting or I'd be driving and I'd pull over to the side of the road and write something down. Then it might not happen for six months, but I had four or five new poems to work on. Rarely, but occasionally, they would turn out to be the same poem. But they felt different, so that stopped, the meteor showers stopped coming.

I knew a lot about poetry and I had been working in it for years. I pushed; I didn't know how to stop. But in 2008, I began the last two poems I wrote and I worked on them a couple of years. But I knew, by that point, pretty certainly that this was the end of it. It had gone slowly. I had done it for 60 years. What am I complaining about?

I began to substitute prose for poetry. When I published a piece in The



The structure of a news story is a kind of form itself: the new news and the background afterwards and so on ... but there can still be adjustment in rhythm and the type of sentence to engage the aspects of the reader which do not have to do only with fact but with some bodily joy and pleasure —DONALD HALL

New Yorker called “Out the Window,” I talked about getting old and I talked about not writing poetry anymore. Many people wrote me and said, “It is poetry.” If you call something poetry to praise it, that’s fine, but it’s not a poem. It’s something else again. It works by the paragraph, within the paragraph by types of sentences. But certainly by rhythm; God, rhythm is utterly important to prose.

I read whole books of prose that are intelligent and full of fact and so on and never does the author ever seem interested in writing anything that’s beautiful or that’s balanced or rhythmic. It’s hard

for me to finish those books, intelligent and informing as they may be.

But without beautiful writing.

I love the writing, but I love the rewriting, too. In fact, rewriting is much more fun than writing and that was always true with poems or everything, because the first draft always has so much wrong with it. That’s one reason I admire a good newspaper. I cannot imagine being able to do it steadily, completely and finished. If I had been [a newspaper journalist], I probably could have learned how to do it, but it’s very distant now from the way I’ve worked.

What are your writing habits now?

I change individual words, get more precise. One thing that’s kind of common is that any verb-adverb combination can be done better with a more exact verb. I take out adjectives. So many times, I qualify. I say, “Sometimes I don’t remember when,” and all you have to say is, “Once something happened” or something. You’re always cutting, very seldom adding. But sometimes you realize that you left out something important, and you put it in.

Talk a little bit about “Out the Window,” published last year in The New Yorker.

One of my dogmas, a lot of people’s dogma, is that everything has to have a counter-motion within it. I wrote about looking out the window, sitting passively watching the snow against the barn, loving the barn and watching it. Then I went into the other seasons I could see out the window. It was all sort of one tone, a kind of old man’s love of where he lived and what in his diminished way he could enjoy without any sense of loss. I was almost finished with it at one point, and then this wonderful thing happened.

I went to Washington with Linda [his longtime companion], and we went to the various museums. In the National Gallery, there was a Henry Moore carving. I had written a book about Henry Moore. A guide came out and said, “That’s Henry Moore, and there’s more of them here and there.” Thank you.

An hour or two later, we had lunch; this is the National Gallery. When we came out from lunch, the same guy was there. My legs have no balance, and Linda was pushing me in a wheelchair. The same guy asked Linda, “Did you like your lunch?” And Linda said, yes. Then he bent down to me in the wheelchair, stuck his finger out, waggled it, and then he got a hideous grin and said, “Did we have a good din-din?”

And people said, “Did you pop him?” No! We were just sort of amazed and walked away without saying anything more. But then, I thought it was very funny. Because I was in a wheelchair

I obviously had Alzheimer's, and it made me think of little pieces of condescension. I thought about this, but especially the story about the guard gave me the counter-motion: "So, you like being old!" or whatever people who condescend to you do.

I got tons of mail about that essay, and people said it's really poetry. But a lot of them talked about the museum guard, and they were sort of indignant, "Why didn't you pop him?" and so on.

You have said that you are revising your essays a great deal more now. What are you looking for in a revision?

I know that when I wrote "String Too Short To Be Saved," it was soft and luxuriant to remember, and I had room for some images that I remember with pleasure, like "seeing a whole forest of rock maple trees knocked down by one blast of the hurricane, like combed hair." I like that. But many years later, when I wrote "Seasons at Eagle Pond," a book of essays about life at the farm, my prose had become much more conscious of itself, and sort of showy. I think it takes so much longer, probably, not because of its nature, but because my energy is less, and maybe my imagination needs to go over a set of words many times to get it right. But I don't mind. I like it a lot, and I dream up new things. Some of them are funny. At the beginning, my poems had nothing to do with me, almost all of them. As my life has gone on, one thing I've said is I began writing fully clothed and I took off my clothes bit by bit. Now I'm writing naked.



Mike Pride, a 1985 Nieman Fellow, is a historian, freelance writer, and editor emeritus of the *Concord (N.H.) Monitor*, where he ran the newsroom for 30 years. His latest book is *Our War: Days and Events in the Fight for the Union*.

MAKE IT NEW

Poet and Harvard English professor Stephen Burt explores how familiar stories are made fresh again by the way we put them into words

The most famous statements about poetry and journalism hide an equation inside an opposition: "It is difficult/ to get the news from poems/ yet men die miserably every day/ for lack// of what is found there" (William Carlos Williams). Or else they hide an opposition inside an equation: "Poetry is news that stays news" (Ezra Pound).

Reported stories, poets might have it, confine themselves to what's going on right now, and then go away, replaced by other reportage. Journalism considers external, verifiable facts, which stay the same no matter who speaks about them, while poets consider the inward, the private, the potentially eternal, the claims which are different in each poet's heart, mind or words. Jahan Ramazani, a critic at the University of Virginia, has written about how poets imitate, and use, and transform, the news: "By contrast with the seemingly passive mediation of current events by the reporter," Ramazani explains, "the poet's use of language and form must actively re-create ... an imaginative event that recurs perpetually in the sustained present of poetry's inventiveness."

There is something to that opposition; otherwise, it would not persist as it does. And yet you can find poems that report news, or poems that react to news, from any period you care to name. Some of them even count as what we call "lyric," the supposedly timeless or private kind of poetry that is sometimes opposed to the news: They embody strong feeling and they resemble song. Rudyard Kipling's "Recessional," whatever you think of its politics, is both a compressed songlike work, whose word choices embody complex feeling, and a comment on current events (Queen Victoria's Jubilee). So are Williams's own poems about Sacco and Vanzetti and about the

death of FDR. So—often at a lower level of craft—are many short, songlike poems from the late 1960s about the war in Vietnam.

You can have—you can attempt to embody in verse, to compress, to make eloquent—feelings or complicated inward responses, responses that reveal your character, to almost anything: to a twig or a fallen leaf or a sexual overture but also to what we now call headline news. The form of the sonnet, so often associated with erotic love, has become so prominent in English in part because poets use it to react to the news: Milton in the English Civil War, Wordsworth on the fall of the Venetian Republic and the capture of Toussaint L'Overture, several now-forgotten Victorian poets on dispatches from the Crimean War, Gwendolyn Brooks on poverty, race, Chicago, and World War II. Many of the supposed oppositions between poems and news just dissolve on scrutiny: Poetry often reacts to public events; poetry can be pellucid (as in Louise Glück or Christina Rossetti) as well as opaque; and journalists can take on complicated ideas with specialized vocabulary (collateralized mortgage obligations, for example, or mitochondrial DNA).

So where did this idea come about that poems are the opposite of journalism, that poets do what reporters cannot, and vice versa?

I think it has to do with manner and matter, with style and content. Reporters say what happened, where, when, why; poets say how, and what it was like. "All the fun's in how you say a thing," claimed Robert Frost. Yet journalists have to direct your attention past the how, past the "what it was like," to what happened, and (if it can be known) to why. Poets can, and perhaps must, pause at the how, at what it was like, at how it felt.

And that difference in mission reflects



Finding a fresh angle sometimes requires a metaphorical leap

CHARLIE NEIBERGAU/THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

And now that I have stated this opposition I want to take it apart.

Consider, first, sports reporting. I used to hang out with people who covered Minnesota Lynx and Golden Gopher women's basketball games for daily newspapers and for sports websites. The games were fun to watch and, if you knew something about the players and their histories and about basketball technique, you could find a story to tell about every game. But it would take a while to set up and tell that story, a while that not every reporter had.

The challenge of covering game after game, with not much space, for a large audience, was a challenge of making the same few sorts of thing (an 80-60 win, a 77-70 win, a 61-69 loss) interesting night after night. How many synonyms are there for "wins" or "loses," "defeats," "pummels," "vaults fast," "surprises," "dominates," "sneaks by"? How many very short stories about momentum reversed, one turning-point steal, or block, can be rewritten before they all start to sound the same?

Making that kind of sports reporting interesting, I came to believe, was a question of how, not of what: The good sports reporters could bring to a series of events that would have seemed the same to a lot of outsiders a way to use language that brought out their (small) difference.

And that's what the writer of a good love poem, or a good poem of disillusion, can do, too: Experiences that seem similar, even identical, in worse hands seem interesting and new, in a better poem, because of the way in which they are put into words. And those ways in turn suggest (they don't state) why the people in the poem did what they did, how they came to feel as they do, what it's like to be them.

Can you be insouciant, defiant, and erotically unfulfilled? You probably have several friends who have been all of those things, simultaneously, but if you want to know what it is like for one person to have those emotions, to enter into them on one occasion, you go to Frank O'Hara, who gives a familiar "what" a new "how," a new "what it was like": "I am the least difficult of men. All I want is boundless love./ Even trees under-

stand me! Good heavens, I lie under them, too, don't I? I'm just like a pile of leaves."

Can you regret the passage of time, while hoping that your erotic connection endures? You probably have done so, and so have some of your friends, but what is it like, how does it feel, for one particular person? "Rough winds do shake the darling buds of May/ And summer's lease hath all too short a date ... But thy eternal summer shall not fade." Love poetry in particular, like poetry of political indignation, distinguishes itself from so many similar poems on the same subjects by the how, by saying not what happens but what it was like, how it was at that one time.

And this analogy—everybody, not just poets, sometimes has to focus on the "how," on the "how it felt," to make a familiar story sound new—extends, I think, far beyond sports reporting. Think about the story about the revolving door in Washington and in state government through which bureaucrats and regulators pass to become lobbyists and industry executives. Or about wind-turbine NIMBYism. Or about a hot, less than affluent country's struggle with an endemic contagious disease. Or about a formerly indie pop musician whose next record could hit the big time. In each case the fact around which the story turns seems too important to ignore, but it's also a story that has been written before. In each case part of the challenge is how to present it so that it holds a reader's attention, so that it seems new. And that's a how question, one again bound up with the why that—in O'Hara and in Shakespeare and in those other poems, old and new—has an answer suggested, though not stated, by the nuances of words.

Maybe the poems that stay news (because of how they say a thing) can speak to the way that we learn from the news after all.



Stephen Burt is a poet, literary critic, and English professor at Harvard. His book of poems, "Belmont," is published by Graywolf

Press in June.

STAGGERING DRUNKS AND FISCAL CLIFFS

Why journalists need to be masters of metaphor

BY PETER COY

IN 2008, THE YEAR OF THE FINANCIAL crisis, BusinessWeek magazine pictured Federal Reserve chairman Ben Bernanke as a driver careening down a mountain road, then as Vladimir Lenin, then as a Dutchman trying to plug a leaky dike, then as Edward Scissorhands cutting interest rates, then as a human printing press with sheets of newly minted bills coming out of his mouth. Each week of the fast-moving crisis seemed to call for a new metaphor.

In the years since, my stories in Bloomberg Businessweek (our name since December 2009) have portrayed Bernanke as a rainbow-bearded Bob Dylan, a lighthouse keeper, a Swede, a person with two birds inside of him, a bather in a bubble bath, and a sooty engineer trying to restart a disabled cruise ship.

Turning the world's most powerful central banker into "Hugo: Man of a Thousand Faces" wasn't about a bunch of magazine writers and illustrators trying to crack each other up. Well, not just. I argue that the metaphors we chose elucidated the financial crisis in a way that charts, quotes, factoids and statistics couldn't. They weren't just for decoration. They were part of the scaffolding on which my articles were built.



If you aren't making up your own metaphors, you're probably using someone else's. Trying to communicate without using any metaphors would be like trying to complete a paint-by-numbers canvas without red, blue, yellow and green. Even professional economists use metaphors. Ben Bernanke coined "fiscal cliff" last year. "Liquidity" is such a common term in technical economics that we forget that money-as-fluid is really another metaphor. John Maynard Keynes used metaphors constantly. He said that trying to increase output by increasing the money supply "is like trying to get fat by buying a larger belt." He blamed the Great Depression on "magneto trouble"—a faulty alternator under the hood that prevented the car from running.

Professional economists claim to be doing something entirely different from journalism, but the axioms and lemmas in their papers are only as good as the

assumptions on which they're based. Mary S. Morgan of the London School of Economics writes in "The World in the Model: How Economists Work and Think" (2012) that for economists metaphors lead to analogies, and analogies lead to models, which are the tools, often in the form of equations, that economists use to understand the world. That process only works, though, if the starting point is valid. Garbage in, garbage out. Keynes dismissed lots of mathematical economics papers as "mere concoctions, as imprecise as the initial assumptions they rest on." The economist Kenneth Boulding said, "Mathematics brought rigor to economics. Unfortunately, it also brought mortis."

Metaphors work because they hit people subconsciously, bypassing our rational minds and tapping into unconscious ideas and associations. An academic analysis of CNBC's "Business Center" found that, on days when the stock market went up, anchors usually portrayed the market as the master of its own fate: Stocks "jumped" or "soared." On down days, they often switched to passive metaphors: Stocks "got caught in the downdraft." The picture they drew of a market heroically fighting its way upward against stiff resistance probably influenced viewers more than if CNBC had come right out and said "Stocks



will keep going up,” which would have set off alarm bells.

In fact, the academic analysis found that people exposed to active metaphors such as “jumped” were more likely to think a market trend would continue than those who were given passive metaphors. In another experiment further removed from economics, readers of a text that likened criminals to wild animals (“packs” of youths “preying” on people) came up with crime solutions consistent with actual wild animals (“lock ‘em up”), while those who heard virus metaphors (crime “infecting” our neighborhoods) came up with solutions consistent with viruses (“clean up our communities”). A metaphor, like a handgun, can be used for good or ill. A good one gets at some truth and provokes a shock of recognition by linking two things that don’t usually go together—say, high finance and heavy drinking.

I make no excuses for describing the economy and the stock market as “two staggering drunks connected by a long rope.” Nor for likening European debt negotiations to the sanatorium therapy in Thomas Mann’s “The Magic Mountain,” “dragging on interminably as the patient sinks into a permanent malaise.” Nor for diagramming China’s currency

strategy as if it were a football play (the “Beijing Crawling Peg”). Nor for borrowing Representative Emanuel Cleaver’s description of the 2011 debt-ceiling deal: a “sugar-coated Satan sandwich.” And I definitely don’t apologize for comparing JPMorgan Chase’s vaguely defined portfolio hedges to “a billowy muumuu” that hides a multitude of trading sins.

I recently interviewed Paul Krugman, the Nobel Prize-winning economist, about how he manages to find new ways to make the same points over and over in his New York Times column: Austerity is bad; there’s no threat of inflation; now is not the time for budget cuts, etc. (“How to Beat a Dead Horse” was our headline.) Metaphors, Krugman said, are invaluable: “Sometimes, you can be mulling over an issue for years before the right thing comes to you. ‘Confidence fairy’ has been a good friend to me. That one just came out of the blue in 2010.”

Ununquadium came to me in 2010. I was trying to convey the idea that the single-currency euro zone was at risk of bursting apart. Poking around on the Internet I found out that right at the time the euro was launched in 1999, Russian scientists synthesized a super-heavy element with 114 protons called ununquadium. “Alas,” I wrote, “ununquadium

(‘oon-oon-QUOD-ee-um’) is too unstable to exist in nature. The force binding its nucleus together is overwhelmed by the force tearing it apart.” Just like the euro!

Stephen Shepard, who was editor-in-chief of the old BusinessWeek for years, used to say, “You can’t beat something with nothing.” I think that truism applies here. Readers come to our stories with something in their heads—a mental construct, a way of seeing the world. If I don’t manage to dislodge that mental construct by offering what I think is a better one, then all the statistics and charts and authorities that I throw at the reader will slide off like hot butter on Teflon.

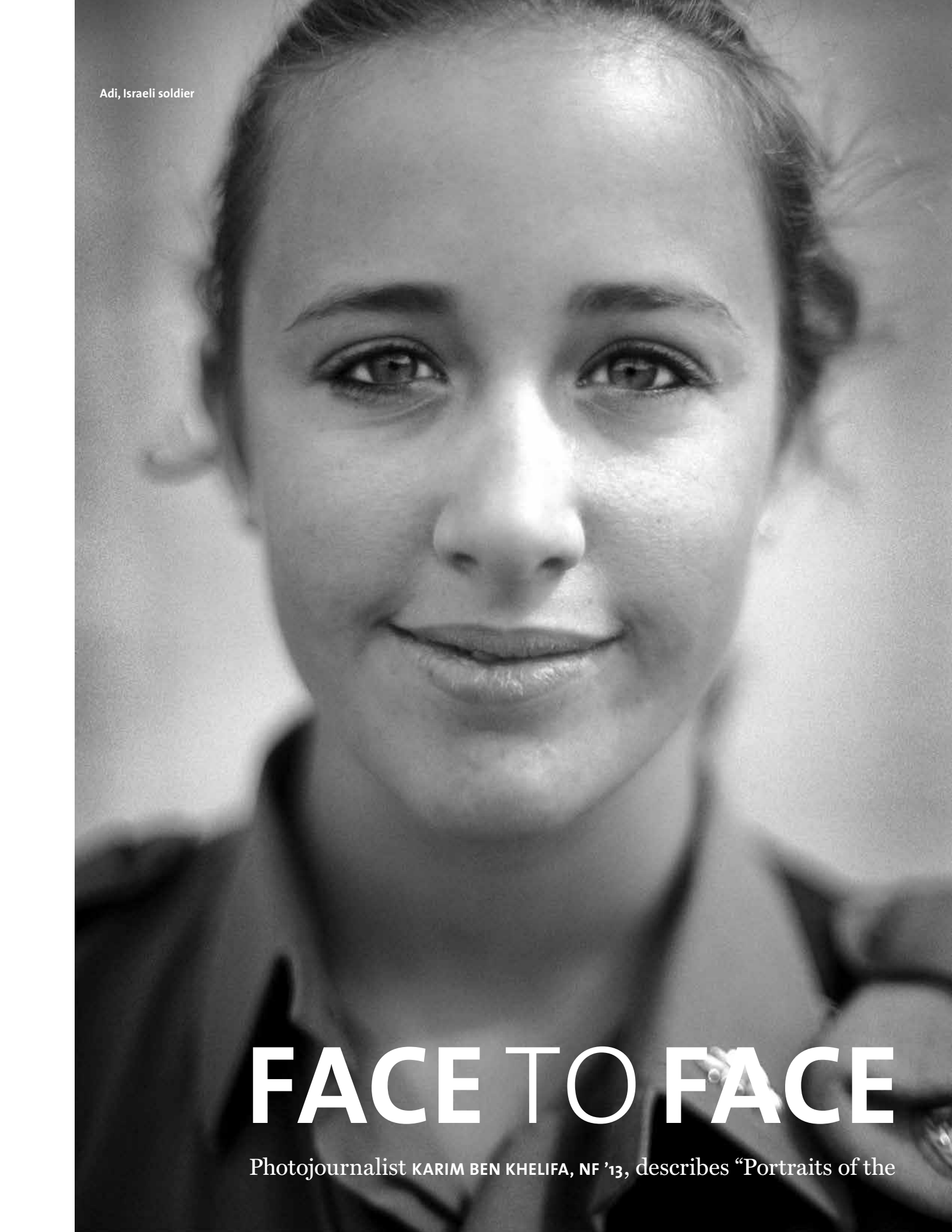
The stakes are higher than just whether readers get an article. Families that make financial decisions based on the wrong metaphors could lose their savings. Policymakers could drive their economies into a ditch. I think that’s what’s been happening in Europe, where German Chancellor Angela Merkel likens herself to a thrifty Swabian housewife. Her self-portrayal is disarmingly modest, but paralyzing.

For a cover story this January I challenged the metaphor that a nation’s economy is like a family in need of frugality. “While a single family can get its finances back on track by spending less than it earns, it’s impossible for everyone to do that simultaneously,” I wrote. “When the plumber skips a haircut, the barber can’t afford to have his drains cleaned.” Keynes said as much 80 years ago. I argued that the economy is less a profligate family than an engine stuck in low gear. “It doesn’t need a disciplinarian; it needs a mechanic.”

Journalists need to be mechanics, too, tinkering with our metaphors until we get them right. Control your metaphors, or they will surely control you.



