Leonard Downie Jr.

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The News Media: What Everyone Needs to Know

Section II: The Present

What is news – and what is journalism – today?

News is everywhere today. It is on all kinds of mobile digital devices, on computer and television screens in homes, offices, even airport waiting areas, and, still, on the printed page. News now comes from a myriad of sources around town and around the world: newspapers, television, radio and their websites, digital-only news and information sites and blogs, social media, e-mail, text messages and shared photographs and videos, even Web search engines. News can now be produced by anyone with a digital phone, tablet or laptop wherever they are – in addition to traditional news media with their printing presses, broadcast towers, satellite dishes, cable transmissions, Internet servers and social media access.

It is news if it informs us – even with only a snippet of information or a single image – about something noteworthy, interesting or relevant. In some ways, we decide for ourselves what news is now; it is no longer defined only by traditional news media. We can share news digitally without depending on the news media – or by picking and choosing what we consume and share from them. We can even participate in their newsgathering and commentary.

But news is not necessarily journalism, in which newsworthy information and comment is gathered, filtered, evaluated, edited and presented in credible and engaging forms, whether writing, photography, video or graphics. At its best, journalism puts news into context, investigates, verifies, analyzes, explains and engages. It embodies news judgment oriented to the public interest.

It is now relatively easy for journalists to produce news on their own in individual blogs or videos on the Internet – just as lone journalists had long been able to do in

printed books or newsletters. But something is still gained today when journalism can be pursued collectively in news organizations, large or small, with sufficient staff, support and institutional authority to have greater impact, amplified today by digital distribution. However their journalism is distributed and shared today, news organizations of various kinds still account for the lion's share of credible news about local, national and international affairs, including investigative reporting that holds accountable governments and powerful private interests. Just over 60 per cent of Americans still prefer to get news from those news organizations, whether print, broadcast or digital, according to a 2014 survey by the American Press Institute's Media Insight Project.

Many of those news organizations are now trying to evolve in the digital age into new shapes and journalistic missions, many of them overlapping. Newspaper newsrooms are producing websites with their own blogs and videos, often mixed with links to content from other news organizations, and are actively pursuing audiences for their news content on social media. Television and radio newsrooms are posting written versions of their news reporting and commentary on their websites. Digital startups are producing their own journalism and aggregating content from other media, contributors and their own audiences. Some startup websites, which have amassed large digital audiences with celebrity gossip, games, trivia lists and eye-catching photos and videos, are now also investing in news reporting. Other news sites specialize in investigative reporting, explaining the news, or focusing on niche subjects like government, politics, business, technology and sports. And increasing numbers of news organizations of all kinds are collaborating with each other across digital platforms and geographic boundaries to produce and disseminate more journalism than any of them could alone.

But many news organizations – old and new -- also are fighting to survive today. In ways we will explain, the financial foundations of traditional news media have yet to be rebuilt after the digital earthquake, while most digital startups have yet to prove that any of their various fledgling economic models are sustainable. Paradoxically, at a time when there is more news than ever before, and the best journalism may be better than ever, American journalism is in a state of great turmoil and uncertainty.

How is digital technology changing the news – and journalism?

Whenever and wherever news breaks today, the first reports and images are quite likely to arrive in newsrooms and on everyone's mobile devices via social media — whether transmitted by journalists or by ordinary citizens who happen to be at the scene. Journalists can reach witnesses and sources through those same social media until they are able to get to the scene themselves. They can quickly search the Internet for background, context and relevant records and data. They can use a steadily growing number of creative digital tools to organize, analyze and display the information.

As they piece a story together, journalists and their news organizations can rapidly post what they find in social media messages, blog items, early versions of the story and even photos and videos – sometimes attracting additional information from sources or readers reacting to what they have posted. They no longer have to wait for the next edition of a printed newspaper or the next scheduled television or radio broadcast. An increasing number of journalists with multimedia skills also can produce their own photographs and videos, and their news organizations can use digitally transmitted images from members of the public. Finished stories can be presented on websites and mobile devices in a variety of audience-engaging ways. And all of it can be distributed digitally far beyond the confines of print circulation and broadcast signals or national boundaries. News consumers can choose among many digital forms of journalism from an almost infinite variety of sources and share them through social media.

In these ways and more, digital technology is profoundly changing the news and journalism. Much of the change has been beneficial. It has enabled faster, broader, deeper and more participatory news reporting that can be distributed digitally to potentially much larger audiences. It has made possible new ways to present stories by digitally integrating text, video, slide shows, animations, interactive charts, maps and other graphics, and searchable databases with links to source materials. For example, readers of the digital presentation of the prize-winning 2013 Milwaukee Journal Sentinel stories about dangerous delays in required genetic screening of new-born babies in U. S. hospitals were able to easily search an interactive map for what was happening in their states.

But digital technology also has destabilized news organizations that had long produced most of the news and set journalistic standards. Digital media have fragmented

audiences and undermined the advertising-based economic models of once dominant newspapers and television and radio networks and stations. As the advertising revenue that had effectively subsidized news gathering continues to shrink steadily, many American news organizations have cut costs by drastically reducing their newsroom staffs and payrolls – and, in too many cases, by lowering their journalistic ambitions.