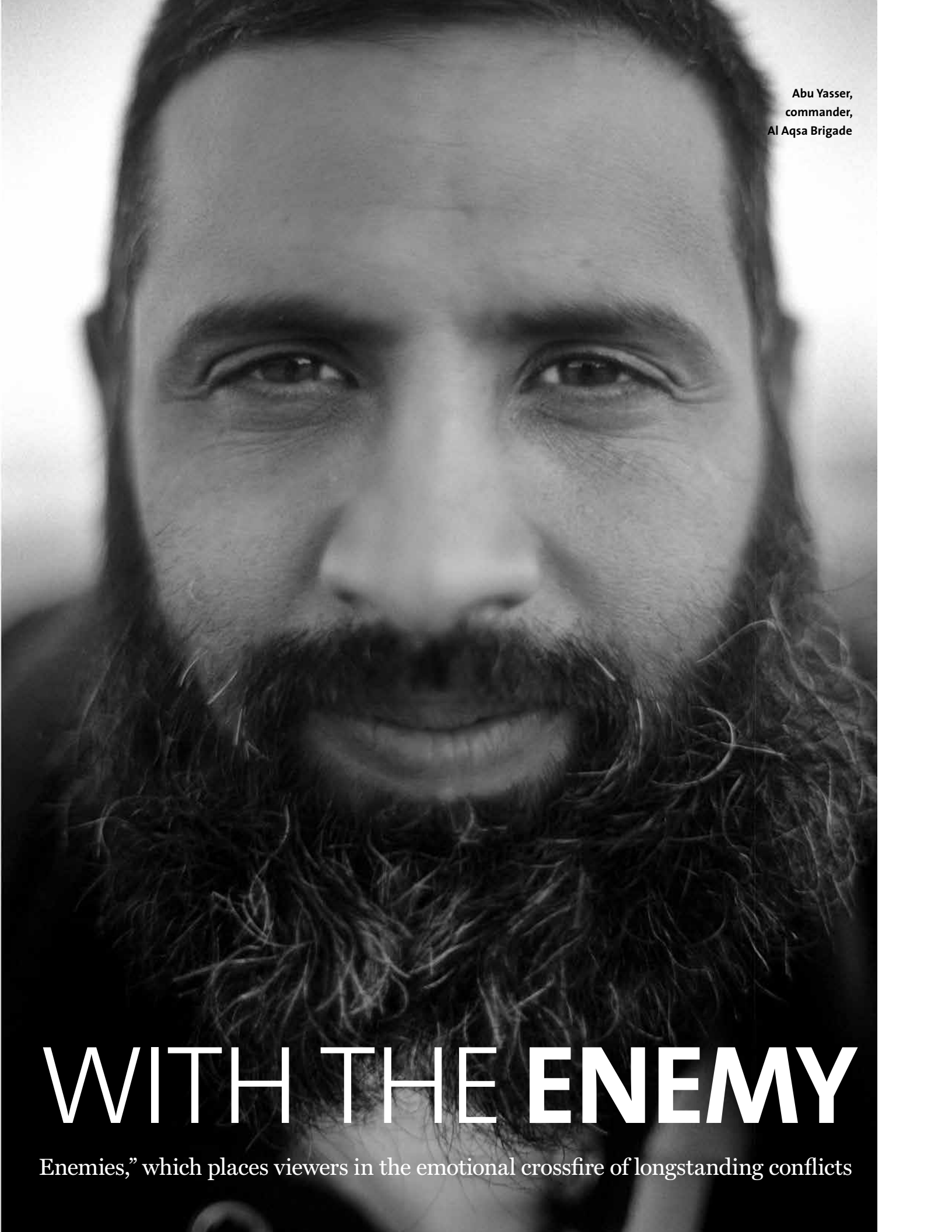
Peter Coy is economics editor of *Bloomberg Businessweek* magazine. He previously was technology and telecommunications editor.



Adi, Israeli soldier

FACE TO FACE

Photojournalist KARIM BEN KHELIFA, NF '13, describes "Portraits of the



Abu Yasser,
commander,
Al Aqsa Brigade

WITH THE ENEMY

Enemies,” which places viewers in the emotional crossfire of longstanding conflicts

PHOTO ESSAY

UP UNTIL A FEW YEARS AGO, I had spent a decade and a half of my life behind the lens as a war photographer. I left home to document conflict and to try to enhance the way we see and understand the world. However, after many assignments in war zones for leading European and U.S. magazines and newspapers, I came to the conclusion that my work has not had the impact I had hoped for.

I believe the reason my work failed to have the impact I wanted is not the photographs themselves but the way in which they were disseminated to the public. In an image-saturated world, compassion fatigue in audiences is a challenge for conflict journalists. The only way we can cut through these layers of disengagement is to change the way in which we tell stories. We have to involve the audience, speak to their feelings and reason through a multitude of platforms, and open up discussion rather than provide answers.

For me, this has meant a radical new approach. For the past four years I have traveled to some of the world's longest standing conflicts—including Israel/Palestine, India/Kashmir, and the feud between the Lou Nuer and Murle tribes in South Sudan—to photograph, film and interview the foot soldiers on both sides. My project "Portraits of the Enemies" allows me to explore the essence of these conflicts. (I also plan to visit Afghanistan, Burma, Democratic Republic of Congo, and El Salvador.)

Having witnessed many conflicts, I still grapple with one of the incomprehensible elements of war: What drives ordinary people to take up arms and harm another human being? Fighters in longstanding conflicts are predomi-



ABOVE: My name is Bilal Ahmed. I am 32 years old. I have been throwing stones since 1993 because India is constantly harassing us. My enemy is India. I am not afraid of anything except God. I haven't killed anyone because I am a Muslim and Islam forbids us to harm innocent people. God has created every human being and I have no right to go against God's will.

PREVIOUS SPREAD (LEFT): My name is Adi. I'm 22 years old and I'm an officer in the Israeli Army. Anyone who tries to cross the border illegally to do bad things is an enemy. The reason that I am doing what I am doing is to protect my country, first and foremost against terrorism and secondly, there are a lot of drugs and other illegal things that have been smuggled across the border, things that corrupt society. I have never met face to face with an enemy in my entire three years in the army. I think mostly my

fears are if something happened to one of my soldiers. Freedom should be global and I think once there are no more wars between people and no more violence, that is when people will be truly free. Terrorism is one of the worst things invented by humanity, it is just an insult to everything that separates us from animals, it is an insult to democracy and an insult to everything we try to be. I hope that being a teacher will be able to make people think differently, be more honest, and more respectful.



ABOVE: My name is Sandeep Singh. I am 32 years old. I am a head constable. My enemy is the one who spreads hatred in my country. I joined the police in 1997 because I have a spirit of patriotism in my heart; this led me to kill the enemies of my country. I am not comfortable with taking a human life away but if someone disturbs the peace of Kashmir, it is the right thing to eliminate him.

PREVIOUS SPREAD (RIGHT): My name is Abu Yasser, I'm 32 years old, and I'm a commander in the Al Aqsa Brigade, Jihad Al Amarin Branch. My enemy is Israel. I started to fight when I was 15 years old. It was during the first Intifada. It wasn't like today, with weapons. Back then, it was about throwing stones. Later I was sentenced to seven years in an Israeli prison. After three years, I was released. I started working for the Palestinian authorities and then I joined the resistance. I met my enemy many times,

not just once. There were regular clashes between us and them. Today, all the Palestinians in Gaza, in the West Bank, inside Israel and abroad are looking at us because our cause was a lost one. What happened in Gaza shook them up. Palestine will have many other battles, long ones. Israel will keep fighting back and they will keep trying to destroy us. We do not know. This is in Allah's hands not in anyone else's. We are fighting with poor tools and why do we fight? For our freedom.

nantly not trained soldiers, but ordinary people who decided one day to act. How does an individual arrive at this point? How does the person navigate the moral dilemma of killing someone?

"Portraits of the Enemies" is conceived as an online and physical installation: Life-size portraits of the fighters will be juxtaposed, allowing the combatants to look each other in the eyes, to come face to face. Members of the audience will be placed at the cross section of those gazes. Confronted with images and video of the environment where fighting takes place; they will hear the sounds of war. The viewers can navigate the space between the fighters. By approaching one fighter, they hear that fighter's voice.

I asked each fighter six simple questions and recorded the answers: Who are you? Who is your enemy? Have you ever killed your enemy? What is violence for you? What is peace to you? Where do you see yourself 20 years from now?

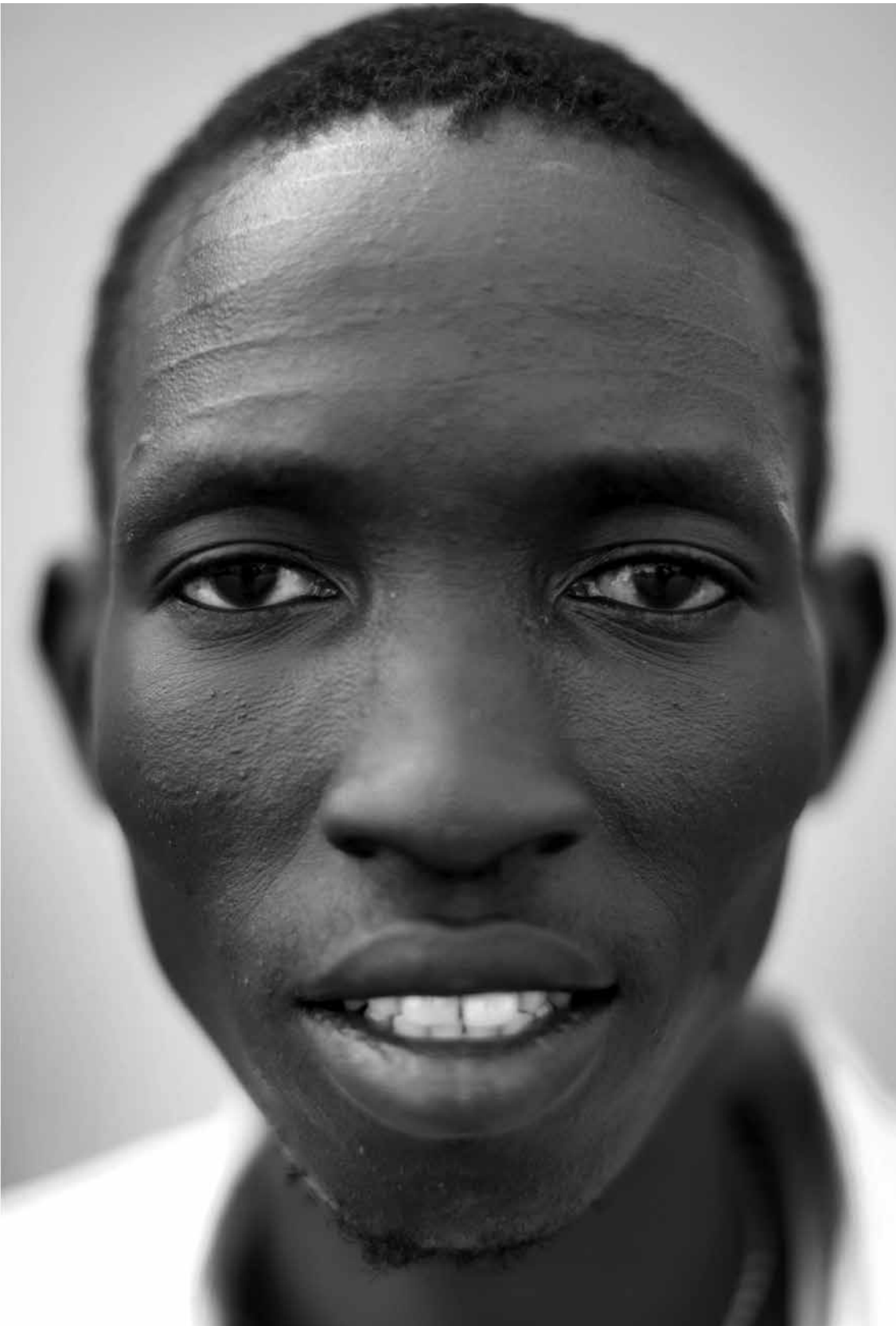
By allowing those who carry out the violence to explain who they are and what their motives and dreams are, the project challenges views held by all sides and ultimately humanizes the combatants. I provide no answers. Instead, I aim to provide an experience and stimulate a discussion beyond easy rhetoric.

As objectivity has proven to be virtually impossible in war coverage, I believe that by letting the fighters speak for themselves and by bringing enemies virtually face to face, the audience, caught in between, can experience the human dimension of war. My ultimate aim is to challenge the viewer to identify with both sides of a conflict and overturn conventional assumptions about a particular conflict.

PHOTO ESSAY

My name is John Akuer Aborcup. I'm 18 years old. My enemy is the one who comes to attack me [in South Sudan]. Members of the Lou Nuer tribe have attacked us [Murles] but we also had to fight with members of the Dinka Bor tribe. Those tribes are our enemies because sometimes we go and take their cattle and they come back to attack us. They have killed our people. The Lou Nuer recently came to Pibor and killed my three uncles, they looted all our cattle, they burned all our houses. They cannot be my friends anymore. They have destroyed us. They are my enemies and I will have to take revenge. My first reaction was to take revenge and go to the Lou Nuer land to fight the people who have attacked us. But that means that I could die and I would not be able to help my people. Freedom for me is to be able to mobilize my community, to defend my people. And violence is for me to go and attack my enemies, to get stuck in a tribal war. I think 20 years from now, all tribes will live in peace because towns are growing and reaching smaller villages, bringing development, schools, roads and business so the next generation can be educated. We started the tribal wars a thousand years ago. Now we use Kalashnikovs. Tomorrow I hope we will use pencils.





My name is Peter Khan, I'm 28 years old, I'm from the Jonglei state and I'm a member of the Lou Nuer. My enemies are the Murles. We have suffered a lot from the tribal wars, the people from areas in conflict like the city of Pibor. Cattle raids are the cause of the conflict. When Murles come, they take all of our cattle and abduct our children. They have even killed a lot of people. We need those communities to live peacefully alongside one another. We don't want to see any more cattle raids. I have lived through a very bad situation where I saw my relatives being killed. This has affected my life. I have not killed any of my enemies. I think of the future, we won't fight anymore. I believe the future 20 years from now will see enough developments and educational programs in Jonglei state that people don't need to abide by the old tribal rules anymore.



Karim Ben Khelifa, a 2013 Nieman Fellow, will be an artist in residence at

MIT's Open Documentary Lab within the Media Lab beginning this fall.

Tabloid
TALES

READ OUR
EXCLUSIVE
INSIDE STORY
FEATURING

**STOP
THE
PRESS**

- Phone hacking
- Police payoffs
- Invasion of privacy
- And more!

**Backlash against
tab excesses causes
UK media chaos**



BY KATIE KING

ON A LATE MARCH AFTERNOON IN 2002, 13-YEAR-OLD BRITISH SCHOOLGIRL Amanda Jane “Milly” Dowler called her dad from her cell phone after school to say she was about to start the half-hour walk to their home. Somewhere along that walk, she disappeared. During the six months before her body was found the case became the focus of frenzied tabloid news reporting. There was fierce competition to publish details about the police investigation, Milly’s personal life, her family, and speculation about possible suspects.

It took another nine years for her murderer to be caught, tried and convicted. And within months of that conviction, there was a further twist. News reports revealed that journalists from Rupert Murdoch’s News of the World had illegally listened to voicemails left on the missing girl’s cell phone during the police investigation.

This was an outrage too far for a public grown accustomed to the worst excesses of Britain’s tabloid journalists. The tabloids’ irreverent attacks on the rich, the famous, and the establishment, led mainly by Murdoch’s Sun and News of the World titles, were much enjoyed by readers who tended not to be on the receiving end of the caustic coverage.

That changed with the Milly Dowler phone hacking disclosure. And it triggered a process that has led to a political showdown between the country’s newspapers and a government trying to rein in tabloid excesses.

In March, the coalition government of Conservative Prime Minister David Cameron, with the backing of the other two main political parties, proposed a system of press regulation, something not seen since Parliament abolished press licensing at the end of the 1600s. The plan would create potential punitive fines for newspapers that don’t join the system, allow the regulator to dictate how newspapers must handle corrections, make members pay for their own self-regulation, and couldn’t be changed without a two-thirds majority

vote of Parliament.

Press freedom advocates around the world, including Index on Censorship, the Committee to Protect Journalists, the World Association of Newspapers, and The New York Times, condemned the

A decade-old phone hacking case has brought to light hidden relationships among the police, the press, and politicians

idea as chilling to a free press. Within weeks the majority of the U.K.’s newspapers and tabloids, excluding only The Guardian, The Independent, and the Financial Times, rebelled, announcing they had agreed on their own self-regulation system. Regardless of which—if either—plan is adopted, one thing is clear: A decade-old phone hacking case has brought to light hidden relationships among the police, the press, and politicians.

Phone hacking is illegal in the U.K., but the laws aren’t enough or aren’t doing the job, claim many sectors of British society. The tabloids stand

accused of checkbook journalism, police payoffs, bribery, blackmail, invasion of privacy, political manipulation, and the publication of false information at will. Britain’s high court costs and libel laws, while recently reformed and much improved, make it both difficult and expensive to sue big newspapers with deep pockets and powerful legal teams. In the U.K., politicians, business leaders, sports stars, and celebrities are seen as fair game for a tabloid press that is as widely reviled as it is widely read.

As in the Milly Dowler case, average citizens can also become fodder for tabloid intensity. Those who complain or criticize the coverage can find they are subjected to even greater scrutiny. British actor and comedian Steve Coogan was one of those who testified to the Leveson Inquiry, the parliamentary commission set up to investigate the phone hacking. He told the hearing that a tabloid journalist had tricked one of his elderly relatives into answering personal questions by pretending to be a government researcher. He had also watched tabloid journalists dig through his trash. The day after he appeared on a BBC show criticizing these tactics a flurry of intrusive articles about him appeared. These tactics are not uncommon. Scotland Yard said that its investigation into phone hacking cases now numbers more than 2,500 victims.

The U.K. has had some form of voluntary press self-regulation since 1953, including the Press Complaints Commission (PCC), which was formed in 1991. All have been seen as ineffective, and the PCC has been lambasted as “toothless” for doing nothing in the face of the News of the World phone hacking scandal.

The first phone hacking case surfaced at the end of 2005 when Buckingham

Palace reported to Scotland Yard its suspicions that someone was illegally gaining access to voicemails on a cell phone belonging to Prince William, the second in line to the British throne. The police investigation led to the arrest, conviction and jailing of a News of the World journalist and the private investigator who gained access to Prince William’s messages, and to the resignation of News of the World editor Andy Coulson in January of 2007. Rupert Murdoch said it was an isolated event. The PCC carried out two investigations, in 2007 and 2009, and concluded the same. Case closed.

But dogged investigative coverage by The Guardian, joined by The New York Times and then other British news organizations, continued to pick away at the hacking story. On July 4, 2011, The Guardian reported that the News of the World had illegally gained access to the voicemails on Milly Dowler’s cell phone in 2002, while she was still missing, and used that information in its stories. “Rarely has a single story had such a volcanic effect,” wrote The Guardian’s editor in chief Alan Rusbridger in the e-book, “Phone Hacking: How The Guardian Broke the Story.”

Within weeks, Murdoch shut down the News of the World, the largest circulation Sunday newspaper in the U.K., as advertisers abandoned the publication in the face of public fury over the Dowler phone hacking revelation. Former News of the World editor Coulson, who had worked as Cameron’s top media adviser from 2007 to January 2011, was arrested. Rebekah Brooks, the former editor of both the News of the World and The Sun, resigned as CEO of the newspapers’ parent company, News International, and was also arrested. Two Scotland Yard police chiefs resigned. Murdoch was forced to withdraw his bid to take a controlling stake in British Sky Broadcasting (BSkyB), a satellite and broadband company.



Classic Sun headlines, from left, take aim at a U.K. comedian (1986), a European Union leader (1990), and Prince Harry (2008)

The scandal was not limited to the Murdoch press; other tabloids deployed similar hacking tactics. But it was the scale and targets of the News of the World hacking that shocked even those who suspected it was happening. Cameron ordered a parliamentary investigation into the hacking charges and a second inquiry, a much broader one, to consider “the culture, practice and ethics” of the British press. The man tasked to lead the latter inquiry was Lord Justice Sir Brian Leveson.

For almost a year, the country watched fascinated and sometimes horrified as around 400 witnesses gave testimony in televised sessions. Witnesses included Murdoch, Brooks, Coulson, and Milly Dowler’s parents as well as dozens of journalists from most of the U.K. newspaper industry. Many politicians, including U.K. prime ministers past and present—Tony Blair, Gordon Brown, and Cameron—testified. Police and private investigators appeared before the inquiry to be grilled about accusations of widespread payment by tabloids to police to provide them with citizens’ private information or details of ongoing investigations.

In his final report, delivered last November, Leveson said that the U.K. press had too long “wreaked havoc in the

lives of innocent people.” He criticized the cozy relationship between powerful newspaper editors and politicians and called for more transparency in their contacts. He recommended an arbitration panel as a quicker, low-cost, first stage to resolve privacy and defamation complaints. These were all broadly welcomed suggestions.

But at its core the report calls for press self-regulation “with teeth.” The way to add teeth, Leveson said, was to enshrine the media’s “self-regulation” in legislation. Glaring in its absence is any reference as to how Internet publishing, social media, or mobile journalism might, or should, be affected. The expectation was that the newspaper industry would agree how to implement the recommendations. That process quickly became mired in political maneuvering, so Cameron decided to draft his plan, which was in turn challenged when newspapers revealed their own scheme. The alternative proposal by newspapers eliminates the role of the government in the regulation process, allows editors to sit on the regulatory panel, and withdraws the power of the regulator to direct corrections. Either proposal would require government support.



From left: Lord Justice Sir Brian Leveson, Prince William, Britain’s Prime Minister David Cameron, former News of the World editor Andy Coulson, and Rebekah Brooks, former editor of The Sun and News of the World

“It’s a mess which now relies on political compromise; never a good position to be in,” says Richard Sambrook, former director of BBC World Service and Global News and current director of journalism at Cardiff University. “I think the tabloids will behave for a bit but commercial pressures in the end will push them back towards impact at any price. In the long run, I think the press will be a bit more restrained for a few years, but I’m not sure anything very much will change.”

Tabloid journalists continue to be investigated and arrested as part of the ongoing Operation Weeting by Scotland Yard into phone hacking. Two separate police investigations are focusing on computer hacking and illegal payments to police by newspapers. There have been no trials or convictions on the phone hacking charges other than the original two convictions in 2007. Brooks and Coulson are scheduled to go on trial this fall. Murdoch himself seems to have emerged unscathed, at least commercially, apart from the abandoned BSKyB bid. Less than a year after he shuttered the News of the World, he turned its sister paper, The Sun, into a seven-day-a-week operation. It is now the biggest-selling U.K. Sunday paper.

The Surrey police who investigated

Milly Dowler’s disappearance were aware at the time that the News of the World had hacked her phone. A report by the Independent Police Complaints Commission, a watchdog organization, said there “was no doubt” that police were made aware of the hacking and yet

In his final report ... Leveson said that the U.K. press had too long “wreaked havoc in the lives of innocent people”

not only failed to act at the time of the investigation, but also failed to speak up five years later in 2007 when the News of the World claimed that the hacking of the royals’ cellphones was an isolated incident. The police also failed to speak up as additional hacking charges were made until July 2011. The report said the former senior officers involved in the investigation were afflicted by a “form of collective amnesia” and highlighted

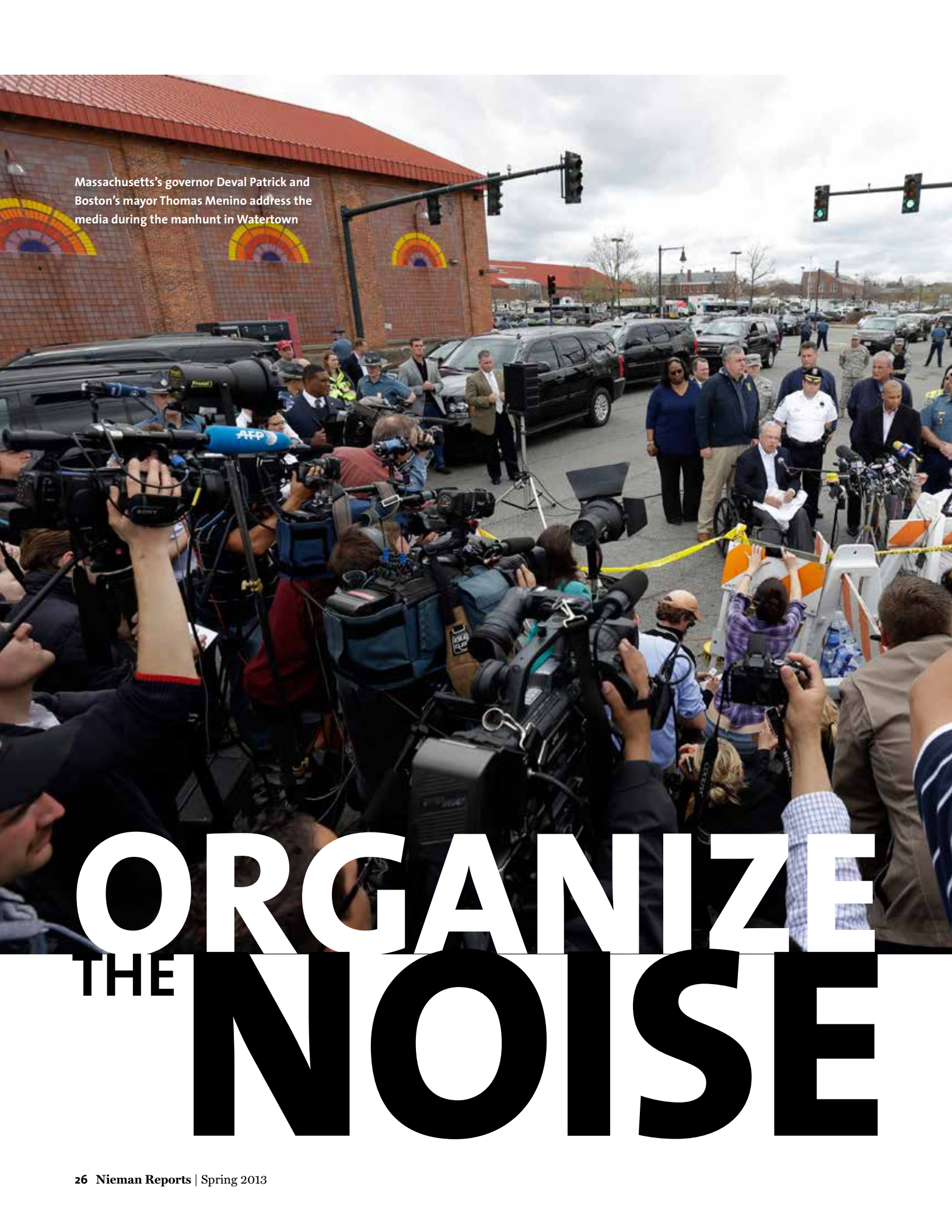
an “unhealthy relationship between the police and the media.” It reported one officer as saying that the silence was an effort to “keep the media on side.”

Fear is the common theme running through two years of revelations about tabloid excesses. Police, politicians and the public have been cowed, corrupted and silenced by their fearsome bullying tactics. The Leveson inquiry was payback, finally making public what so many were previously afraid to say out loud. Ironically, fear is now driving the confused, chaotic efforts to regulate the news industry. Press victims and advocacy groups like Hacked Off fear losing the momentum Leveson has given them; politicians fear losing the support of voters outraged by dirty press tricks. As yet, though, only a few Britons seem afraid of what might happen if politicians start regulating news publishing, online and in print.



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criticized the Parliament-approved press
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Massachusetts's governor Deval Patrick and Boston's mayor Thomas Menino address the media during the manhunt in Watertown

ORGANIZE THE NOISE



MATT ROURKE/THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

A reporter and a programmer on what social media coverage of the Boston bombings means for journalism
BY SETH MNOOKIN AND HONG QU

@sethmnookin I WAS AT HOME ON THE night of Thursday April 18th when I received a text alert from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology about a shooting on campus. I co-direct MIT's Graduate Program in Science Writing, and the Institute's students and faculty were already on edge. The Boston Marathon bombings had occurred just three days earlier, and it had been less than two months since the entire campus was locked down after a false report of a shooter was called in to the police. This latest message didn't say much more than, "Gunshots were reported. Please stay clear of the area until further notice." The FBI had released photos of the bombing suspects that afternoon, so I thought there might be a connection.

In the late 1990s, I had been a police reporter for The Palm Beach (Fla.) Post, and one of my primary responsibilities was to listen to local police scanners to make sure the paper didn't miss anything. As soon as I got the shooting alert from MIT, I turned on a Boston scanner and began monitoring the situation. I also followed developments on Twitter, but I didn't turn on my TV or check news organization websites. I knew they wouldn't have anything yet.

The number of units being called in and the urgency in the dispatchers' voices made it clear this was a big deal. The level of response was out of proportion to a simple shooting, even one on a college campus. It was the type of response that suggested there was either a significant ongoing threat or this incident was, in fact, related to the bombings—or both.

I've been at MIT for almost two years, but I still think of myself primarily as a journalist. I realized this was a situation in which my training as a reporter might allow me to add value to the coverage. That's why I drove to Kendall Square in Cambridge, where MIT is located and the shooting had occurred.

By the time I arrived, there were roughly 20 journalists gathered around

a police perimeter. Before I left home, I had noticed that Taylor Dobbs, a journalism student at Northeastern and the son of a friend of mine, was tweeting from the scene. We hadn't met before, but I sent Taylor a message so we could connect in person. He was there with another Northeastern student, Brian D'Amico, a photographer.

Around 12:15 a.m., word came that Sean Collier, the MIT officer who had been shot, had died. I still had the police scanner going on my iPhone when things suddenly went from being relatively quiet to a state of total chaos. A pack of Massachusetts State Police cruisers started booking it down the street, and the three of us—Brian, Taylor and I—got in my car to follow them. There was talk on the scanner of a carjacking and of a possible suspect on the run.

We ended up at a gas station in Cambridge on nearby Memorial Drive, which we learned was where the carjacking victim might have escaped. Then Taylor saw a tweet that said the stolen car, a



10:48 p.m.

Gunshots at MIT building 32 (Stata Center). Area cordoned off; unknown if injuries.

PHOTO: BRIAN D'AMICO

black Mercedes SUV, had been tracked to Watertown. Seconds later, we heard, "Shots fired on officers in Watertown" over the scanner, and it was total chaos again. The police at the gas station took off toward Watertown, and we followed.

We got to Watertown a little before 1 a.m., moments after the shootout between police and Tamerlan and Dzhokhar Tsarnaev, the brothers suspected of carrying out the Marathon bombings, had ended. You could smell gunpowder and see smoke in the residential neighborhood near the Watertown and Arsenal Malls. The next morning we learned that hundreds of rounds of

ammunition had been fired and home-made bombs had been deployed.

@hqu I used Keepr, a social media monitoring software tool I am developing as a visiting fellow at the Nieman Foundation, to capture Seth's tweets from Watertown. Keepr's algorithm extracts credible real-time information from raw Twitter feeds by pulling the 100 most recent tweets from Twitter's API and counting the words and phrases that occur most frequently. It also discovers Twitter users with the most mentions.

During the manhunt, I used Keepr to identify reliable sources who appeared to be tweeting from the scene. I used four factors as indicators of credibility: disclosure of location, preferably via geocoding (Taylor Dobbs had activated the geocoding feature on his iPhone Twitter app that night, but Seth had not), multiple source verification (the tweets cited information from primary as well as other sources), original pictures or video, and accuracy over time.



12:53 a.m.
Reports of massive explosions and grenades. Can smell smoke in Watertown near Arsenal Mall.

PHOTO: ANDREW KITZENBERG



1:00 a.m.
"All units retreat. There are explosives on scene." Boston PD officer down; Watertown ambulance transporting.

PHOTO: JENNINGS RASKE

Keepr's algorithm detects good sources during breaking news events by focusing on high numbers of tweets during short periods of time, tweet bursts containing frequent mentions of specific usernames (this is how Keepr found @sethmnookin, whom I had not been previously following), and extremely rapid rates of follower growth. Wikipedia

founder Jimmy Wales followed Seth that night, tweeting at 2:39 a.m., "When I followed you awhile ago, you had 10,000 followers. Now 30,000. Be late, be right, and be safe."

During those chaotic early morning hours, Seth practiced a new form of networked journalism, one that combines the speed and immediacy of social media with best journalistic practice. Seth was plugged into the cellular grid with his smartphone, but he was also plugged into a spontaneous self-organizing online group

that was both consuming and participating in his coverage.

In addition to reporting what was happening, Seth held a kind of rolling, live-streamed press conference in which he answered followers' questions, corrected misinformation spreading via social media, and distributed important public safety updates from the police. He

REPORTING ON RADICALIZATION

After the Boston bombings, we need more Muslims in the U.S. media **BY SOUAD MEKHENNET**

It seemed surreal during the Boston area lockdown last month when my cell phone rang and two inmates at a jail in Morocco were on the line asking if I was safe. The two, accused by Moroccan law enforcement of recruiting for jihad, had followed news of the Boston Marathon bombings and their aftermath. The call gave me flashbacks about the meetings I've had around the world with young men who have become radicalized.

I have known the inmates in Morocco for a couple of years now, ever since my colleague Michael Moss and I worked on a series for The New York Times called "Inside the Jihad." Our aim was to take the reader into this world, explain the mindset of radicalized men, their recruiters and the reasons they had chosen this path. "See, we have told you, as long as America will not stop their war against Islam, they will never be safe," said one of the inmates on the phone.

There it was again, the argument I had heard so often from radicalized men, in North Africa, the Middle East, Pakistan and, increasingly, in the West, where I had interviewed a number of young people who had either been born or spent most of their lives

in Britain, Germany, France or the U.S. When reporting on terrorism, people I interview always ask me, "Why do they hate us so much?" There aren't easy answers, but there are examples that can help explain the process of radicalization. And Muslim journalists have a key role in reporting this.

All of the radicalized young men I interviewed had been recruited in moments of personal doubt or identity crisis. Recruiters use this moment to show support and understanding, listening to their problems while cutting them off from their usual environment.

After covering radicalization in Western countries, I began to recognize some of the arguments and the feeling of alienation. I grew up in Germany as the daughter of a Moroccan father and a Turkish mother. My parents were so-called "guest workers." I am Muslim. To many of these young men, my role in the U.S. media did not fit their view of the West. "So, you are Muslim, and the Americans allow you to work as a journalist?" was a question I heard often.

Without meaning to, I became a counter-example to their prejudices about the West. "It is not like some Westerner coming to

also crowdsourced reporting assistance, enlisting followers' help with everything from identifying the most useful police scanner to locating an iPhone charger.

Social media groups can go terribly wrong, of course, as with the Reddit online community that mistakenly identified a missing Brown University student as a suspect. But professional journalists get things wrong, too. The Reddit misinformation was retweeted by several prominent journalists, and CNN, The AP, and The New York Post, among others, all made embarrassing errors.

This style of breaking news coverage will likely appeal to a new generation of consumers willing to tolerate high levels of uncertainty and constantly changing information in exchange for 'watching' an event unfold live. These audiences will self-organize to support and amplify anyone reporting in this way, regardless of whether that person has press credentials. So, as 2013 Nieman fellow Betsy O'Donovan argues in "The (New) Industry Standard," news organizations would

do well to promote a greater understanding of journalistic standards and ethics among the general public.

@sethmnookin I parked my car at the intersection of Dexter and Nichols Avenues, where the police were focusing their search for someone they described as "suspect number two." When Taylor, Brian and I arrived, we were the only reporters on the scene. There were, however, perhaps over 100 cops, many with their guns drawn.

As we were trying to get our bearings, the police were also trying to get theirs. There were cops just wandering around the streets, and you could hear over their radios, "We need to go to Laurel Street," which was two blocks south of where we were and, as it turned out, near where Dzhokhar Tsarnaev was later discovered to be hiding in a boat.

I had a small reporter's notebook with me, but early on realized that tweeting

would be a more effective way to take notes. Everything I wrote would be time stamped, and I wouldn't need to worry about not being able to read my messy handwriting after the fact. This worked out even better than I expected. Because I knew my notes were going to be public, I spent more time thinking about whether something was important or informative



1:45 a.m.

Arrest going on now. "He's got shit in his pockets. Get down that street now!" pic.twitter.com/rnpWrZ2H2G

PHOTO: SETH MNOOKIN

or whether I was simply writing things down because I was nervous or had nothing else to do. One thing I regret is not taking more pictures and recording more video, especially at the outset, when there was no one else at the scene.

Minutes after we arrived in Water-



STEVEN SENNE/THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

A Tunisian student visits a memorial to the slain MIT police officer

tell us what is right or wrong, as they always like to," said Abu Talha, an Algerian who had supported al-Qaeda in Pakistan.

I have spent hours listening to each of these men, searching their personal stories for the moment when they gave up on the societies they had spent most of their lives in and started believing in the preaching they heard from recruiters and on the Internet. There was typically a moment of confusion about where they belonged. There were the frustrating moments when they wanted

to discuss what they called the "hypocrisy of the West"—the West preached human rights, they said, but used torture and secret detention centers—but were stopped from doing so in school or in the mosques.

The Internet plays a big role in radicalization. There are websites that offer translations into English and Russian of preachers who argue that since U.S. drones kill innocent people in Muslim countries Muslims are justified in committing attacks within the U.S. "They got a voting system, so therefore the people in the West are responsible for their leaders' actions," one member of al-Qaeda in Iraq explained to me during an interview after the 2004 Madrid bombings.

The events in Boston, I believe, prove the importance of having Muslim journalists working on stories about Muslim communities and radicalization. We are able to access groups and societies that are closed to others. We are able to raise awareness about radicalized youth in the U.S. All the radicalized people who grew up in the West and whom I interviewed believed the West is fighting a "war against Islam." The best way to prove them wrong is to include more Muslim voices and faces in the media.

Souad Mekhennet, a 2013 Nieman Fellow, reports for The New York Times, Der Spiegel, and German broadcaster ZDF.

town, it became clear the police were preparing for an arrest; the second suspect, it seemed, was in a car on Nichols Avenue. Suddenly, there was shouting all around us, some of which was directed at the suspect, whom the police feared was wearing an explosive vest, and some of which was directed at us, ordering us to get down the street as quickly as possible. It took more than 10 minutes, but the police eventually got the suspect out of his car and ordered him to strip.

Around 2:30 a.m., Massachusetts State Police spokesman David Procopio told reporters, “We have two suspects in custody.” One was the person who had been apprehended in the gun battle with



2:58 a.m.

“One more suspect at large. Two accounted for should be revised. One accounted for. One at large.” - state police PIO.

PHOTO: TAYLOR DOBBS

police (we learned later that this was Tamerlan Tsarnaev, who had been killed); the other was the man who had stripped and been loaded into a police car. But the latter turned out to have no connection to the Marathon bombings or that night’s shootout, and about 30 minutes later Procopio gave an update: “One more suspect at large. Two accounted for should be revised. One accounted for. One at large.”

By 3:30 a.m., I felt the situation was becoming more stable. The police hadn’t found the second suspect, but there were no reports of further gunfire. I checked and saw I had dozens of missed calls and e-mails from TV and radio producers. It wasn’t until after 6 a.m. that I finally went home to see my wife and kids. By that point, Good Morning America had offered to put me up in the Four Seasons—provided that I promised not to appear on any other shows before going on the air with them. By the time the show was broadcast, its producers had decided they weren’t interested in me, after all.

Historically, TV and radio have had the biggest competitive advantage in breaking news. But fluid, chaotic situations are also precisely those in which the transfer of information from cameraman to reporter to producer to anchor is most prone to error. Plus, when you’re on the air, providing steady updates isn’t an option—it’s a necessity. And needing to fill airtime can cause problems of its own. On Twitter, if there’s a new development every minute, you can update every minute; if nothing is happening, you can wait.

The Watertown manhunt illustrated the fact that there are times when a traditional journalist can do his job more efficiently and effectively on Twitter

than in any other medium. I’ve worked in virtually every type of print outlet, from webzines to newspapers to newsweeklies to monthly glossies. I’ve blogged on my own website, on blog networks, and on traditional news sites. I’ve written books. I’ve been on the network’s morning news shows and The

Daily Show, on shock jock drive-time radio and Fresh Air. But for those three or four hours when a gunman was on the loose and a neighborhood was under siege, Twitter was the most efficient way to get information out to the public.

@hqu Twitter coverage of the manhunt in Watertown is a remarkable milestone for journalism. Even more remarkable are the implications for ordinary citizens who, without a press pass, can report news and influence coverage. For the latter group, this event instilled a newfound sense of power and responsibility in how they verify and disseminate news. Tools and processes for assessing source credibility need to catch up with social media technology and culture, especially in dangerous environments in which the public relies on reporters to provide actionable news updates with minimal misinformation and fallout.

Legacy media have a crucial role to play, both in providing original report-


ing and in curating social media. Seth’s followers increased from a little over 8,000 before the night of the Watertown manhunt to over 45,000 during the few hours he was tweeting from the scene. That amplification was achieved largely through prominent journalists and celebrities (political commentator Keith Olbermann, New York Times reporter Brian Stelter, and actor/comedian Kumail Nanjiani, to name a few) and major news outlets (including ABC News and Foreign Policy) following and retweeting him. As 2013 Nieman fellow Ludovic Blecher explains in “Curation Is the Key,” online breaking news forums, controlled and curated by professional journalists, can add value—and readers—to media brands.

In the long run, news organizations to which the public turns for good judgment in adjudicating news will accrue goodwill and command attention. The pace of the news cycle is quickening, but the fundamental responsibility of journalists to gather and disseminate reliable news hasn’t changed, nor will it be supplanted by savvy social media auteurs.

There is a reflexive reaction to pit emergent social media behavior against traditional journalistic practices and norms. This defensive posture is counterproductive, for both sides. Rather than pointing out flaws to favor one model over the other, we should appreciate the interplay between them, an interdependence that ultimately produces a more participatory, accurate and compelling news cycle.

Social media is not going away. Even though the business models of the mainstream news industry are experiencing creative destruction, demand for good storytelling from trustworthy news sources isn’t going away either.

Seth Mnookin is co-director of the Graduate Program in Science Writing at MIT. Hong Qu, a 2013 visiting fellow at the Nieman Foundation, is working on Keepr, an application to help journalists and other users better follow stories through Twitter.



An impromptu memorial for victims of the Boston Marathon bombings

NEW CHALLENGES. NEW REWARDS

In the age of crowdsourced reporting, we need professional journalists more than ever

BY BORJA ECHEVARRÍA DE LA GÁNDARA

IFIRST HEARD THE NEWS ON THE radio. There had been an explosion in my hometown, then another. There were fatalities; hundreds injured, many having lost limbs.

I grabbed my phone, but not to check the news. For this was March 11, 2004, and an al-Qaeda attack had just killed 191 people and injured hundreds more in Madrid, where I live. There were no smartphones. There was no Twitter. I was blind, working by intuition and with little information. I was with *El Mundo* at that time, so grabbed my phone to deploy reporters to several of Madrid's train stations.

I was reminded of the Madrid train attacks as I followed the search for the Boston Marathon bombing suspects. But unlike Madrid, this time I was overwhelmed with information.

Breaking news coverage has always been tricky; there's nothing new about that. But much else about journalism after the Boston bombings is new. We

now live in a world of real-time news, a world in which it will be increasingly rare for a professional journalist to be first to report the news. Twitter will always win.

The real battle for professional news organizations and professional journalists is not about breaking news anymore; it's about exclusivity and context. Being fast still matters, but it's a very different kind of speed. Being fast in explaining the conflict in Chechnya, for example, or Russian concerns about Tamerlan Tsarnaev, one of the Boston Marathon bombing suspects, is the kind of "first" that really adds value.

In situations filled with noise, we need to make our voices clear and, just as importantly, to remain silent when we have nothing to report. Adapting to this new environment won't be easy, but I love what technology has brought to journalism: new voices, more sources, better engagement, measurable rewards, and, to be sure, new difficulties.

In the old world, television broadcasters competed with television broadcast-

ers, newspapers with newspapers, radio stations with radio stations. But during the search for the Boston bombing suspects, everyone competed with everyone else—cable TV, network TV, local TV, local newspapers, global newspapers, prestigious magazines, crappy magazines, NPR, police departments (and their scanners), MIT and Harvard Twitter and Facebook accounts, along with all the smartphone-equipped citizens attracted by the great show. What all this coverage demonstrated may seem surprising: We need professional journalists more than ever.

To stand out in this chaotic environment is a challenge, but also a necessity, and probably an obligation. News outlets that stand for rigor, quality and transparency should embrace this role.

While the newspaper business is definitely at risk, journalism is definitely not. Successful news organizations need to strengthen the core values of accuracy and integrity. But, without understanding the importance of the new active

audience, we will never capture the big picture. According to a survey by Pew Research, 80 percent of Americans followed the search for the Boston bombing suspects on TV, about half (49 percent) kept up online or on a mobile device, 38 percent tracked the story on radio, and 29 percent relied on newspapers. “While television was the public’s top source for news on the bombing overall,” according to the Pew report, “people younger than 30 were as likely to follow this news online as on television.”

The way people consumed and interacted with news during the Boston

bombings gives us a glimpse of where things are headed. As ice hockey legend Wayne Gretzky used to say, “You should skate to where the puck is going, not where it has been.” The puck is this under-30 demographic, and it’s going online. But this audience lives in a fragmented news world, jumping from one story to another, with weak emotional connections to the brands that deliver those stories. Without those connections, it will be complicated to build long-term business models.

A lot will be different in the digital world, and a lot can be better. Our ability

to engage with audiences in a truthful and collaborative way, as equals, is so amazing that it’s hard to be pessimistic. It may be the best time in history to be a journalist. But we need to work hard to earn the respect and loyalty of consumers, who are ultimately the only ones who can sustain the social role of our profession.

Borja Echevarría de la Gándara, a 2013 Nieman Fellow, is deputy managing editor of El País in Madrid. This article is adapted from the keynote speech he delivered at the Crimson Journalism Conference at Harvard in May.

CURATION IS THE KEY

How journalists can curate social media streams **BY LUDOVIC BLECHER**

The debate about whether journalists can—or should—compete with social media requires us to ask: What has really changed in the aftermath of the Boston bombings coverage? The answer: Nothing, except timing—and timing is everything.

There are two primary categories of great stories. The first is investigative journalism, which is more relevant today than ever before because watchdog reporting is a key part of any democratic civil society. Unfortunately, this function is too often threatened by lack of vision, time and money. As audiences increasingly come to consider standard news a public service they can get for free, publishing exclusive investigative pieces is one way to create high-revenue content streams.

The second is breaking news, stories like the Boston bombings that can now be witnessed and reported by anybody. Media organizations used to have exclusivity in distributing breaking news, but this competitive advantage has been eliminated with the rise of social media. So, how should we handle breaking news?

First, media brands need to determine a strategic direction based on their own cultures, skills, readerships and business models. One way to add value at these times is to focus only on the big picture, not the incessant Twitter stream, and to work on careful, contextual retrospective storytelling. A niche market is willing to pay for that kind of journalism, if you build your brand around this value proposition and adapt your business model accordingly.

For mainstream brands, it’s different. They still have to be part of the show to keep their audiences engaged. But competing with social media on speed, relevance and accuracy—trying to achieve all of these at the same time—is an illusion. The real journalistic added value lies more in figuring out the context in which the breaking

news event is happening. And here’s where timing comes in. Context and analysis take time. The challenge is to fill the gap between the constant rush of rumor and the considered pace of context.

Being part of the breaking news action isn’t just for journalists anymore. The audience also wants to experience this excitement. This is their beat now, too. We can’t blame them for loving the same thing we do. But we still have a mission: To organize the noise through new applications for the Web and mobile devices.

One solution could be an all-in-one app for peer-to-peer journalism that displays reliable facts as well as the most credible unconfirmed reports. This app, specifically designed for breaking news, would be curated by professional journalists. First, it would clearly highlight what is known about the news event and offer a vetted selection of the most credible people to follow on social media. This sharply edited Twitter list creates a relevant, reliable feed of breaking news. Journalists’ ability to figure out quickly whom to follow and what to read has always been a large part of the job. So the app would also provide a list of must-read pieces and must-see photos and videos from all over the Web.

Curation doesn’t mean endorsement, however. This approach will only work if we engage audiences and journalists within the same platform, using an ombudsman to explain how we are working and why we are only reporting certain facts. Building brands on facts and curated discussions is all about transparency. Explaining again and again what is happening behind the journalistic scenes, especially in breaking news situations, is never a waste of time.

Ludovic Blecher, a 2013 Nieman Fellow, is executive director and editor-in-chief of Liberation.fr.

THE (NEW) INDUSTRY STANDARD

When everyone is a publisher, everyone should be a journalist, too **BY BETSY O'DONOVAN**



MICHAEL DWYER/THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Residents recorded the manhunt in Watertown

After the manhunt in Watertown, Hong Qu, a visiting Nieman Fellow, wrote a story for the Nieman Reports website about Twitter and credibility. I read it a few times. There was something provocative and useful about it, but also something amiss.

Hong is developing a tool called Keepr to help journalists sift through the noise on Twitter to find credible information. (For more on Keepr, see “Organize the Noise”) During the manhunt, he used Keepr to build a list of the most-cited sources of information about the search and then sift through those sources for the ones who seemed to be providing credible information from the scene. It’s a fair bet that there were more non-journalists than pros at the Boston Marathon bombings and close to the Watertown manhunt, and yet 18 of the 20 members of Hong’s group of highly credible, on-scene tweeters were trained journalists or journalism students. If Twitter and other social media networks are fulfilling their promise as an easy-entry platform for citizen journalism, why weren’t there more amateurs on that list?

Part of the answer is that the quality of professional journalists’ tweets was significantly higher than those of the average eyewitness. Journalists at the scene of a major event also have an important set of shared practices and values related to newsgathering: source verification; fact checking; writing, video and photography; and distilling complex events for public consumption. For many non-journalists, combining breaking news with a Twitter account is like handing a 15-year-old non-driver the keys to a Maserati. You can expect some high-speed misbehavior.

The remedy is not just rethinking how breaking news is covered, but thinking about how we can put reporting standards and skills, as well as publishing tools, into the hands of citizen journalists. I’ve made my career working in and studying communities where professional journalists are an endangered species, communities like Forest City and Monroe in North Carolina; Pocatello, Idaho; and Blair, Nebraska. Boston, Cambridge and Watertown were, in the sense of

media presence and reporting, well-equipped to cover these events. That’s not true everywhere, or even in most places.

Wherever there are people, there is news, but it goes unreported without someone to pull the threads together, talk to people, and sift through chatter and paperwork for the facts, trends and stories. That’s why coverage of the Boston bombings makes me think of places in America that are becoming news deserts.

This is not just a question of how we cover massive tragedies. According to the Institute for Rural Journalism and Community Issues, 16 percent of Americans live in rural areas, the places least likely to be served by the kind of jostling media presence you find in Boston. Rural journalism suffers from the same problems that beset rural healthcare: a shortage

of trained experts who can monitor warning signs, from cholesterol levels to the inspection status of fertilizer plants, and try to stave off a crisis. Disasters get plenty of attention, but good journalism, like good medicine, is at its best when it catches trouble in its early stages. That demands time, plenty of shoe leather and, yes, training.

I didn’t start in journalism with any special skills or powers. I had a degree in English literature. I didn’t know what a lede or a nut graf or a FOIA request was. But I was curious and skeptical, I have a powerful sense of civic responsibility, and I like knowing what’s what. There’s not some secret sauce that comes with your first journalism paycheck or a college degree. If I could become a journalist, anyone can. And I’m starting to think everyone should.

The training materials already exist, mostly for free or at minimal cost, from places like the Poynter Institute, News U, and the Knight Center for Journalism’s MOOCs (Massive Open Online Courses). The Society of Professional Journalist’s (SPJ) code of ethics comprises four simple rules that set people on the right path: Seek truth and report it; minimize harm; act independently; be accountable.

The challenge is to figure out how to promote these values to a community of people whose paychecks and professional reputations are not tied to their credibility. Useful models include Lawrence Lessig’s Creative Commons license, which brought awareness of intellectual property to the Web’s Wild West mash-up culture, and “Now You See It” author Cathy Davidson’s proposal that organizations like the SPJ could distribute badges to people in recognition of skills acquired, kind of like digital Boy Scouts.

It isn’t only the number of Twitter followers, proximity to events, or even original raw footage and quotes that matter. It’s standards and training. Those who care about journalism as a civic activity, and not just as an industry, need to work harder to distribute both.

Betsy O’Donovan is the 2013 Donald W. Reynolds Nieman Fellow in Community Journalism at Harvard University.

FEATURE

SMALL PIECES, LOOSELY JOINED

Harvard Kennedy School lecturer and “The End of Big” author Nicco Mele on why the future of news is necessarily small



I AM NOT A JOURNALIST. I'M A DIGITAL GUY. I AM WELL VERSED IN THE trends of newspapers' decline, but at the age of 35 I've never read a daily newspaper. My entire information life has been digital and, consequently, fragmented.

It was hard for me to get too worked up about the end of big newspapers. But then a funny thing happened. I was asked to judge a big journalism prize. As part of the judging, I read more than 200 investigative news stories from outlets big and small, although almost all of them newspapers. They were stories of terrible depravity and corruption, in some sense the worst humanity has to offer. But I finally understood in a tangible way the crucial role newspapers play in a democracy—and I began to get afraid, very afraid.

The Internet and mobile phones—a combination I call “radical connectivity”—profoundly empower individuals in ways that spell disaster for traditional “big” organizations. Big news organizations have seen both news production and advertising revenue disrupted by radical connectivity. The entertainment industry, from publishing to record companies, is in its own death throes. Big armies face distributed cells of terrorists instead of nation-states, while ad-hoc hackers the world over look for disruptive opportunities for “lulz.” Big political parties find themselves besieged by insurgents like Tea Party candidates, while citizens crowdsource solutions to public problems outside of big government. Tenured professors at big universities are growing large audiences on YouTube outside of tuition-paying students. Even big manufacturing faces a growing challenge from desktop 3-D printers, spelling an end for big brands.

An epochal change is under way that will spare none of our large institutions and along the way is creating some new, “even bigger” entities; namely, the six companies that control our online lives: Amazon, Apple, eBay, Facebook, Google, and Microsoft (owner of Skype).

We can feel the ground shifting under our feet, and we must not be afraid, but instead imagine (and build!) a more compelling future. The challenge of the future of journalism in particular is how to build new institutions for investigative journalism and holding power accountable that are able to take advantage of the profound individualism of radical

connectivity. This requires rethinking the business models and the production models for news.

IT IS NO SECRET THAT THE STATE OF THE news industry is grim. Each month brings word of more newspapers closing or cutting back and fewer and fewer jobs in journalism being created at the biggest news organizations. At the same time, there are more and more exciting experiments in the future of journalism, from a myriad of Kickstarter crowdfunded projects to a bounty of new start-ups entering the space. We're experiencing a diaspora of journalism. With the end of the newspaper era, news is migrating to all kinds of places, some of them unusual and unexpected, and all of them small. Gone are the days when a job as a cub reporter in a city paper was the start of a promising career in journalism.

I'm not about to defend the business models of newspapers. Advertising looks like a temporary 50-year aberration. For a few decades, mass advertising commanded a price premium because of the exclusivity of its reach and the opacity of its effectiveness. But the digital revolution came along, and suddenly you could figure out exactly how effective your advertising was, and the exclusivity of all media was dramatically democratized.

The future of news is necessarily small, at least in terms of building compelling business models. Years ago, Kevin Kelly hypothesized about the “1,000 true fans” theory. The future of music, he suggested, was that a musician would have 1,000 “true” fans, each willing to pay \$100 a

year to support that musician's work. The 1,000 true fans theory is a good example of a business model that takes advantage of radical connectivity's fundamental architecture of the individual.

David Weinberger once described the Internet as “small pieces loosely joined.” That's a pretty good way to describe the future of news. A single blogger-reporter can build a substantial following online, strong enough to manage a range of revenue streams—advertising, “tip” jars, paid content subscriptions, merchandise (from books to T-shirts), speaking fees, short self-published e-books, and more. Lest you think this model isn't achievable, plenty of people are using it with significant financial success, from Joshua Marshall's Talking Points Memo to one of the most trafficked blogs online, BoingBoing.net.

Imagining and building new organizations is challenging yet hardly impossible. In recent years, a crop of online-only outlets have emerged that deliver political and government news that has otherwise been pruned from traditional media. The Texas Tribune and Homicide Watch D.C. are (very different) start-ups in the space. But they are both making an exciting, compelling go at re-imagining both the business models and the production methods of journalism. And so far, they are succeeding.

Some may cringe, but there is also a growing group of players who represent another part of the future of journalism, but from outside the hallowed halls of journalism schools and traditional career paths. In fact, many of them take approaches considered anathema. Outlets like Vice, BuzzFeed, and NSFWork (Not Safe For Work Corporation) are increasingly odd amalgams of meme-making viral material next to genuinely compelling reporting. Vice recently ran the following pieces side by side: “The Gay Sex Club Next to the Vatican Is the Saddest Place on Earth,” “Is It Wrong to Celebrate Thatcher's Death?,” “Yemen's Deposed President Has Built a Museum Dedicated to Himself,” and “No Justice No Trees,”

an account of environmental and tribal activism and corporate abuse of power in a fight deep in the Brazilian rainforest.

Across all of the exciting examples of emerging news organizations, scale remains elusive. Smaller journalism outlets with fewer journalists (but with mainstream reach and modestly profitable business models) ultimately offer an unsatisfying, incomplete future. The

make appearances in the investigative sector. Lately, Kickstarter (among other crowdfunding platforms) has emerged as a vehicle for some impressive investigative work, like the recent Matter story on cyber-scammers targeting America's poorest people. But the truth is there still isn't enough investigative journalism happening outside of newspapers to come anywhere near the (shrinking) volume

accountable—and the loss of a broad public sphere. The front page of a newspaper was a judgment about what was important to the public, what we should think about, what we should discuss. But now, the unbundling of content has led to the unbundling of audience. The “even bigger” digital platforms exacerbate the problem through personalization, ensuring that my Google search turns up



Among start-ups to watch are BoingBoing.net, BuzzFeed, Homicide Watch D.C., ProPublica, The Texas Tribune, Vice and Talking Points Memo

real challenge is what gets lost in the transition from institutional news to new, more individual-focused models for the news: investigative reporting. The challenge is that holding power accountable may have the most civic value, but it tends not to have a corresponding financial value. The era of using sports and entertainment news to subsidize investigative reporting has evaporated. How do we pay for big, expensive, high-risk investigative reporting?

There isn't a good answer—yet. ProPublica's nonprofit, foundation-funded investigative approach is one piece of the puzzle. So is The Texas Tribune's database journalism. The Guardian is piloting another part of the solution, using the “former audience” (a term columnist and blogger Dan Gillmor coined to describe how in the age of radical connectivity audiences engage online) to help sift through large volumes of information as part of ongoing investigations. Random acts of citizen journalism occasionally

provided by newspapers in the past.

The institutions of big news in this country emerged over the course of more than a century, fostering a culture that rewards journalism at its best through institutions like the Pulitzer Prize. But there is no Pulitzer Prize for Investigative Reporting by a Blogger. We need to build new ways of encouraging investigative journalism outside of existing institutions. Part of the answer lies in the “even bigger” giants of the digital age. Whether we like it or not (and whether they like it or not), Google, Apple, Facebook and Amazon are dramatically shaping the future of news. It is dangerous to leave them out of the equation when talking about journalism. At a minimum, we need a conversation about what role they play and whether they have obligations to the public sphere.

When we think about what gets lost in the end of big (beyond a lot of jobs), what worries me most is the loss of investigative journalism—holding power

different results from my wife's. There is no shared public experience.

The power to shape the public sphere now belongs to leaders other than newspaper editors, but newspapers have had an important and unique role in shaping the country. There is an opportunity for the “even bigger” digital platforms to take more of a role in creating the public sphere. For example, in the week following the Boston Marathon bombings, Twitter might have anointed a few key Twitter accounts as authoritative sources to follow: the Boston Police, for example, and the FBI's Boston office. As it was, it got hard to distinguish the actual MBTA, the public transport authority in Boston, from MBTAinfo, an active tweeter who is unaffiliated with the institution.

The more puzzling question is how to encourage investigative journalism. Publicly funded approaches like the BBC and foundation-funded outfits like ProPublica are part of the solution. Investigative journalism requires time, which

generally requires money. Author and columnist Paul Carr recently described “the hilariously high travel costs required for serious reporting” in citing the challenges he faces building a news operation. Holding power accountable frequently incurs the wrath of the powerful, so some legal muster to marshal resources against threats of intimidation is essential. All of this doesn’t necessarily require a giant organization, but it does require more than 1,000 true fans. The lone blogger taking on, say, the tobacco industry (or, dare I say it, the tech industry) is going to face some massive hurdles.

As a range of institutions struggle to make sense of the individual empowerment of the digital age, and as a crop of new organizations are birthed, we need to keep our eye on encouraging, inspiring and funding investigative journalism. As authority gets shuffled out of traditional credentialing institutions and dealt to others, we may find investigative journalism living in some unusual places—academia, for example, or entertainment companies, or even (as much as it may turn the stomachs of some) industry associations. We might also demand that our old institutions invest in high-risk start-ups that might, just might, have the potential to bring new resources to investigative journalism, however strange the vehicles may appear.

This is an exciting time to be a journalist. Opportunities abound; start-ups proliferate by the day. The future won’t look like the past. It won’t be the same, and it’s up to us to make sure that there is continuity in the core values of the profession as it is transformed. There are new institutions to be built that aspire to provide what we love most about journalism: the news.



Nicco Mele, author of *The End of Big: How the Internet Makes David the New Goliath*, is a lecturer at Harvard Kennedy School.



TODD WISEMAN

At The Texas Tribune, Kate Galbraith focuses on stories others aren’t covering

CHANGE STARTS SMALL

Fewer reporters means more efficiency **BY KATE GALBRAITH**



“Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed it is the only thing that ever has.” These words, from the anthropologist Margaret Mead, should be front and center for every media organization. Changing the world by providing information—that is what we are about.

Mead was right in another way, too. Change can start small.

I have spent the past three years at The Texas Tribune, an online nonprofit publication based in Austin. By the usual standards of newsrooms, we’re tiny. Our team includes just over a dozen reporters, plus several editors. And yet we’ve gotten a lot done. We’ve uncovered forced fights

at a Houston-area residential treatment center for foster children, and we’ve created a database—plus an ongoing series of articles—on the conflicts of interest of elected Texas officials. We’ve won Murrow, Webby and Society of Professional Journalists awards.

In a small newsroom, we all chip in. If someone writes a breaking story—about a criminal-case sentencing, for example, or a health-care protest—he or she will e-mail it around to all Tribune reporters and plead for a fast edit. If no editor is available, another reporter steps in to edit and publish. That’s a little less formal than traditional newsrooms.

Small means that we interact constantly with one another. I sit 10 feet from our immigration reporter, Julián Aguilar,

and we'll swap story ideas on environmental issues near the Texas-Mexico border. I'm 20 feet from our crack data reporter, Ryan Murphy, who basically starts mapping oil and gas wastewater disposal wells or Texas cities running out of water almost before we've finished discussing the idea.

Talking with colleagues is useful (see: Marissa Mayer and her recent decree at Yahoo). In a small newsroom setting, it's easy to do.

Being small almost forces us to be more choosy in the stories we pursue. The Texas Tribune has only one energy and environment reporter—me. So I try to spend my time judiciously, on stories that will have the greatest impact.

My personal philosophy is that if the Associated Press or the Austin American-Statesman is doing a story on a given topic, that's terrific. It means I can spend my time doing something new. That's why we recently ran a multi-part series on hydraulic fracturing and water, rather than chase other widely covered Texas water stories. Being small, in other words, necessitates being efficient.

Finally, I'll let you in on a secret: Small is fun. Our tiny newsroom is full of smart, lively reporters who make me laugh so hard that occasionally I have trouble answering my office telephone in a professional manner. Thanks to my colleagues and their Twitter addictions, I'm always up on important developments like T. Boone Pickens's tweets getting hacked, or a YouTube video of a Texas lawmaker dancing the Harlem Shake on the Capitol steps in support of public education.

All of this isn't to say that The Texas Tribune doesn't aspire to grow. As I sometimes have told my editors, if I had two other people working with me on energy and environmental coverage, then we could really get something done. That's unlikely to happen. And I'm fine with it.

Kate Galbraith, a 2008 Nieman Fellow, reports on energy and environmental issues for The Texas Tribune.

CALM AT THE KITCHEN TABLE

How small newsrooms can have big impacts **BY LAURA AMICO**

There's an energy to big, busy newsrooms that's unlike any other. Reporters and editors tapping away on keyboards, muttering through copy, interviews taking place, police scanners crackling, photographers running out to a story, or back in to file before deadline. Within that noise is a sense not that something is about to happen, but that something is happening. That the world is moving and we are moving in it and there is news.

This is probably what I missed the most when I turned my kitchen into a one-person newsroom three years ago. In the mornings, after clearing away the breakfast dishes, I would set up my laptop on the kitchen table and log into WordPress. My mission as founder of Homicide Watch D.C. was simple: to mark every murder death, remember every victim, and follow every case. I wanted to provide comprehensive fact-based reporting on every homicide in my city, the type of reporting the local newsrooms weren't doing.

I'd pitched editors on this project before making it a solo-run. Their responses were that the community wasn't interested, that there wasn't a business model for crime coverage, that resources were already spread too thin, that covering every homicide, crime to conviction, was impossible.

I disagreed. I was watching families of murder victims and suspects try to share information about cases on Facebook and online obituaries. I was watching them organize vigils and court hearings. I saw that those most loosely connected to the crimes—the neighbors, teachers, coworkers—were often left behind, struggling to find accurate information and, without this, unable to find any understanding in the tragedy. These people, my neighbors, my community, deserved more.

I remember thinking often in those first weeks how calm my new quasi-office was. There weren't any editors calling out for

copy, colleagues shouting into phones, or Boy Scout troops touring the office. The keyboard of one computer makes little noise compared to the keyboards of dozens, hundreds.

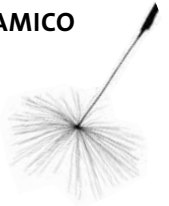
Months later, when Homicide Watch D.C. won the Knight Award for Public Service Journalism at the Online News Association conference in San Francisco, while so many applauded so loudly, I thought about the quiet in which this project started. I placed the trophy firmly on the podium. "For all the people working from their kitchen table," I said, "this one's for you."

I'm a journalist. I believe in journalism, and I believe in our communities. I believe in holding those in power accountable. I believe in building civic knowledge. I believe in celebrating the good and trying to understand and solve the bad. But mostly I believe in storytelling. In the power of stories to validate who we are, how we live our lives, and our experiences, and the power of stories to allow us to enter into a communion with our communities, sharing who we are, and perhaps together, becoming who we would hope to be.

This is what journalism does.

Which is not the same thing as saying that this is what big media organizations always do. But it is also certainly true that everyday people, with an Internet connection and a blogging platform, are able to hold those in power accountable, build civic knowledge, celebrate the good, understand and solve the bad, tell our stories, and change our worlds.

There is no inherent honor in being big or small. And I don't consider it a personal failing or triumph that Homicide Watch D.C. was launched in the quiet of my kitchen instead of the chaos of the newsroom. In fact, when I think about size, it's not the staffing or office space that I think about at all, but rather impact. Here, I think, Homicide Watch hits in the big leagues.





DOUGLAS SONNERS

Laura Amico founded Homicide Watch D.C. out of her belief that the story of every person murdered in Washington, D.C. deserves to be told

Stories have the ability to change who we are, and I measure the success of Homicide Watch D.C. by the strength of the community the site has affected. I think of the families that comfort one another online. I think of the friends who live far away and stay in touch with a case by following it online. I think of the suspects' families, unable to talk about what they're experiencing with their families and friends, turning to the Homicide Watch community. And I think of one young man, who sat down with detectives for questioning on a case and said, "Naw man, I ain't killed nobody. I seen HW. They lockin' people up for that shit now."

The detective told me about this the next day, and we laughed a little together at the silliness of this idea that this kid suddenly knew that people were being arrested for murder in D.C., and that he'd seen it on Homicide Watch. But I actually take this very seriously.

I don't know this kid and I don't know if he was ultimately arrested in any case. I don't know if he had a gun or a knife or if he used it. I like to think that perhaps he didn't, that he'd seen the stories of those involved in homicides in D.C., of the victims and the suspects, and his reality had changed. That he was able to change

who he wanted to be and that night to not draw his knife or his gun but say, 'I can't kill nobody. I've seen Homicide Watch. They lockin' people up for that shit now.'

There is nothing as big, or as small, as an individual person, whether that person is a young man thinking about committing a crime, a journalist working from a kitchen table, or an editor calling out for copy in the middle of a large newsroom. Whether I'm working alone, or in one of those big busy newsrooms, I hope to always remember this.

Laura Amico, a 2013 Nieman Fellow, is the founder of Homicide Watch D.C.

PLAYING BIG

To remain viable, legacy news organizations need to do classic investigative reporting

BY ROBERT BLAU

The battle raged over 29 words.

In 1999, the Chicago Tribune published a five-part series, "Trial and Error," that for the first time documented the incidence of prosecutorial misconduct nationally. One of the stories I oversaw examined the case of the DuPage 7, a group of suburban Chicago lawmen who were charged with framing an innocent man for murder.

Acquitted at trial, the prosecutor, Thomas Knight, sued the Tribune for libel over 29 words he claimed showed the newspaper's malice toward him. There wasn't any consideration of settling with Knight, whose deeds, we maintained, were fairly and accurately reported in the story, no matter what a jury decided about his criminal culpability. An innocent mistake mischaracterizing the source of grand jury testimony appeared in the text, but it was no more than that.

So we prepared to face him in court.

We gathered in the basement of the Tribune Tower in a brightly lit room stacked with thick files and drained coffee cups. Around the table sat lawyers, private investi-



gators, reporters, editors and jury consultants. We were there for reasons that might sound pompous and self-important, but were true just the same: to defend the reputation of our newspaper, the integrity of our work, which had focused on inequities in the criminal justice system, and the ability to carry it out unimpeded.

The case cost millions of dollars. The trial in 2005 lasted three weeks. In three hours, the jury found in the newspaper's favor.

I bring up this episode as a reminder that for newspapers, underwriting rigorous self-defense was sometimes a necessary part of doing business. When the stakes were high, you fought your accusers, even when the cost was prohibitive. That was one benefit of being a robust, financially stable and not-

easily intimidated news organization.

Today, I work at Bloomberg News, which has the temperament, will and resources to not back down. When I first joined Bloomberg, a burly former police reporter named Mark Pittman, who had taught himself the intricacies of finance, filed a Freedom of Information request with the Federal Reserve Bank, requesting data on its emergency loans to the biggest banks. When the Fed refused to answer, we sued. And we won. Without legal action, the public would never have known the full extent of the bailouts during the financial crisis.

front-page story to the slaying in the metropolitan area of every child under the age of 15. The newspaper spent years investigating the criminal justice system in Illinois. These stories helped spur public debate and policy reforms. That sort of leadership is not only possible, but essential, even with tighter budgets. Thankfully, it's still in evidence.

The New York Times flexed its considerable muscle, racking up four Pulitzer Prizes in April for its impressive array of coverage. At the same time, a Pulitzer went to Inside Climate News, a Web-based news organiza-

News organizations will have to plant themselves in the most controversial issues if they want to survive.

Last summer, Bloomberg didn't hesitate to publish a searing account of the vast wealth accumulated by relatives of China's incoming president, exposing the lucrative inside track of the country's elite. In retaliation, Bloomberg's website in China was promptly unplugged.

Ultimately, these investigations take a lot more than a fat checkbook. Acting in the public interest, whether as a community newsletter or an international news organization, requires, above all, courage, determination and leadership. It helps to be big, but to apply the basketball metaphor, there's also playing big. When times were good in daily journalism, there was luxury in our pursuits, and I don't mean first-class airline seats. The persistence of questioning, the unwillingness to accept the first answer, or second answer, when you knew the facts were still buried beneath them, the ability to spend months reporting only to discover you needed to reverse course, was the greatest extravagance of all. And it helped produce some great journalism.

In 1993, the Chicago Tribune devoted a

tion with only seven full-time journalists, for taking on the culprits behind one of America's biggest oil pipeline spills.

There's great risk, expense and uncertainty in scoping out these kinds of stories, but news organizations will have to plant themselves in the thorniest, most complicated and most controversial issues of the day if they want to survive. In part, it's their responsibility. But in practical terms, it's the only way to remain viable within their communities. With the decentralization of media, legacy news providers have learned, the hard way, that classic investigative reporting that names names, that demands accountability, that values accuracy, that looks out for the common good, is the one essential product not easily replicated—and worth every penny.



Robert Blau, a 1997 Nieman Fellow, is deputy executive editor, investigations, at Bloomberg News and a member of the Pulitzer Prize Board.



LAST YEAR I ATTENDED A fascinating conference at Heidelberg University's Center for American Studies entitled "From Pentagon Papers to WikiLeaks: A Transatlantic Conversation on the Public Right to Know." Several of the speakers were from an earlier, much-admired era of American investigative journalism, including Neil Sheehan, who, as a reporter for The New York Times, obtained the Pentagon Papers from Daniel Ellsberg.

As an editor at ProPublica, I was there to represent the present and future of such reporting, a subject that elicited mostly gloom. Many attendees wondered if today's news organizations would take on powerful institutions the way some did 40 years ago, or if reporters in newsrooms stretched thin by cuts would be given the freedom to pursue a single important story with such focus.

It's true that getting the time and resources to do in-depth investigative projects has become tougher in today's

environment. But from where I am lucky enough to sit, the modern newsroom offers advantages, too. In many regards, the tools for doing investigations have never been better than they are right now.

My last project as a reporter at ProPublica, on the state of U.S. dialysis care, exemplifies this. It was national in scope, systemic in nature, a classic deep dive. At its heart was a simple question: Why was American dialysis so bad? Here was a corner of medicine that had become a lifeline for roughly 400,000 people. The U.S. spent more per patient than virtually any other industrialized country, yet achieved poorer results. One in five patients died each year. Those who survived endured frequent hospitalizations and lousy quality of life. In my initial interviews, when I asked dialysis industry insiders to describe the level of care, several called it the health-care equivalent of a factory assembly line.

Much of our dialysis project, which was published in late 2010, relied on the same investigative techniques used

in the days when reporters banged out stories on Smith Coronas: grinding shoe-leather reporting, and the exhumation of vast quantities of public documents. In combing through inspection reports, I came across dozens of instances in which patients had been killed by the very therapy meant to sustain them. The reports did not identify patients by name, but sometimes gave enough clues—age, gender, date and place of death—for me to figure out who they were. I used obituaries to track down relatives of one man, who had died from a massive brain hemorrhage after staffers at a Memphis dialysis clinic mistakenly gave him several doses of a clot-busting medication that his doctor denied ordering. After dozens of misfired phone calls, I finally reached one of James "Tug" McMurray's 10 siblings. She recognized the name of his dialysis clinic immediately. "They killed my brother!" she exclaimed.

At the same time, our work on dialysis also showcased how new technology is allowing journalists to do things that



Digital tools are reinvigorating watchdog reporting **BY ROBIN FIELDS**

were unimaginable when my career began. As part of the project, ProPublica obtained never-before-released government data showing patient outcomes at more than 5,000 dialysis clinics operating nationwide. Just getting the data required a two-year fight with the U.S. Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services. But within weeks, our team turned this massive gold mine into our Dialysis Facility Tracker, a news application that allowed users to plug in their addresses or zip codes and see how clinics in their area compared according to their death, hospitalization and infection rates.

The tracker has generated more than 190,000 page views so far, and we update it annually. I have come to see freeing this information as arguably the most significant product of my reporting. Beyond empowering patients and their loved ones to find the best care, publishing this information instantly brought about a new kind of accountability for dialysis providers and the government regulators that oversee them. Needless to say, when I

started out, back in the days of Criss Cross Directories, this was a kind of impact that would have been impossible.

ProPublica continues to explore how technology can provide us new pathways to investigative stories. Last year, our “Free the Files” project used an unprecedented crowdsourcing initiative to unravel up to \$1 billion in spending on campaign ads. In election filings, such expenditures are often bundled into large payments to ad agencies or consultants. Last August, the Federal Communications Commission required stations in top markets to put more detailed information online, but what stations uploaded was virtually unusable—a disorganized jumble that couldn’t be searched digitally. ProPublica built a news application to make sense of the data, enlisting readers to help sort thousands of ad contracts by market, by amount, and—most critically—by candidate or group. Tapping into this data, our reporters were able to show how massive infusions of so-called “dark” money from

unidentified donors were influencing races in Ohio and New Mexico.

For another ongoing project, we’ve created a community on Facebook where users can share stories about patients harmed in the course of receiving care in hospitals. The idea was not only to gather a pool of potential sources for our reporting but also to start a conversation in which community members could learn from and support each other. With upward of 1,600 members, it has worked beyond our most optimistic expectations.

Our approach to this project, which required declaring our interest in patient safety well before publishing any stories, might have been unthinkable in an earlier era, when journalism organizations were always competitive, never collaborative. At a time when much has been lost in investigative reporting, it may be worth reminding ourselves that there have also been gains—and sharing what we can.

Robin Fields is the managing editor of ProPublica.

ASK THE RIGHT QUESTIONS

How to use the Internet to build a new investigative tradition **BY MICHAEL MORISY**

There is a thirst for investigative journalism in the great American traditions of the late I.F. Stone and Murrey Marder, but around the news industry the question asked is always the same: Who will pay for it? Start with that question, and predictable answers always come up: paywalls, nonprofit grant givers, and government or private sector subsidies. But that's the wrong question, and those are the wrong answers. As a result, the wrong things get funded, ultimately defeating our quest for a free, independent and potent press.

The question we should ask, as an industry and as champions of the investigative tradition, is: How can we best take advantage of the Internet's amazing potential? What old sacred cows can be tackled to find new ways of exposing corruption, misdeed, and waste, while involving more people to ask more questions?

At MuckRock, the investigative news start-up I founded three years ago, the early answers were rooted in my own failures. My public records requests were routinely ignored or rejected by my local Ithaca, New York police department. My options were few at the time. I could, theoretically, hire a lawyer to work on an appeal. I could write an article blasting the non-responsive agency. Or, like most records requesters, I could walk away empty-handed in defeat. I did the latter.

But years later, I conceived MuckRock with a simple mission: To build a way for journalists, researchers and the general public to easily and quickly file public records requests and then make the

results—everything from the initial request to the agency response time to the final documents—public. The site takes advantage of everything the Internet does well. It automates request writing and follow-up, taking away confusion for first-time requesters and tedium for regular document hounds. It helps connect the public with requests they favor (anyone can “follow” a public records request filed through MuckRock, unless the requester has embargoed it), putting many eyes on every agency that might otherwise stonewall. It puts traditional, trusted tools of journalism into the hands of everyone, letting activists, academics and veteran reporters work together, offering advice while building up a library not just of public documents but also the techniques to get them.

Too many news organizations opt out of finding creative ways to ask their audiences to help and fund their investigative journalism and so miss out on new revenue streams and new stories that give voice to those who need it most. MuckRock users have broken news about the Air Force blocking NYTimes.com from its network for reporting on WikiLeaks, about how cities across America, using Homeland Security funding, have secretly purchased drones, and much, much more. MuckRock is also a service many are happy to fund, often at the \$40 per month “Professional” level, meaning we can continue to provide serious investigative work without paywalls or advertising—all because we asked the right questions.

So what questions should we be asking? Here are a few to get started. What skills can we offer the community to help them address their problems, and how can we help them showcase what they find? What “dream data” does our newsroom wish it had, and how can we not only get it or make it, but also share it with an audience (however small) that would be passionate about it? Where are readers criticizing our coverage, and how can we put the ball back in their court by helping them get and analyze documents or data or by giving them a voice that is more directed than an open comments field?

I believe we are on the verge of another golden age for reporting. But like all stories, this one must begin by asking the right questions.

Michael Morisy is the co-founder of MuckRock.com, an investigative news and research tool that helps individuals and organizations file, track, share and analyze public records requests.



GERALD L. NINOVUS, CUSTOMS AND BORDER PROTECTION

MuckRock users broke news about the purchase of drones with public funds



Despite budget cuts and shrinking newsrooms, watchdog reporters are finding new ways to fulfill an old mission—holding those in power to account

BY DAN FROOMKIN

THE WAY SOUTH CAROLINA Governor Nikki Haley tells it, what her state needs is more tax cuts and what it doesn't need is the “public policy nightmare and fiscal disaster that is ObamaCare's Medicaid expansion.”

But to Charleston Post and Courier reporter Doug Pardue, who has spent more than 15 years reporting in South Carolina, including eight months on an in-depth exploration of the state's profound inequities, the facts say otherwise: Progress in the state can't come without more tax dollars, and rejecting federal money to expand Medicaid effectively denies easier, cheaper healthcare access to about 500,000 South Carolinians, most of whom are black and poor.

So that's what he reported.

Under the banner “Forgotten South Carolina: A Legacy of Shame, A Blueprint for the Future,” Pardue published a major series about the rural counties whose third-world conditions drag the state's rankings to “the bottom of nearly every list you want it to be at the

top of.” The “lack of significant state investment in the basic building blocks of its society—health, education, and economic opportunity—remains a key reason why South Carolina can't shake the sorry legacies of its past, and why so many of its residents remain trapped in ignorance, sickness and poverty,” he concluded in a video that accompanied the series online. The stories also exposed the desperate need for improved health-care and the obvious solution: “Take the federal government up on its offer to extend Medicaid to the uninsured.”

Pardue extensively quoted state officials, including Republican Governor Haley's social services director, Tony Keck, arguing against the expansion of Medicaid. “But,” Pardue says, “I don't buy it. What [Keck] says just goes against the weight of my looking at the numbers.” Reporters shouldn't just balance one voice against another when there are observable, reportable facts, according to Pardue: “You should say what you discover. I believe the best journalism cuts through all of the he said/she said.”

A CRUCIAL FORM OF WATCHDOG REPORTING INVOLVES REBUTTING MISINFORMATION AND SOMETIMES EVEN TAKING A POSITION ON WHAT THE FACTS SUGGEST IS THE RIGHT SOLUTION

To many people, watchdog reporting is synonymous with investigative reporting, specifically, ferreting out secrets. But there's another, maybe even more crucial form of watchdog reporting, especially in this age of relentless public relations and spin. It involves reporting what may well be in plain sight, contrasting that with what officials in government and other positions of power say, rebuffing and rebutting misinformation, and sometimes even taking a position on what the facts suggest is the right solution.

Murrey Marder, the longtime Washington Post reporter who funded the Nieman Watchdog Project and who died in March at age 93, was the embodiment of that kind of watchdog. [Read Marder's obituary on page 62.] Most notably, when Senator Joseph R. McCarthy was ruining lives and careers through unfounded accusations of Communist infiltration in the early 1950s, Marder refused to operate as his megaphone and instead insisted that McCarthy substantiate his charges. Through meticulous, persistent newsgathering, Marder ultimately exposed McCarthy's claims as lies and exaggerations.

Later in his life, Marder advocated for a more assertive press, unafraid to ask unpopular and unconventional questions the public couldn't or wouldn't, and willing to fight deception and misinformation. Hedrick Smith, a Pulitzer Prize-winning author and producer who worked alongside Marder during the Vietnam War, called him "the best of a generation of investigative reporters who did not think of themselves as investigative reporters, but they were, because they were constantly challenging the official policy and the official explanations of policy."

The idea that reporters should push back against spin and deception may not sound controversial, but recent journalistic history includes two catastrophic failures to do so. In the run-up to the war in Iraq, with a few notable exceptions, such as the Knight-Ridder Washington bureau and Washington

Post reporter Walter Pincus, the press was correctly characterized by former Bush press secretary Scott McClellan as "complicit enablers." And the 2007 financial crisis was a big surprise to the public at least in part because reporters served as cheerleaders for their highly placed sources while dismissing the

NO PROFESSION FOR LONE WOLVES

The social nature of investigative reporting BY STUART WATSON



Once upon a time I was feeling rather smug having produced a series of reports that won a few trophies. Me? I'll crawl across cut glass for a plastic trophy and a smattering of applause. There's an entire economy propped up by insecure journalists like me spending hundreds of dollars each on award entry fees and hundreds more on trophies themselves, not to mention paying for travel to distant ballrooms and black tie dinners devoted to singing our own praises.

Then it occurred to me that before I added my thin voice to the particular issue I had reported (Medicaid dollars misspent on dentistry), I had come across similar earlier reporting in *The Houston Post* and on "Dateline NBC." And after my reporting my friends Roberta Baskin, then at WJLA-TV in Washington, D.C., and Byron Harris with WFAA-TV in Dallas produced more substantive reporting on the same issue.

There's a fiction perpetuated by narcissists like me that investigative reporting is the province of a few heroic lone wolves who use their superpowers to single-handedly expose and topple evil-doers. Nonsense. Joe McCarthy didn't fall by Edward R. Murrow alone—or by Murrey Marder, alone.

Investigative reporting is inherently social and almost always derivative. Sure, individual journalists add profound and unique contributions. One reporter or two or a small team can certainly distinguish themselves by breaking stories and raising challenging questions. And I'm inspired by my colleagues and certainly think some public applause is in order.

But it's important for me to stay grounded in the humility that I don't commit acts of watchdog reporting in a void. Great reporters like Murrey Marder came before us. Great reporters will come after us. And there are still great reporters around us. I need to pick up the phone. I draw encouragement and plain old practical advice by reaching out. And let's hope our democracy is the better for it.

Stuart Watson, a 2008 Nieman Fellow, is an investigative reporter for WCNC-TV in Charlotte, North Carolina.

CROSS-BORDER COLLABORATION

Lessons learned from the ICIJ's massive "Secrecy for Sale" investigation **BY STEFAN CANDEA**

"Secrecy for Sale: Inside the Global Offshore Money Maze," a project of the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ), involved about 86 journalists in 46 countries. The investigation started with a hoard of 2.5 million secret files related to 10 offshore centers that the ICIJ received from an anonymous source. That was too much for any one newsroom to tackle. But with reporters from around the world collaborating, the work was divided up.

My involvement with the project began when the ICIJ asked the Romanian Center for Investigative Journalism (RCIJ), which I direct, to act as a reporting hub, mainly for Eastern Europe. Our role in Bucharest was not only to conduct our own story research but also to share data with 28 reporters from other countries in the region, including Moldova, Belarus, Hungary, Ukraine and Turkey, among others.

With each international cross-border project, I learn the same lesson: There are too few watchdog reporters. You find yourself turning to people with whom you have collaborated in the past and whose work and ethics you know are solid.

The first problem we faced was how to understand the more than 200 gigabytes of unstructured data. The ICIJ supplied sophisticated data-mining software donated by the Australian firm NUIX. I initially found it of little use. My old computer simply could not cope with the size of the data set, and it crashed nearly every day. I was forced to buy a more powerful machine. I knew other journalists would encounter similar difficulties. How could we scale the solution for scores of reporters?

An added complication was the secretive nature of the project and the need to minimize data exchange to protect sources. We initially communicated using encrypted e-mail but quickly found that this hindered rather than helped group communication. The communication solution eventually arrived in the form of a secure online open-source forum provided by Sebastian Mondial, a colleague in Germany.

For a project like this to succeed, you must prepare and test a toolbox for secure sharing, communication and search before reaching out to a wider team. Then you must invest trust and share as much data as possible.

We acted as if we were part of a virtual newsroom, but we had none of the benefits of a real newsroom. For various reasons, the RCIJ did much of the initial research for our colleagues. That ended in late 2012 when the ICIJ introduced an online research tool.



MARTIN ARGLES/© GUARDIAN NEWS & MEDIA LTD 2009

An ICIJ report identified Sark Island, off the coast of France, as a key location in the secretive world of offshore finance

Throughout the process, communication was key, yet it also consumed a lot of time that could have been spent chasing stories. There was also the issue of what type of stories to chase. What makes news in Russia, for instance, is very different from what makes news in America. We grappled with many different journalistic cultures when it came to deciding what was important and what was not.

We learned not to impose certain story lines. If the local journalist doesn't see it your way, he or she won't pursue it. When working across borders, you also need to consider language barriers. Trust local knowledge, build on that, and be patient.

Data collections such as the one supplied by the ICIJ are a treasure trove of information for journalists in Eastern Europe, where access to information is difficult even at the best of times.

This unprecedented collaboration also revealed the need for professional senior editors and new editorial platforms. We lack both in most of Eastern Europe. In a lot of the countries, existing media offer no editorial space for such in-depth stories. This is why the Romanian Center for Investigative Journalism is creating an online magazine in English for the Black Sea region as a place to showcase watchdog journalism.

Stefan Candea, a 2011 Nieman Fellow, is director of the Romanian Center for Investigative Journalism.

naysayers. Press critic Michael Massing sees both breakdowns as related: "They were two aspects of an institutional failure that mirrored one another, and in both cases—whether it was Colin Powell and weapons of mass destruction or Alan Greenspan on the wonders of the

financial markets—I think the press was just dazzled and did not do its job."

So what's the prognosis?

Every day, it seems like fewer and fewer reporters are facing off against an ever-growing and ever-more-sophisticated spin machine. "Journalists face

the prospect of being spun or misled or manipulated almost every day by sources," says Tom Rosenstiel, executive director of the American Press Institute. He recalls how legendary war reporter Homer Bigart used to describe journalism that uncritically accepted the official version of

things as “clerkism.” These days, Rosenstiel says, “We see ... more clerkism.”

Reporters may think it’s safe to recount a dubious claim in a neutral way because readers will conclude on their own that it’s dubious, says Brendan Nyhan, a government professor at Dartmouth College and scholar of spin. But there’s a real risk that readers will simply accept it. And that, in turn, “encourages elites to make dubious claims,” Nyhan says, adding, “people are letting themselves be used in certain cases, and I think it creates pathological incentives.”

Deborah Nelson, a Pulitzer Prize winner who teaches investigative reporting at the University of Maryland’s journalism school, says reporters should come forearmed to any story involving topics that have been the target of misinformation with a well-reported “short, authoritative paragraph that cuts through the BS.” Some media observers have hailed the increase in fact checking during recent elections as a sign that news organizations are embracing the role of umpire, rather than conduit. But fact checking is often separated from and subordinated to the main stories and descends into nitpicking rather than addressing broader concerns about credibility. From Nyhan’s perspective, fact checks are a first step. “Relative to radical neutrality, I think they’re pretty good,” he says. “But we don’t want to ghettoize fact checking. It should be a core function of journalism.”

Nelson has a dramatic suggestion, based on research by her University of Maryland journalism school colleague, Susan D. Moeller, who in 2004 examined the spread of inaccurate reports about weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. Moeller concluded that the “inverted pyramid style of news writing, which places the most ‘important’ information first, produced much greater attention to the administration’s point of view on WMD issues, at the expense of alternative perspectives.” So Nelson urges reporters who have reason to doubt official statements to express those doubts as high up in the story as the statements themselves.

LET THE READERS KNOW

An informed public is a powerful ally **BY KEN ARMSTRONG**



I’m too young to be nostalgic (says the man who just got his AARP invitation), but here’s a story from the good old days—meaning, seven years ago.

I was working with fellow Seattle Times reporter Justin Mayo on an investigation of illegally sealed court records. We discovered a case where a public school district, one of Washington’s best, had taken extraordinary steps to keep the public from knowing how miserably it had failed its students. Year after year a teacher had molested elementary-school kids, as the district—four principals, in particular—ignored warning after warning.

Three families sued, and the district settled. But the district—remember, a public institution—secured a confidentiality agreement unlike any I’d seen. Not only were court records sealed, but additional documents were destroyed, computer records were purged, and the plaintiffs—three girls who had been molested—were forbidden from criticizing the teacher or district, lest they be fined. This secrecy agreement was crazy. And infuriating. And legally indefensible.

Justin and I got the records opened and told the story. How we did it? That’s where the nostalgia creeps in. We devoted two years to this project, crafting searches of electronic court dockets and walking the aisles of the clerk’s office, looking for signs of sealed files. Finding hundreds, we sued to get dozens unsealed, spending about \$200,000 in legal fees. Imagine: two-plus reporters, two years, \$200,000. It’s the \$200,000 that really gets me. These days, I worry about spending \$200.

But I figure these stories are still attainable, provided we’re vigilant. It’s all about knowing when we’re being played. Take the courthouse. If there’s a confidential settlement involving a public agency, we’re being played. A civil suit with a John Doe defendant? We’re being played. Ditto for any civil suit sealed in its entirety. That should almost never happen.

And if we can’t sue, we can still shame. We need to be more creative in enlisting the public’s help. We’re often too shy about letting readers—or viewers, or listeners—know when we’re being stonewalled, be it in the courthouse or by some executive agency. Say an agency refuses a public-records request on specious grounds. Let readers know. Tell them the law and show them how it’s being violated. If an agency goes crazy with the redactions, let readers know. Show them page after page, blacked out. We could maintain a compliance tracker, telling readers which agencies follow the law and which ones take five months to fill a request that should take five days. An educated public—a public that knows the law and appreciates the stakes, a public that can apply pressure—could be our most powerful ally.

Ken Armstrong, a 2001 Nieman Fellow, is a reporter at The Seattle Times. He is a winner of the 2012 Pulitzer Prize for Investigative Reporting.

Reporters have to recognize that a lot of people never read past the top, and “pack the truth in there,” Nelson says.

Truth-telling and source maintenance, however, can sometimes be in conflict. “There’s always the source

problem in journalism if you’re covering a beat, if you’re worried about being scooped by the competition,” says Michael Hudson, a reporter at the Center for Public Integrity and author of the book “The Monster: How a Gang

of Predatory Lenders and Wall Street Bankers Fleeced America—and Spawned a Global Crisis.” The question then becomes: “Do you sacrifice the ability to go after the really big stories in order to keep a steady flow of the tidbits, of inside baseball?”

When sources and reporters each have something the other wants, deals

get struck that are favorable to both sides; for instance, a source gets anonymity, and the reporter gets the truth. But these days, high-level sources are increasingly getting what they want from reporters and only giving them spin in return. “The power has shifted for structural reasons toward the newsmaker and away from the newsgatherer,”

says Rosenstiel. “It’s a seller’s market for information.”

Hudson recalls that when he was a reporter at The Roanoke (Va.) Times in the 1990s, exposing the subprime mortgage business, he didn’t have high-level sources at all—which, he says, is why he got the story. “That forced me to talk to mid-level and low-level people

WATCHDOG JOURNALISM WORTH WATCHING

In South Korea, innovation is helping viewers better understand important social issues

BY CHONG-AE LEE

“First, I just fainted and vomited, but later it became worse and my whole body was shaking.” That’s what one conscripted policeman told us about the constant beatings he said he received from his trainers. (In South Korea, all young men are drafted into the military; some complete their military service as policemen.) Another, who was receiving treatment for mental health problems, carefully handed us his diary, which he said contained all the dates and places where he had been abused.

My colleagues and I at SBS (Seoul Broadcasting System), the largest private TV station in South Korea, heard these stories, even though the National Police Agency assured us there wasn’t any violence in the units. Even the young men talking to us had difficulty proving their stories because they didn’t have any physical bruises. “They hit in places that really hurt but don’t show,” one said. We decided to look into it.

We set up cameras on tall buildings near some of the training sites and barracks. After about two weeks, we witnessed conscripted policemen being kicked and hit on their helmets with sticks. We got it all on camera. In addition, we found that 160 conscripted policemen were being treated for mental health problems that developed after they started training. A lot more were unsuccessfully fighting to get treatment. It was the first time that violence in the conscripted police had been linked to mental health problems. We also found that of the roughly 50,000 conscripted policemen serving in 2001, more than 500 claimed they had been beaten and abused.

In South Korea, news was heavily censored under the military-influenced governments of the 1970s and ‘80s. Journalists who veered from the party line were beaten, tortured and fired. But starting



SBS (SEOUL BROADCASTING SYSTEM)

in the early 1990s, after the government agreed to direct presidential elections, broadcast journalists began producing one-hour investigative newsmagazines, often modeled on “60 Minutes.” The shows became extremely popular; too popular, in fact. Under the administration of President Lee Myung-bak (2008-2013), most investigative newsmagazines were either cancelled or prevented from airing material critical of the government.

Still, South Koreans value watchdog journalism, and South Korean broadcast journalists are experimenting with new ways to give it to them. Last year, investigative journalists who had been fired during President Myung-bak’s administration started an independent online investigative news

program called “News Tapa.” SBS produces an annual Future Korea Report, which identifies underreported social problems and suggests solutions. In the run-up to last year’s National Assembly and presidential elections, for example, SBS announced it would air voter photos from polling stations. As a result, many young people, who wanted to see their images on TV, turned out to vote for the first time.

Traditional media have to find ways to persuade people that watchdog reporting is worth watching. It is our job to innovate and experiment to help viewers better understand important social issues, like police violence and voter turnout. One sign of success: When South Koreans are asked what kind of news they trust the most, they answer terrestrial TV news and investigative newsmagazines.

Chong-ae Lee, a 2013 Nieman Fellow, is senior reporter for SBS (Seoul Broadcasting System) in South Korea, where she has worked since 1995.

and former employees,” he says. Then he was able to piece the facts together. “Just having access to top-level executives is often treated as the end-all and be-all in journalism,” he says. “But often it gives you a very skewed perspective, and it gives you a false sense of security.”

Reliance on mid-level sources—and lack of access to high-level ones—was one of the reasons the Knight-Ridder Washington bureau raised so many doubts about the Bush/Cheney campaign for war in Iraq. Now owned by McClatchy Newspapers, that bureau continues to break stories that run contrary to the official narratives. After reviewing classified intelligence reports, reporter Jonathan S. Landay recently called out the Obama administration for

deceiving the public about the targets of its drone campaigns, many of whom did not present threats to the United States. And correspondent David Enders is consistently reporting facts from the ground in Syria that contradict the administration’s contention that the U.S. could send help to Syrian rebels but somehow keep it out of the hands of Islamist radicals.

Massing urges reporters to spend less time quoting high-level sources talking about what the government should do and more time exploring the possible consequences, especially when military action is one of them. These days, for example, “there is a sort of pack mentality on the whole Iranian issue,” Massing says. The coverage is primarily about whether Iran is getting a nuclear weapon, and

how serious a problem that would be, “as opposed to showing what the enormity of a war would be or a military strike.”

As American newsrooms shrink, the notoriously expensive field of long-form investigative journalism has taken a particular hit. And while it doesn’t always take a big investigation to disprove an obvious deception, sometimes it does, like the Pulitzer Prize-winning New York Times stories exposing working conditions at Chinese factories making Apple products or showing how multinational companies like Wal-Mart handle the bribery of foreign officials.

The good news in investigative reporting is all the nonprofit news organizations trying to come to the rescue, including groups like ProPublica and the

DO THE RIGHT THING

For news outlets, watchdog journalism has to be the top priority **BY WILLIAM MARIMOW**

At precisely 5:27 p.m. on the afternoon of May 13, 1985, a blue and white Pennsylvania State Police helicopter hovered over a heavily fortified row house on Osage Avenue in West Philadelphia. Leaning out of the helicopter, Police Lt. Frank Powell dropped a satchel onto the roof, which moments later exploded with a deafening roar and ignited a fire that burned to the ground an entire city block—61 middle-class, red brick homes. Even worse, 11 of the occupants of the home at 6221 Osage Ave., including children, died in the firestorm.

The MOVE debacle, which destroyed a neighborhood and severely damaged the careers of Philadelphia Mayor Wilson Goode, his police commissioner, fire commissioner, and managing director, galvanized the newsroom of The Philadelphia Inquirer, where I was a city desk reporter. (MOVE was a self-proclaimed radical group that had been harassing its neighbors in what had been a quiet, stable middle-class neighborhood.) Within hours, Gene Roberts, the executive editor, had set in motion a series of major investigative projects, all being pursued

while more than 30 reporters simultaneously produced a stream of daily news stories, features, profiles and analyses.

Among the key issues, we had to dig into were these: How was the decision made to drop a bomb on a densely populated neighborhood? What was in the bomb? Why didn’t the fire commissioner order nearby fire trucks to extinguish the blaze? Why did police bring an arsenal of weapons to the scene that included a .50 caliber machine gun, seven Uzi machine gun pistols, and .22 caliber rifles equipped with silencers and scopes? If, as eyewitnesses recounted, at least five occupants tried to escape from the back of the MOVE house, how did their bodies end up back in the house once the fire was put out?

By fall of 1985, a special commission opened public hearings on the MOVE conflagration, adding detail to what the Inquirer and other Philadelphia news organizations had been reporting for four months. But even after those hearings and criminal investigations by the district

attorney’s office and the U. S. Department of Justice, there were no arrests, no indictments. The aftershocks of the MOVE bombing exacted a heavy emotional toll on the city and cost taxpayers millions of dollars to rebuild the block and settle a myriad of civil suits arising from the confrontation.

In today’s newsrooms, even though staffs have been diluted by the lethal combination of a withering recession and the near disappearance of highly profitable classified advertising, the commitment to watchdog journalism—journalism that provides readers with answers to questions like those raised by the MOVE bombing—has to be the top priority. The First Amendment guarantees freedom of the press so that citizens in a democratic society can learn about the performance of their government and then make informed choices when they vote.

This is what I learned from the great Anthony Lewis, The New York Times columnist, whose course in the press and the constitution I took as a Nieman Fellow in 1982-83. [Read Lewis’s obituary on page

Center for Investigative Reporting, along with fellowship programs from groups like the Nation Institute and the Alicia Patterson Foundation. “I think we have to try to fund it wherever we can,” says Margaret Engel, executive director of the Alicia Patterson Foundation. “It’s no substitute for the diminished newsrooms across America, but at least it’s keeping some practitioners working in the field.”

The truth-to-power stories you read in the mainstream media are increasingly underwritten by nonprofits, like the recent Newsweek story “What BP Doesn’t Want You to Know About the 2010 Gulf Spill,” written by Mark Hertsgaard, a fellow at the New American Foundation, with support from the Nation Institute’s Investigative Fund.

One particularly promising way to marshal investigative reporting resources is for multiple news organizations to work together. The latest and biggest example of that trend is the launch of “Secrecy for Sale: Inside the Global Offshore Money Maze,” a project by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ) that involved journalists from 46 countries. The series breached the extraordinary secrecy surrounding companies and trusts in offshore havens, exposing a vast network through which banks and other financial advisers help corporations, the mega-rich, and even the moderately rich hide money. Collaboration has a huge upside, according to ICIJ director Gerard Ryle: “You get to benefit from everybody’s work. It’s not

going to work every time for every story, but we certainly showed it could work.” [For more on the ICIJ project, see “Cross-Border Collaboration” on page 47.]

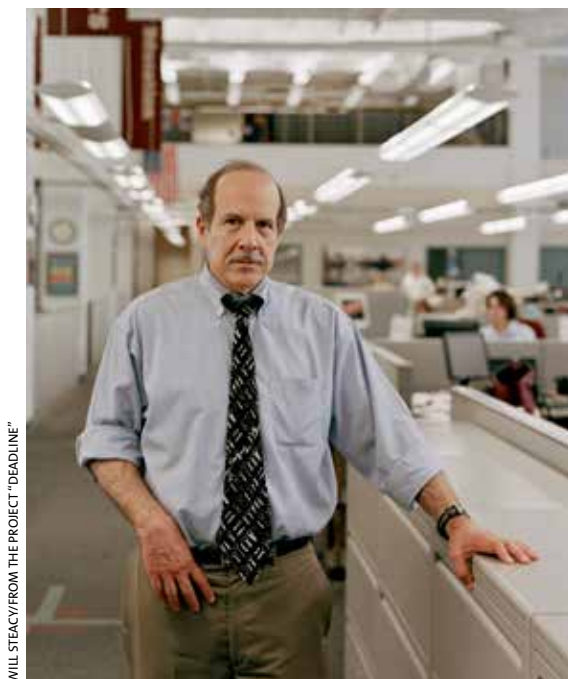
In-depth investigative reporting is crucial, says Hedrick Smith, “but a far more important need every day, week in and week out, is the exposure, or at least the challenging, of conventional wisdom, particularly when people are running gung ho into some sort of policy, and when Washington is being run by groupthink and the press becomes part of it.” That’s where knowledgeable, experienced beat reporters come in. “You can only do that when you have a news organization that has beat reporters that cover these issues, day after day, year after year,” Smith says.

The trade and specialized press are expanding but, Nelson notes, tend to serve power rather than expose it. Here again, nonprofits are an important factor, especially when they concentrate their energies in specific areas. The Center for Public Integrity, for instance, maintains an intense focus on money’s corrosive effects on politics. ProPublica has devoted itself to chronicling how banks and the government have consistently failed homeowners facing foreclosure. And good-government groups are increasingly doing important journalism, whether it’s the Union of Concerned Scientists reporting on unrealistic aspirations for missile defense or the Project on Government Oversight exposing the connection between the revolving door and industry control of the government agencies supposed to regulate it.

InsideClimate News, a tiny nonprofit website with seven employees and no office, won the 2013 Pulitzer Prize for National Reporting for exploring a largely ignored but particularly ominous oil pipeline spill. Publisher and founder David Sassoon says he started the site in 2007 in part because the mainstream press was reporting on climate change as if there was legitimate debate over whether human activity is causing temperatures to climb. “We wanted to model

64.] It is a lesson that was reinforced in reading the obituary of another Nieman Fellow, Murrey Marder, The Washington Post reporter whose piercing investigation in November 1953 of U.S. Senator Joseph R. McCarthy’s flimsy and false allegations about a spy ring operating at the Army Signal Corps laboratories in New Jersey led to his censure by the Senate. It’s a tribute to Lewis, Marder and other courageous, determined journalists that their work compelled public officials to finally hold hearings on McCarthy’s accusations and reveal the truth about how the senator had perniciously destroyed the careers of innocent government employees.

Adhering to those same traditions, the Inquirer under Gene Roberts, spent years trying to answer the critical questions behind the MOVE bombing, one of the greatest urban tragedies and travesties in the 20th century. We at The Inquirer did it because, ultimately, it is the great news organizations that often provide the spark to motivate public officials to do the right thing—whether



WILL STEACY/FROM THE PROJECT “DEADLINE”

the story is Senator McCarthy’s assault on alleged Communists or the government dropping a bomb on a middle-class block in the heart of a major city.

William Marimow, a 1983 Nieman Fellow, is editor of The Philadelphia Inquirer and a former investigative reporter.

good reporting about the climate,” he says. And that meant “not feeling obligated to give balance to political operatives, because that’s a false balance.”

Sassoon said the site’s overall goal is to fill the large gaps that the mainstream media have left in coverage of climate and energy issues. “We don’t want to be chasing breaking news because the mainstream media wires and others do that quite well,” he says. “What seemed to be missing was connecting dots, and context, and also covering news that was sitting there waiting to be reported on.” Rather than wait for events, or for conclusions to be drawn by the authorities, Sassoon says, his goal is to find problems that are

going unaddressed, raise questions that need to be answered, and report facts that are missing from the debate. Mainstream reporting on climate change gives less credence to the denialists these days, Sassoon says, but now there are new gaps to fill, caused by newsrooms cutting back on environmental coverage.

While some observers note that the constant news cycle means there’s less time than ever for reporters to analyze events before reporting them, it also makes that analysis more crucial—and valuable. Many readers may have already seen the breaking news headline somewhere else, like Twitter. “Most people who read now want to know why

something happened, they want to put it in context,” says The Washington Post’s Pincus. “So it needs to be done by people who have experience.” Knowledgeable beat reporters can put the news in context based on their expertise and test claims based on their observations. Their personal experience also is often relevant.

Reporter Trymaine Lee’s personal history, for example, helped him see how the Trayvon Martin story was not a run-of-the-mill he-said/she-said crime story, but a powerful real-life parable about race and justice. Initial reports last year about the deadly shooting of the unarmed black teenager by a neighborhood watch volunteer in central Florida



KRISTINA WENTZ-GRAFF/MILWAUKEE JOURNAL SENTINEL

WHAT OUR COMMUNITIES CRAVE

Without watchdogs, democracy is in jeopardy

BY RAQUEL RUTLEDGE

Early one recent morning I fired off an e-mail to my managing editor, enraged that a story on the front page of our paper reported a 21 percent drop in the number of homicides in the first quarter of 2013. The story quotes the

police chief and others patting themselves on the back and crediting their tactics. An accompanying photo depicts officers on the street, drawing further attention to “the news.”

The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel has built

a reputation over the last six or seven years for its high-quality investigative work. We have a 10-member watchdog team and have dedicated resources to in-depth investigations on everything from pension scandals and public assistance fraud to dicey gun dealers and cozy relationships between doctors and drug companies. We spare little when it comes to scrutinizing government and its everyday impacts. Our attention to the Milwaukee Police Department is no exception.

Which is why I snapped at my son who wanted a fresh bowl of cereal (his first bowl had gone soggy) and nearly burned the eggs on the stove as I flipped to the jump hoping to find the context and analysis this story required.

Nothing.

Not a word about aggravated assaults, which experts agree is a far better measure of crime. Those numbers had jumped 33 percent last year.

No mention of our newspaper’s year-long investigation exposing how the police department had been manipulating data, classifying serious assaults as simple assaults that would not impact their reported crime numbers.

Topping it off, while the 21 percent is accurate, it’s statistically ridiculous; we were comparing 15 homicides this year to 19 during the same three-month period last year. Truth is, marksmanship and medical

WHILE ... THERE'S LESS TIME THAN EVER FOR REPORTERS TO ANALYZE EVENTS BEFORE REPORTING THEM, IT ALSO MAKES THAT ANALYSIS MORE CRUCIAL—AND VALUABLE

raised few alarms. But Lee, along with two other journalists—all three of them black men—recognized a story that merited national attention. “We kind of had a basic premise, that the scales are imbalanced, oftentimes for us, as black people, as minorities,” Lee says. “Viewing the story through that filter made us more sensitive. There was something

attention have more to do with the change in those numbers than anything else.

Yet crime data are important. They drive policing strategies and affect not only the public’s perception of the safety of their neighborhoods, but actual safety. And they can make or break the careers of mayors.

It’s our job to ensure the public gets the full and true picture, not to act as stenographers of spin or pseudo-information, as the late Murrey Marder called it. We got suckered on this one. We let a police department we have repeatedly exposed in recent months for generating false numbers distract attention from the real problems and lead readers to believe crime is down when, in fact, it isn’t.

It was no one person’s fault. From assignment to execution, this story slipped across the computer screens of a handful of seasoned journalists. It happens, though not much in recent years at the Journal Sentinel. As my husband, also a journalist at the paper, put it, “the forces of spin, deception and history revision do not end. That’s their job. They have an agenda to advance.” Those forces are patient and well prepared. Our challenge is staying on it.

Despite the shrinking size of many newsrooms, savvy editors in a growing number of places are—and should be—steering resources into watchdog journalism. It’s what our communities crave and something no

unjust about it. And that line of injustice was the guiding thing.”

Lee, who now works for MSNBC.com, was then at The Huffington Post, and credits his ability to report the Martin story the way he did in part to the culture at The Huffington Post, where founder Arianna Huffington encourages her reporters to call things as they see them.

other news outfit can typically provide, especially on the regional level. We can continue to be first with breaking news of shootings, stabbings and fires but, unless exceptionally newsworthy, we can brief them and link to our TV partners’ video of the raging flames and yellow crime tape. Or, we can quickly post our own video. We can then focus our attention on following paper trails, forging relationships with insiders, and solving puzzles that expose otherwise deeper and hidden truths. Without investigative journalism we are but clones of the forces that jeopardize our freedom and democracy.

So, whether we’re writing about nuclear weapons or murders in Milwaukee, the stakes are high. And reporters and editors at the Journal Sentinel know it. That’s why they are not afraid to acknowledge missteps. They know doing so only makes us better.

That’s one of the best things about working at this newspaper. The managing editor didn’t write back and defend the story or suggest I should keep quiet about it. He actually accepted responsibility and agreed: We need to do better. And we will. The proof will be landing at my doorstep, and at doorsteps around the country, in just a few hours.

Raquel Rutledge, a 2012 Nieman Fellow, is an investigative reporter at the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel.

Reporters at traditional news organizations too often give in to the “pressure to conform to a formula,” Lee says, and “end up muting a lot of their stories.”

Collaboration across news organizations has particular potential when telling stories that individually don’t bring enough bang for the buck, but which seen more broadly say something important about our society. Imagine, for instance, local newsrooms around the country joining forces to tell the stories of people struggling to survive at minimum wage, or indigent defendants denied adequate legal representation, or victims of gun violence, or indigenous businesses devastated by multinational chains. The modern news environment’s appetite for conflict and controversy could responsibly be slaked by holding politicians accountable for their campaign promises or by assessing how much or how little elected officials’ voting records reflect the will of their constituents.

As Murrey Marder told the first Nieman Watchdog Conference in 1998: “Watchdog journalism is by no means just occasional selective, hard-hitting investigative reporting. It starts with a state of mind, accepting responsibility as a surrogate for the public, asking penetrating questions at every level, from the town council to the state house to the White House, in corporate offices, in union halls and in professional offices and all points in-between.”



Dan Froomkin, former senior Washington correspondent for The Huffington Post, writes about accountability journalism for Nieman Reports.

Nieman Notes

INTRODUCING THE 76TH CLASS OF NIEMAN FELLOWS

The Nieman Foundation for Journalism has selected 24 journalists as members of the 76th class of Nieman Fellows at Harvard University. This diverse group includes reporters, producers, editors, photographers, columnists and digital media leaders who work across the globe in print, broadcast and online platforms. They join the more than 1,300 accomplished and promising journalists who have been

supported and mentored by the Nieman Foundation since 1938.

“As Nieman celebrates its 75th year, it is exciting to witness the ways in which these fellows are working to uphold journalism’s highest standards while focused on innovations for radically shifting audiences, technologies and business models,” said Nieman Foundation curator **Ann Marie Lipinki**, NF ’90, in announcing the class.

U.S. FELLOWS

**ISSAC BAILEY**

Metro columnist and senior writer, The (Myrtle Beach, S.C.) Sun News, will study the intersection of race, sports and the economy

in the American South. He is the 2014 Donald W. Reynolds Nieman Fellow in Community Journalism.

**SUSIE BANIKARIM**

Network television and video producer, will study visual storytelling, specifically focusing on online video and whether there are

economically viable models for online-only broadcast enterprises.

**TYLER CABOT**

Articles editor at Esquire, will study innovative ways of using digital technology to reimagine how long-form journalism is created,

bought and sold.

**TAMMERLIN DRUMMOND**

Metro columnist, Oakland Tribune/Bay Area News Group, will study urban gun violence as a public health emergency, focusing on prevention strategies and how digital platforms

can be used to disseminate information in urban communities plagued by gun homicides and other violent crimes.

**LESLIE HOOK**

Beijing correspondent, Financial Times, will study the intersection of social media and environmental protests in China, with a

focus on the growing impact of social media on political decisions and policymaking.

**ALISON MACADAM**

Senior editor, NPR’s “All Things Considered,” will study how the arts intersect with business, law and technological innovation, and how

cultural institutions are redesigning themselves for the future. She is the 2014 Arts and Culture Nieman Fellow.

**RAVI NESSMAN**

South Asia bureau chief, The Associated Press, will study the influence of religion on creating and alleviating poverty around the world and

the responsibility governments and communities have to their most vulnerable members.

**TIM ROGERS**

Editor, The Nicaragua Dispatch, will study the evolving role that online media can play in non-democratic societies, focusing

on how content sharing, free expression and interconnectivity can contribute to democratization efforts.

**RACHEL EMMA SILVERMAN**

Management reporter, The Wall Street Journal, will study workplace design and how it affects collaboration and productivity. She is the

2014 Donald W. Reynolds Nieman Fellow in Business Journalism.

**WENDELL STEAVENSON**

Jerusalem-based staff writer, The New Yorker, will study the way history is memorialized in the Middle East and explore the

theories behind the design of museums and how they contribute to a nation’s sense of its own identity.

**DINA TEMPLE-RASTON**

Counterterrorism correspondent, NPR, will study the intersection of Big Data and the intelligence community to understand how information

from social media can help predict events. She is the first Murrey Marder Nieman Fellow in Watchdog Journalism.

**JEFFREY R. YOUNG**

Senior editor and writer for The Chronicle of Higher Education, will study massive open online courses and how they will change

higher education and the very nature of pedagogy. He is the 2014 Louis Stark Nieman Fellow.

INTERNATIONAL FELLOWS



AMETO AKPE

(Nigeria), senior reporter, *BusinessDay*, will study civil movements and their impact on governance and the impact of U.S. soft power in the developing world. She is the 2014 Barry Bingham, Jr. Nieman Fellow.



URI BLAU

(Israel), investigative journalist, *Haaretz*, will study entrepreneurial models for a sustainable, independent nonprofit investigative news platform in Israel and how that could form a base for cooperation among journalists from the Middle East.



MARIA LOURDES "NINI" CABAERO

(Philippines), new media editor of the *Sun.Star* group, will study how small communities can use

new media to gain equal access to national resources. Her fellowship is supported by the Ninoy and Cory Aquino Foundation, in memory of journalist Sandra Burton.



ANNA FIFIELD

(New Zealand), U.S. political correspondent, *Financial Times*, will study change in closed societies, focusing on Iran and the Middle East

in the wake of the Arab Spring. She is the 2014 William Montalbano Nieman Fellow.



FLAVIA KRAUSE-JACKSON

(Italy/U.K.), diplomatic correspondent, *Bloomberg News*, will study the political and economic challenges and opportunities in

Southeast Asia, focusing on Myanmar. She is the 2014 Atsuko Chiba Nieman Fellow.



ALEXANDRU-CRISTIAN LUPSA

(Romania), editor of *Decât o Revista*, will study how narrative journalism can create personal and societal

change and ways in which such change can be measured. He is the 2014 Robert Waldo Ruhl Nieman Fellow.



GREG MARINOVICH

(South Africa), associate editor, *Daily Maverick*, will study African syncretic religion and politics and issues of communal morality in

times of conflict. His fellowship is supported by the Nieman Society of Southern Africa.



LAURA-JULIE PERREAULT

(Canada), a staff reporter who covers international affairs for *La Presse*, will study issues facing women

combatants as well as state building and democratization in post-dictatorial states. She is the 2014 Martin Wise Goodman Canadian Nieman Fellow.



SANGAR RAHIMI

(Afghanistan), reporter, *The New York Times*, will study banking fraud, money laundering, corruption and the misuse of power

by politicians. He is the 2014 Carroll Binder Nieman Fellow.



SANDRA RODRÍGUEZ NIETO

(Mexico), investigative journalist, will study ways to develop sustainable online investigative and narrative

journalism projects for governmental accountability and transparency in Mexico. She is the 2014 Ruth Cowan Nash Nieman Fellow.



HASIT SHAH

(United Kingdom), senior producer, *BBC News*, will study the rapid growth and development of digital media in India and its

impact on journalism, society, popular culture, political discourse, the economy and public policy.



YANG XIAO

(China), Beijing correspondent and chief writer for the *Southern People Weekly*, will study comparative politics, democratic theory

and courses related to China's political and economic reforms. His fellowship is supported through the Marco Polo Program of Sovereign Bank and Banco Santander.

In selecting the Nieman class of 2014, **Ann Marie Lipinski**, NF '90, curator of the Nieman Foundation, was joined by Nicco Mele, lecturer in public policy at Harvard Kennedy School and author of "The End of Big: How the Internet Makes David the New Goliath;" Amanda Bennett, executive editor of the Projects and Investigations Unit at Bloomberg News; and **David Joyner**, NF '12, vice president for content, Community Newspaper Holdings, Inc. in Birmingham, Alabama. Selection committee members from Harvard's Berkman Center for Internet & Society were managing director Colin Maclay, research director Robert Faris, and Rebecca Tabasky, manager of community programs. The Berkman Center will jointly sponsor up to two fellows to work on a specific course of research or a specific project relating to journalism innovation during their year at Harvard. Nieman deputy curator **James Geary**, NF '12, and Nieman Journalism Lab director **Joshua Benton**, NF '08, also served on the committee.

1954

Harold M. Schmeck, Jr., a New York Times science writer who specialized in covering medical research, died of a heart attack in Hyannis, Massachusetts on April 1st. He was 89. Schmeck worked at the Times from 1957 to 1989. During the '60s he wrote about the effects of space travel on astronauts' bodies. In the '80s he covered the early efforts to map the human genome. He was known for his ability to make difficult subjects easy for readers to comprehend. Describing the discovery of genetic markers on human chromosomes, he wrote that "the markers are like cross streets that enable a gene to be placed, say, between 15th Street and 16th Street along the avenue of the chromosome." Schmeck was born in Tonawanda, New York and served in the Army Air Corps during World War II. He earned a degree in English from Cornell University and, after working for the university's Alumni News and a small paper in Illinois, was hired by The Rochester (N.Y.) Times-Union. It was there that he got his start in science writing. He published two books, "The Semi-Artificial Man—A Dawning Revolution in Medicine" in 1965, and "Immunology: The Many-Edged Sword" in 1974. He is survived by a son and grandson; his wife of 59 years, Lois, died in 2010.

1956

Harry Press, a San Francisco journalist who went on to manage Stanford University's journalism fellowships, died at a care facility in Palo Alto, California on February 6th. He was 93. Born in Santa Monica,

"NO ONE CAN STAY IN THE CENTER"

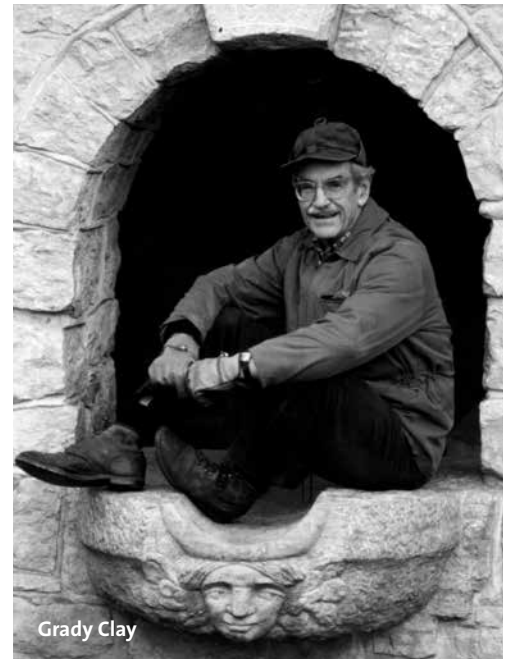
The late Grady Clay, NF '49, on the shifting locus of power in American cities and the consequences for the journalists who cover them

Grady Clay, NF '49, an urban affairs specialist who was a reporter and editor for The (Louisville, Ky.) Courier-Journal and editor of Landscape Architecture Quarterly, died on March 17, 2013. He was 96. Clay was best known for his association with the "New Urbanism" movement. In fact, he is widely credited with coining the term in a 1959 article for Horizon magazine in which he criticized the trend toward decentralization in American cities. The new interstate highway system of the 1950s, he argued in that piece, had shifted the seat of power away from its traditional hub downtown toward smaller suburban communities as a new commuter class emerged. At the Nieman Foundation's 25th anniversary reunion in June 1964, Clay gave a lecture—published in Nieman Reports that year under the title "Our Cities and the Press"—that identified and explained this trend and its impact on journalism. He would later expand these ideas in a 1970 Nieman Reports article, "The Death of Centrality." In this excerpt from his 1964 lecture, Clay explains how journalists will need to rethink their traditional beat structure in the context of a "decentralized" city. As social interaction and news publishing increasingly move to a distributed and mobile Web, Clay's prognostications have become ever more prescient:

One of the recurring theories about news and where it is to be found is the centrality theory. This says that the center of any place is its most productive generator of news. On this theory has been built a dozen traditional beats—city hall, the courts, financial district, downtown business, the civic circuit, etc. Modern newspapers grew and prospered because of one fact about the 19th century city: All power was at the center.

Even as late as 1938 it was still possible for a City Hall reporter to feel he was master of the situation, in a journalistic sense. He could stay on top of a story by staying in one central geographic place, equipped with a telephone. He sat close to the seat of power. He could tap all who counted as they came and went.

But almost as soon as this theory of centrality was accepted the facts began to depart from it.



The edge of the city or metropolis has become the place of conflict. Here one finds the push-pull of suburb against suburb, new settler against old exurbanite. Here there is constant change, friction, controversy, news and opinion. Here are new sub-centers competing with the old center. No one can stay in the center of a contemporary city and honestly say that he has it "covered."

The traditional city of traditional journalism is changing faster than our mental habits or practices of coverage. With a few dynamic exceptions, City Hall is dead as the major metropolitan news generator. The situation varies enormously from one city to another, but the most impressive change is the decentralization of control to new sub-centers, to regional councils, satellite towns, the State capitol, interstate authorities, and to the Federal capitol. An obsession with "saving downtown" can easily blind publishers and reporters alike to what may be happening.

The entire articles are available at <http://nieman.harvard.edu/GradyClay>

California, Press wrote a one-page newspaper when he was in seventh grade. In 1935 he entered Stanford University and worked for the student newspaper, the Stanford Daily, beginning as a freshman and serving as managing editor during his senior year. He worked for the Anaheim Bulletin, the Palo Alto Times, and The San Francisco News, and when it merged with The Call Bulletin, he worked for the newly formed News-Call Bulletin. As city editor of the News-Call Bulletin, he often relied on wit and sarcasm to compete against the city's better-funded dailies. After his paper was sold and folded into one of those competitors, The Examiner, in 1966, he returned to Stanford to found and edit the Stanford Observer, an alumni newspaper. He also served as associate editor of the Stanford News Service and was managing director of the university's Professional Journalism Fellowships Program (now called John S. Knight Journalism Fellowships at Stanford) until his retirement in 1989. "He was indefatigable, and his optimism and joie de vivre were legendary," current fellowship director Jim Bettinger wrote on the program's website. "Nobody who ever met Harry forgot him." He is survived by his son and daughter, four grandchildren, and four great-grandchildren; his first wife, **Martha**, died in 1999, his second wife, **Mildred**, died in 2010, and another daughter died in December of 2012.

1961

Robert Clark, former executive editor of The (Louisville, Ky.) Courier-Journal, died at a retirement

community in Hudson, Ohio, on February 28th. He was 91. Clark was born and raised in Vermont and served in the Army Infantry in World War II, rising from private to captain and earning the Bronze Star and the Purple Heart. He began his journalism career at the Messenger-Inquirer in Owensboro, Kentucky in 1948. A year later, he was hired by the Bingham-owned Courier-Journal as a reporter and science writer. He spent the next 30 years with the family's newspaper company. He served for a year as Washington correspondent in 1958. He was appointed managing editor of The Louisville Times in 1962 and was named executive editor of the Courier-Journal & Times in 1971. Between 1962 and 1979 the newspapers won three Pulitzer prizes under his leadership. In 1979 he left the company to become editor of The Florida Times-Union and the Jacksonville Journal, and in 1983 he became vice president for news at Harte-Hanks Newspapers in San Antonio, Texas, retiring in 1987. He was an active photographer in retirement, publishing his nature photos in calendars and postcards. From 1990-92, he taught as a distinguished visiting professor at Baylor University, where he also was also an editorial consultant. He was active in professional groups, serving as president of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association from 1974-75 and of the American Society of Newspaper Editors from 1985-86. He wrote two major reports for the Newspaper Association of America: "Success Stories, What 28 Newspapers are Doing to Gain and Retain Readers" in 1988 and "Keys to Success: Strategies

for Newspaper Marketing in the '90s" in 1989. He is survived by two daughters and two granddaughters; his wife of 62 years, **Jeanne**, died in 2011.

1966

Robert Caro won the National Book Critics Circle (NBCC) Award for Biography for "The Passage of Power," the fourth volume in his "Years of Lyndon Johnson" series. Caro previously won the NBCC award in general nonfiction for "The Path to Power" in 1982 and was a finalist for "Master of the Senate" in 2002, both also from the Johnson series. In April, he collected the New-York Historical Society's American History Book Prize for "The Passage of Power." [See page 67 for another award he received for that book.] Caro has previously won two Pulitzer prizes for biography, for "Master of the Senate" and "The Power Broker," his biography of former New York City planner Robert Moses.

1969

Henry Bradsher's memoir, "The Dalai Lama's Secret and Other Reporting Adventures: Stories from a Cold War Correspondent," was published by LSU Press in April. Bradsher spent 27 years as a foreign correspondent for the Associated Press and The Washington Star, covering Russia, China, India and Southeast Asia. Some of the adventures he recounts in the book include reporting on the Dalai Lama's 1959 escape from Tibet, hunting tigers in Nepal with Queen Elizabeth, and surviving a KGB car bombing. He also writes about his interviews with

presidents Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, and Ronald Reagan, as well as Soviet leaders Nikita Khrushchev and Leonid Brezhnev. After The Washington Star closed in 1981, Bradsher took a job with the CIA as an intelligence analyst. He has also written two books about Afghanistan.

1972

G.J. Meyer's new book is "The Borgias: The Hidden History," published by Bantam in April. Although the Borgia family has been painted as villains of the Renaissance—stories of bribery, blackmail, murder and adultery abound—Meyer sought to tell the real story, backed by evidence, about the family's rise to power and half-century reign in Italy. In almost every case, he found that the true stories were less salacious than the gossip that has often passed for fact. This is Meyer's third history book, following "The Tudors" in 2010 and "A World Undone" in 2006.

1980

Michael Kirk won a George Polk Award as producer of the Frontline documentary "Money, Power and Wall Street." Kirk and correspondent Martin Smith set out to tell the inside story of the financial crisis, from the rise of "too big to fail" banks to the government response to the crisis and the unchastened culture of Wall Street that still focuses on big risk trading. A producer of more than 200 national television programs, Kirk was the senior producer of Frontline from 1983 to 1987, when he left to start his own production company. The

Polk Awards are given out annually by Long Island University to honor special achievement in journalism.

1981

Howard Shapiro is now the theater critic for Philadelphia public radio station WHYY and its NewsWorks.org website. He is also the Broadway critic for public radio stations in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Shapiro had been the critic for The Philadelphia Inquirer until October, when he took a buyout after 42 years with the newspaper. In comments posted to the website of the American Theatre Critics Association after he took the buyout, Shapiro wrote that he had committed “to continue pursuing theater criticism by exploring broadcast and other avenues as well as freelancing. ... For one thing, I can’t imagine sitting in the theater without a pen in my hand. It wouldn’t feel right.”

1985

Mike Pride’s new book is “Our War: Days and Events in the Fight for the Union,” published by Monitor Publishing. Drawing on the letters and diaries of soldiers from New Hampshire as well as newspaper accounts from the era, Pride tells the story of the state’s involvement in the Civil War. For 30 years, Pride was the editor of the Concord (N.H.) Monitor. [See page 8 for Pride’s interview with poet Donald Hall.]

1994

Greg Brock has won the 2012 Sam Talbert Silver Em award from the University of Missis-

“BACK ON THE ‘RED BEAT’ ”

Former Nieman curator **Bill Kovach**, NF ’89, remembers Washington Post reporter **Murrey Marder**, NF ’50, founder of the Nieman Watchdog Project

Murrey Marder, NF ’50, a longtime Washington Post reporter who went on to found the Nieman Watchdog Project, died on March 11, 2013. He was 93. A tireless crusader for accountability journalism, he retired as a diplomatic correspondent for the Post in 1985 after reporting there for nearly four decades. He covered a number of major stories, including the Alger Hiss trial in the late 1940s and the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, but he was perhaps best known for being the first to challenge Senator Joseph McCarthy’s anti-Communist investigations in the 1950s. In 1957, he opened the newspaper’s first foreign bureau in London and traveled the world as the Post’s chief diplomatic correspondent. After the death of his wife Frances in 1996, Marder used the bulk of the Washington Post stock in his retirement account to fund the Nieman Watchdog Project at Harvard. He believed that the press had failed to thoroughly report on the events that led the

U.S. into the Vietnam War, and wanted the Watchdog Project to hold journalists to account for their actions.

The pop historians have filled pages of praise for Edward R. Murrow and Fred Friendly, his fellow creator of “See It Now,” as the ones who exposed Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy as the malicious liar that he was. But the pop historians were and are wrong—dead wrong. Murrey Marder was the pathfinder.

Murrey drove the first nails into McCarthy’s political coffin. And he did it without the flash and pseudo drama of television or the deft prose of scriptwriters but with quiet, meticulous, careful and fair reporting. He did it, in fact, after being alerted to the broad and deep threat of a virulent current of anti-Communist sentiment flowing through the United States during his year (1949-1950) as a Nieman Fellow at Harvard. Murrey had been covering the trial of Alger Hiss, charged but not convicted



Murrey Marder

COURTESY MARTIN M. SOKOLOSKI

of spying for the Soviet Union, a trial that accented the opening of the Cold War before he came to Harvard.

He told me several times about that year and what it meant to him but the story he repeated most often was of a lecture by John Fairbank, an outstanding China scholar, in which the professor interrupted his lecture to read from a local newspaper article about a “Mr. X, a noted Communist sympathizer.” “Who knows who Mr. X is,” Murrey would recall Fairbank asking. “He could be you or he could be me. In fact, Mr. X is me!”

issippi Meek School of Journalism and New Media. The award is presented annually to a Mississippi-connected journalist whose career has exhibited “the highest tenets of honorable, public service journalism, inside or outside the state.” Brock, the senior editor for standards at The New York Times, is a native of Crystal Springs, Mississippi,

and graduated from Ole Miss in 1975. Other winners through the years have included **Hodding Carter II**, NF ’40, and his son, **Hodding Carter III**, NF ’66.

Barney Mthombathi resigned as editor of South Africa’s Financial Mail in February. Mthombathi had been head of the Johannesburg-based business weekly

for eight years. In his farewell address to staff, he alluded to disagreements with the ownership over possible plans to merge the Financial Mail with its sister publication, Business Day. He was previously the editor of the Sunday Tribune in KwaZulu-Natal and editor in chief of the South African Broadcasting Corporation’s Radio News.

The Hiss trial and that lecture, Murrey said, sent him back to what he called his “Red Beat” to expunge the blot of that kind of journalism from newspaper pages. Joe McCarthy gave him his first opportunity and he tackled it with a vengeance.

Foremost among reporters Murrey demanded McCarthy state his slanderous charges against public officials he accused of Communist leanings; that he explain what his charges meant and what evidence he had to support them. He even insisted at each new barrage of charges that McCarthy explain what was the outcome of previous charges.

Editors despaired of getting Murrey to get his story in and literally had to order him to stop writing. Pressmen came to know him well also for he would often follow his copy back to the typesetters to make sure they didn't edit things out before the presses ran. Murrey Marder was the consummate journalist and one who took his responsibility to seek out the truth seriously no matter how long it took.

Bill Kovach, NF '89, was curator of the Nieman Foundation from 1989 to 2000.

1995

Michael Riley became CEO and editor in chief of The Chronicle of Higher Education Inc. in May. He is in charge of the Washington-based Chronicle's weekly newspaper and website, the biweekly Chronicle of Philanthropy, Arts & Letters Daily, and a number of other websites. Previously, Riley was the manag-

ing editor of Bloomberg Government, which launched in 2010.

2003

Kevin Cullen won the 2013 Batten Medal from the American Society of News Editors (ASNE) in March. The award is given for work from the past three years that embodies “compassion, courage, humanity and a deep concern for the underdog,” according to ASNE. “In compact prose, Cullen tells powerful stories that move the heart and get results,” the judges wrote. Cullen, a Boston Globe columnist and reporter, also won the award in 2008. Cullen is co-author, with Globe colleague Shelley Murphy, of “Whitey Bulger: America's Most Wanted Gangster and the Manhunt that Brought Him to Justice,” published by W.W. Norton in February. Their book chronicles the life of James “Whitey” Bulger, the notorious Boston gangster who became one of the country's most wanted fugitives.

Mark Travis became publisher of the Concord (N.H.) Monitor in January. Travis, who was a stringer for the Monitor in the early 1980s, became a full-time reporter in 1986. For more than 20 years he worked there as a reporter and editor. He also was responsible for developing new projects at the paper and served as director of online operations. Since 2008, he had been publisher of the Monitor's sister paper, the Valley News of Lebanon, New Hampshire.

2004

Masha Gessen received the Media for Liberty Award for her

April 2012 Vanity Fair story, “The Wrath of Putin.” In the piece, Gessen writes about the fate of Mikhail Khodorkovsky, who was one of Russia's richest oligarchs until he criticized president Vladimir Putin and the country's rampant, state-sanctioned corruption in 2003. Putin had him arrested on trumped-up economic crimes, and he has been in jail ever since. The \$50,000 prize given by Liberty Media Corporation honors work that highlights the connections between economic and political liberty. Gessen resigned as director of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty's Russia service to work on a book about the Tsarnaev brothers, accused in the Boston bombings on April 15. She has a contract with Riverhead Books.

2005

Richard Chacón was named executive director of news content for public radio station WBUR in Boston. In the newly created position, he will oversee all of the local news content for WBUR and wbur.org. He begins June 10. Most recently, he has been overseeing a capital campaign at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He began his journalism career in 1984 when he worked at WBUR while attending Boston University. He subsequently spent more than a decade at The Boston Globe in a variety of reporting and editing positions. He also has held public policy and public affairs positions in state government.

2006

Mary C. Curtis received a 2012 Clarion Award from The Asso-

ciation for Women in Communications. Curtis was recognized in the Online Journalism - Regular Column category for her work on The Washington Post's She the People blog, The Root, and Politics Daily. She received the Green Eyeshade Award for serious online commentary. The awards, given by the Society of Professional Journalists, recognize the best journalism in the southeastern United States.

2008

Andrew Quinn joined the Aspen Institute in February as director of the New Voices Fellowship, a new program to identify and train emerging experts in the global health and development fields. Quinn, a Nieman Global Health Fellow, previously was the U.S. foreign policy correspondent for Reuters, covering the State Department. He also served as political editor, Johannesburg bureau chief, and China correspondent. The New Voices Fellowship is funded by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, which had previously provided funding for the Nieman Global Health Fellowship.

Holly Williams won a 2012 George Polk Award for two stories she did for CBS News about Chinese human rights campaigner Chen Guangcheng. In May, Williams spoke by phone with Chen while he was recuperating in the hospital after his escape from Chinese authorities. The following month, Williams reported on the fate of Chen's family, who remained in China. She and her cameraman entered his former village in the middle of the night after being turned away

“A DARK AND OMINOUS TIME”

South African journalist **Allister Sparks**, NF '63, reflects on the legacy of **Anthony Lewis**, NF '57, longtime New York Times reporter and columnist

Anthony Lewis, NF '57, died at his home in Cambridge, Massachusetts on March 25, 2013. He was 85. As a reporter for The New York Times, Lewis is credited with setting a new standard for coverage of the U.S. Supreme Court, an accomplishment that was recognized in 1963 with a Pulitzer Prize. Eight years earlier, at the age of 28, he had won his first Pulitzer for a series of articles about the unjust firing of a Navy employee during the Red Scare. For more than 30 years, Lewis wrote a column about foreign affairs for the Times's Op-Ed page. He also wrote several books, including two about landmark Supreme Court decisions. "Gideon's Trumpet," about the Supreme Court decision that established a right to legal counsel for poor defendants charged with serious crimes, hasn't been out of print since it was published in 1964.



DAVID L. RYAN/THE BOSTON GLOBE VIA GETTY IMAGES

But Tony's knowledge of the country and the dramatic personae of its unfolding drama was incredibly detailed.

This was because Tony was a liberal to the very marrow, and the looming racial clash in South Africa gripped him. He was both appalled and fascinated by it, both because it challenged the essence of his belief system and, I think, because apartheid was not just a matter of racial prejudice but was rooted in law—his subject.

As a journalist he felt a need to become part of the campaign to expose the human destructiveness of apartheid; I think he saw it was part of his contribution to the civil rights struggle in his own country, indeed to humanity in general. It also meant he identified closely with journalists like myself who were doing that within South Africa in the face of difficult and often dangerous circumstances. We became lifelong friends from that first day, and his support for all of us doing that work was immensely strengthening.

Then, of course, there was Margaret Marshall. I became friends with Margie when she was a student leader at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. We travelled together with Senator Robert Kennedy when he was invited by the South African students union to tour South Africa in 1966. It was a stunningly successful tour during which Kennedy made a lasting impact on a whole generation of young South Africans—Margie included.

After graduating from Wits, Margie went to Harvard Law School, then into a law practice, then became a judge and finally chief justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court. Tony, of course, was part of Robert Kennedy's social circle around that time. Whether the senator played a role in introducing them I don't know, but whoever played that role completed Tony's link with what should rightly be called his other country. Their marriage was certainly the perfect link of shared interests and passions, of the law and of the lands they both loved.

As they say in one of the 11 languages of South Africa, *Hamba kahle*, Tony. Go well, my dear friend. We shall remember you.

Allister Sparks, NF '63, received the 1985 Louis M. Lyons Award for Conscience and Integrity in Reporting for his reporting on apartheid and other conditions in South Africa.

I first met Tony Lewis during the fall semester of my Nieman year, 1962. It was an idealistic as well as a hedonistic time in the United States. Jack Kennedy was in the White House, Camelot was glowing in the news, the civil rights movement was under way in the South, Martin Luther King, Jr. was dreaming his dream, Peace Corps kids were fanning out across the Third World, and the Vietnam War was still but a distant rumble.

However back in my home country, South Africa, it was a dark and ominous time. Hendrik Verwoerd, the chief architect of apartheid, was prime minister, the Sharpeville massacre, in which 69 black protesters were machine-gunned to death and 180 wounded, had just taken place resulting in Verwoerd declaring a state of emergency and outlawing the African National Congress and all other black nationalist movements. Nelson Mandela had gone underground to establish a military wing and begin an armed struggle. Things started to go bang in the night and mass arrests were being made.

Tony called on me at Harvard to discuss this bleak situation. I was just 30, fresh in the job of political correspondent for the Rand Daily Mail, South Africa's most vigorous liberal newspaper, and I had been covering this escalating racial conflict. Tony wanted me tell him everything I could about the situation there. I was immediately struck by the depth of Tony's knowledge of South Africa. This was my first visit to the U.S. and I was already accustomed to encountering some Americans who thought Africa was a country and South Africa the Dixie end of it.

by hired thugs in the daytime. Williams recently became a staff correspondent for CBS based in Turkey. At the time of the reporting that won the award, she was working for Sky News in China. The Polk Awards, conferred by Long Island University, honor special achievement in journalism.

2009

Hannah Allam was part of a team from McClatchy Newspapers that won a 2012 George Polk Award for its coverage of the civil war in Syria. Allam covers foreign affairs and the State Department for

McClatchy's Washington, D.C. bureau and was previously the Middle East bureau chief based in Cairo.

Graciela Mochkofsky will spend the 2013-2014 academic year as a fellow at the Dorothy and Lewis B. Cullman Center for Scholars and Writers at the New York Public Library. She will receive access to the library's archives, as well as a stipend and office space, to work on a book project. Mochkofsky, an Argentinian journalist who co-founded and edits the website *El Puercoespín*, will use the fellowship to work on a book and documentary about

emerging Jewish communities in Latin America.

David Jackson was part of a three-member team from the Chicago Tribune that won the FOI Award from Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE). The Tribune series "An Empty-Desk Epidemic" exposed how nearly one out of every eight Chicago public school students missed a month or more of class every year. According to the IRE announcement, Jackson spent more than a decade fighting with the school board to get the data and documents used in the story. The series also received the James Aronson

Award for Social Justice Journalism from Hunter College in New York.

Dorothy Parvaz was named the 2013 recipient of the McGill Medal for Journalistic Courage from the University of Georgia's Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication. Parvaz, a reporter for Al Jazeera English, was detained for 19 days after trying to enter Syria in 2011. In announcing the award, the judges highlighted Parvaz's unflinching reporting in 2012 on the Syrian regime, women's rights in Libya, and the aftermath of the Japanese tsunami.

"THE OTHER SIDE OF THE TAPE"

Stanley Forman, NF '80, a former staff photographer for the Boston Herald American, is now a cameraman for WCVB News in Boston. This photograph, taken in 1977, is in his new self-published book "Before Yellow Tape: A Pulitzer Prize Winner's Fire Images." Three years ago he reunited the girl in the photo with the firefighter who saved her life.

I was out cruising for news when I heard about this fire in South Boston. That's actually the first shot I made at the fire. The girl they're carrying is Tammi Kurtz (now Brownlee). She was just pulled out of the fire, and she was being rushed to an ambulance. She wasn't burned that I know of, but she almost succumbed to smoke inhalation and spent three months in the hospital. Five people died from the fire, including Tammi's mother, who died a couple of weeks later, and her brother, who died at the scene.

Tammi contacted me in 2010. She never had any information about the fire so she was searching for anything she could find. She had Googled "Boston fires" and found this photo and my name, then I did a little



STANLEY FORMAN

research and found the negatives. I recognized one of the firefighters who was there, Alfred Chase. I asked him about it and he said, "You know, I was the one who found her." So we decided to do a story for my TV station's news magazine, "Chronicle." We brought her to the scene of the fire—which is still a vacant lot—and introduced her to Alfred. She had no idea who he was, but when he told her his story it was quite an

emotional scene.

The title of my book, "Before Yellow Tape," is not a criticism of how far back we're kept from the scenes now. It's just an acknowledgement that things have changed. Let me put it this way, there was no tape back then, but sometimes you were held back. They'd say, "Don't go any farther than this." For the most part though, we had great access. I mean, I was on top of that fire. You couldn't ask for anything closer. Nobody bothered me. That's the way it was back then.

I always thought O.J. Simpson, that whole thing with the contaminated site, just screwed us all. Because then the white paper boots came out. I'm not saying it's bad, if that's what helps solve a case, but it put us on the other side of the tape.

More information about the book is available at www.beforeyellowtape.com and www.stanleyformanphotos.com.

FLAME RETARDANTS AND FURNITURE MAKERS

A roundup of Nieman Foundation-administered awards and their winners

TAYLOR FAMILY AWARD FOR FAIRNESS IN NEWSPAPERS

Winner: Chicago Tribune, “Playing with Fire”

Reporters Patricia Callahan, Sam Roe, and Michael Hawthorne spent two years investigating the flame-retardant chemicals used in furniture construction. They found that not only were these chemicals ineffective, they also posed serious health risks, including cancer and birth defects. After their six-part series was published, state and federal lawmakers began a push to change regulations governing flammability in furniture.

Finalists: The Boston Globe, “Justice in the Shadows”
Reporters Maria Sachetti and Milton J. Valencia exposed



Patricia Callahan

numerous problems in the federal law enforcement and immigration systems.

Tampa Bay Times, “Stand Your Ground”
A team of reporters, researchers and programmers compiled a statewide database of cases where Florida’s controversial “stand your ground” law was invoked, revealing that the statute was applied unevenly based on jurisdiction, race and other factors.



Sam Roe

WORTH BINGHAM PRIZE FOR INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM

Sam Dolnick, The New York Times
“Unlocked: Inside New Jersey’s Halfway Houses”

This three-part series exposed gang activity, drug abuse, sexual assault, and other crimes taking place in New Jersey’s system of privately run halfway houses. The lax security at these facilities also allowed thousands of prisoners to escape, resulting in at least two murders. After the series was



Michael Hawthorne

published, New Jersey’s governor and lawmakers instituted reforms to the system.

J. ANTHONY LUKAS PRIZE PROJECT AWARD

Winner: Andrew Solomon, “Far from the Tree: Parents, Children, and the Search for Identity” (Simon & Schuster)
Andrew Solomon explores how parents deal with “exceptional” children—including prodigies, those born with Down syn-

Peter Wolodarski became editor in chief of Dagens Nyheter in March. Wolodarski has been with the Swedish daily since 2001, when he started as an editorial writer. In 2009, he became political editor and head of the editorial board.

Andrei Zolotov has been named Vienna bureau chief for Russian news agency RIA Novosti. In July 2012, Russia Profile, the English-language news website Zolotov founded and edited, merged with RIA Novosti’s English language service, which had published it since 2007.

2010

Beth Macy won a 2012 Best in Business award from the Society of American Business Editors and Writers for her Roanoke (Va.) Times series “Picking up the Pieces.” Macy explored the effects of outsourcing and globalization on industry in Virginia. In one of the pieces, she profiled third-generation furniture manufacturer John Bassett III, who is fighting back against Chinese manufacturers that undersell domestic producers. She is expanding his story into a book, which was the winner of an award from the Lukas Prize Project [See page 67].

2011

Tony Bartelme won a 2012 Sigma Delta Chi Award from the Society of Professional Journalists for “Storm of Money,” a series of stories in The (Charleston, S.C.) Post and Courier that explained the complex factors that drive up the costs of hurricane insurance. The series was recognized in the Non-Deadline Reporting category of the Sigma Delta Chi awards, and also won the South Carolina Press Association’s 2013 Award for Public Service. In addition, Bartelme, a special projects reporter, was named a finalist for the 2012 Pulitzer Prize for Explanatory Reporting.

Florence Martin-Kessler has co-directed a new documentary, “State Builders,” with filmmaker Anne Poirer. The pair followed the process of creating a new country in South Sudan, beginning with its first day of independence on July 9, 2011. In an op-ed for The New York Times, the pair described what they saw while filming: “the deep joy of a people free and sovereign at last; the good intentions and hard realities of state building; and the ‘gray zone’—that murky area between peace and war that holds as much peril as promise.”



Sam Dolnick

drome, children conceived by rape, and others who go on to become criminals. He worked on the book for nearly a decade, compiling 40,000 pages of interview transcripts with 300 families, all to answer one question: To what extent should parents accept their children for who they are, and to what extent should they help them become their best selves?

Finalist: Cynthia Carr, "Fire in the Belly: The Life and Times of David Wojnarowicz" (Bloomsbury)

Cynthia Carr chronicles the life of New York-based artist and gay rights activist David



ANNIE LEIBOVITZ

Andrew Solomon

Wojnarowicz, who entered the national spotlight as AIDS became an epidemic.

MARK LYNTON HISTORY PRIZE

Winner: Robert Caro, "The Years of Lyndon Johnson: The Passage of Power" (Random House) In the fourth volume of his ongoing series, Robert Caro, NF '66, covers the events that transpired between 1958 to 1964: Lyndon Johnson's fight with John F. Kennedy for the Democratic nomination, his acceptance of the vice presidency, and the tragic events in Dallas that made him president.



BEBETO MATTHEWS/AP

Robert Caro

[Read about the other awards the book has won on page 61.] **Finalist:** David Nasaw, "The Patriarch: The Remarkable Life and Turbulent Times of Joseph P. Kennedy" (Penguin Press) As the first reporter granted full access to the Joseph P. Kennedy Presidential Library, David Nasaw unearths the earliest roots of America's most enduring political dynasty.

WORK-IN-PROGRESS AWARD

Winner: Beth Macy, "Factory Man: How One Furniture-Maker Saved an American Town" (Little, Brown and Co.)



Beth Macy

Expanding on a feature she wrote for The Roanoke (Va.) Times, Beth Macy, NF '10, is working on a book about a third-generation furniture maker in rural Virginia fighting the outsourcing of jobs to Asia. As factories across the country were shipping their production and jobs overseas, John Bassett III, owner of Bassett Furniture Industries, made the unlikely decision to put people ahead of profits and pressure the government to ensure that Chinese manufacturers play fair. **Finalist:** Science writer Jim Robbins, "37 Arguments for the Survival of Birds"

Hollman Morris took part in a forum called "Journalists: Harm, Memory and Healing" in Bogotá, Colombia in February. During it, Colombia's president, **Juan Manuel Santos**, NF '88, praised the journalist for his work and noted their Nieman connection, saying "Hollman Morris, you are a great journalist and were even in the same program I was at Harvard University. It was the best year of my life, I don't know if it was the best of yours, but here I'd like to recognize you." Santos's predecessor, Álvaro Uribe, had accused Morris of being allied with the FARC guerillas and had him under surveillance

by DAS, the state intelligence agency. Later in the event, Morris acknowledged the symbolism of Santos's words, saying "The beginning of the healing was when President Juan Manuel Santos recognized my good name, that of my family and my work. Today, I'm thankful for his gesture but obviously the call for justice continues. Those who threatened my children, my family, my wife, who singled us out and stigmatized us and unleashed a ferocious criminal hunt by the DAS against us, they will have to answer before the courts, only then can impunity be fought and justice served."

Deb Price was named the Southeast Asia editor of The Wall Street Journal, based in Hong Kong, in January. In addition to editing stories out of 10 countries in the region, Price wrote in an e-mail to Nieman Reports that she's enjoying being a member of the Foreign Correspondents' Club of Hong Kong and betting on horses at the Happy Valley Racecourse. Before moving to Hong Kong, she spent more than 20 years working in the Washington bureau for The Detroit News.

Sonali Samarasinghe Wickrematunge received a Hellman/Hammett grant from Human

Rights Watch in December for her commitment to free expression in the face of persecution. Sonali's husband, Lasantha Wickrematunge, was murdered in 2009 for his work as editor of the Sunday Leader newspaper in the Sri Lankan capital of Colombo. She left the country shortly after his death and has been living in exile in the U.S. For 2012-2014, she is writer-in-residence with Ithaca City of Asylum, a sanctuary organization. She is also a visiting scholar at Ithaca College as well as in the South Asia Program at Cornell University.

Sounding

Half a Revolution

Women have entered the world of men. Now men need to enter the world of women **BY KATRIN BENNHOLD**

COMING TO HARVARD WAS A DREAM COME TRUE—BUT IT WAS also the hardest thing I've ever done. For much of this year my husband and our two young daughters stayed in London, our family life displaced onto Skype. It breaks my heart every day. I love my two girls more than anything in the world. But I also want to be a role model for them—I want to fulfill my professional dream and make them proud.

I come from a line of strong women. My father's mother studied medicine before women in Germany even had the vote. In medical school they made her sit behind a screen during exams so she wouldn't distract male students. My own mother trained as an engineer. There were no female bathrooms in her college; she had to go down to the basement where the cleaning ladies had their lockers.

Both were fighters. But both eventually gave up their dreams. My grandmother married a doctor instead of becoming one herself. My mother retrained as a teacher.

I was the go-to person in the newsroom. But then I had a baby and everything changed

But that was the 1970s, right? When I started out in journalism at the beginning of the new millennium I thought gender equality was a reality. I was a journalist at the International Herald Tribune in Paris. I covered presidential elections, banking scandals, and wrote about terrorist attacks from Madrid to Algiers. I was the go-to person in the newsroom.

But then I had a baby and everything changed. My husband and I had always shared everything, from money to dishwashing duties. Now society wouldn't let us: I was the one taking parental leave and I was going back part time.

Suddenly the big stories no longer came my way. At home I was trying to be the perfect mother and at work I tried to make everyone forget that I was a mother at all. At night the news desk would call and my editor shouted down one ear while my baby shouted down the other.

I felt like I was failing at both, motherhood and journalism. And so I did what we reporters do: I wrote about it. I traveled across Europe on a quest to answer the question: How much

does tradition shape policy and how much can policy shape tradition?

I explored the persistent differences between Western and Eastern women in my native Germany and went beneath the veneer of equality in France to find one of the most sexist societies in Western Europe. I came across intriguing experiments with part-time and flexible work in the Netherlands. But one trip shaped my thinking more than any other: Going to Sweden was like catching a glimpse of the future.

In the forests south of the Arctic Circle, far away from trendy Stockholm, I met Michael Karlsson. A soldier turned game warden, Michael owns five guns, three dogs, and a snowmobile. But he took six months off with both of his daughters. He took them hunting.

Nearly nine in 10 Swedish men take at least two months off with their children, many of them more. When a father doesn't take leave he has to justify himself. Thanks to a highly subsidized use-it-or-lose-it leave, the culture has completely flipped.

This has transformed Swedish society: divorce rates are down, HR departments discriminate less against women of childbearing age, there are even signs that the pay gap is narrowing. But perhaps most intriguingly this is redefining what it means to be a man.

In Sweden, men can have it all: they can have a successful career and be involved fathers.

Here is what I learned: The family is a mirror of society. If you want equality at work you need equality at home. In most of our countries women have entered the world of men, but men have not entered the world of women. As Bengt Westerberg, the former deputy prime minister of Sweden who first reserved a chunk of parental leave for men, once put it to me: "We've done half the revolution." If he's right, the next stage of women's liberation may well be men's liberation.

Katrin Bunnhold, a 2013 Nieman Fellow, covers European politics and economics from London for the International Herald Tribune and its parent newspaper, The New York Times. She writes a column on the economics of gender.



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