Today, there are far fewer newspaper and television journalists covering everything from local and state to national and foreign news, in addition to subjects like education, the environment, health care and science. The number of full-time newsroom employees at American newspapers has fallen from 54,200 in 2003 to 36,700 in 2014, according to an annual survey by the American Society of Newspaper Editors. After several years of staff reductions, employment has stabilized somewhat in network and local television news, according to the Pew Research Journalism Project. But those journalists are spread more thinly over an increased number of hours of news at local stations and national cable networks. The number of news-gathering jobs shed by long-established news media still dwarfs the number created so far by digital startups, which account for only about 7 per cent of the estimated 70,000 journalists now employed by American news media, according to the Pew Research Journalism Project's 2014 State of the News Media report.

Digital startups have kept multiplying, without the burden of the legacy costs of expensive printing presses, physical distribution, broadcast facilities or transmission towers – and the employees to run them. Digital technology enables startup news websites to be more entrepreneurial and experimental as they seek both to fill gaps left by down-sizing legacy media and to create new forms of journalism. Many have focused on local and state news and investigative reporting, a few others on foreign news. Some have involved their audiences more deeply in gathering and sharing news; others have specialized in new kinds of analytical, opinionated or advocacy journalism, independent of corporate ownership and traditional journalistic standards. But many digital startups also are struggling to create sustainable economic models.

At the same time, while disrupting old economic models, digital technology has created new revenue opportunities for both new and old news media. Many are now requiring paid subscriptions for some or all of their digital news. To attract advertisers,

they offer digital data about audience traffic and demographics. Many also are selling digital advertising that looks and reads much like news stories on the same websites, which makes it more difficult to discern news from digital ads. Some like the Gannett newspapers and the Dallas Morning News have started digital marketing services for local businesses. Yet, for newspapers in particular, the new digital revenue so far has amounted to only a fraction of the pricier print advertising revenue they have lost.

Both new and old news media also are using digital technology to closely monitor the size and news habits of their audiences, including audiences for individual stories, images and features on their websites. Some news organizations are using these audience metrics to evaluate the productivity of their journalists and the popularity of their stories, even basing compensation on that data. Some also are using website traffic data to decide what news to cover, rather than relying only on journalists' news judgment.

Digital technology has made immediacy – being first with new or breaking news on social media, news websites and search engines – an even more important factor in the competition for news audiences. And it is changing how journalists and newsrooms work. Posting news fast and first, often by minimizing or by-passing editorial review and fact-checking, can attract a larger digital audience.

At times, however, such haste can imperil accuracy and understanding, as we've seen with erroneous early reports of breaking news by both news media and citizens using social media. For example, several innocent young men were wrongly linked by television and social media reports to the 2012 Boston Marathon terrorist bombings.

Later that year, Ryan Lanza was initially identified by cable television and digital media as the man who shot to death 20 children and 6 adults at a Newtown, Connecticut elementary school, when the shooter was actually his brother, Adam, who also killed himself. The first cable television reports about the U. S. Supreme Court's 2012 decision largely upholding the Affordable Care Act wrongly told everyone watching that the court had overturned the law because CNN and Fox News reporters had not yet read the entire complex ruling.

Digital technology also makes it easier for news-like rumors, half-truths and purposeful misinformation to spread rapidly on the Internet before the truth catches up with them, if it ever does. For example, opinion polls have repeatedly shown that 10 per

cent or more of Americans still doubted that President Obama was born in the United States, after years of false rumor-mongering by so-called "birthers," much of it on the Internet.

On the other hand, digital technology gives news media and their audience new tools to correct mistakes, check facts, provide context, update information, reveal plagiarism and fabrication, and authenticate or discredit social media posts and citizen-contributed photos and videos. It enables anyone posting news on the Internet to include hyperlinks to primary source material and other relevant information and images. It gives news media the means to show how they cover the news and what goes into their journalism, and it gives their audience opportunities to help shape the news. The same technology that has so disrupted American journalism is enabling its reconstruction in still evolving new forms.

What has not changed – and what should not change?

News still matters. In the chaotic digital transformation of journalism, news still plays a significant role in all our lives, our communities and our world. What was written in *The News About the News* at the dawn of that digital transformation at the turn of the century (*Leonard Downie Jr. and Robert G. Kaiser, Knopf, 2002*), is still relevant today: "Good journalism – in a newspaper or magazine, on television, radio or the Internet – enriches Americans by giving them both useful information for their daily lives and a sense of participation in the wider world. Good journalism makes possible the cooperation among citizens that is critical to a civilized society. Citizens cannot function together as a community unless they share a common body of information about their surroundings, their neighbors, their government bodies, their sports teams, even their weather. Those are all the stuff of news. The best journalism digs into it, make sense of it and makes it accessible to everyone."

Good journalism bears witness and describes, engages and informs, verifies and explains, analyzes and interprets, creates understanding and empathy, investigates and reveals – and, most importantly, seeks after truth. Good journalism makes a difference. Whatever form it takes and however it is produced in the digital age, good journalism has

not changed in these fundamental ways.

Bad journalism – reporting news inaccurately, inadequately, unfairly or mendaciously – also has not fundamentally changed, although its impact tends to be magnified by the long reach of digital media. Bad journalism can misinform, ruin lives, undermine communities and endanger nations.

So news values still matter. In a turbulent sea of too often untrustworthy digital information, news values are the beacons for credible journalism. They include accuracy, fairness, open-mindedness, independence of power and ideology, transparency about sources and methods whenever possible, and dedication to accountability and the public interest. Every news organization and everyone producing news on their own should embody these news values, even, as we will discuss, when news takes the form of analysis, commentary or advocacy.

It is not always easy. Digital competition for speed can threaten accuracy. Advocacy can trump fairness. Pressure from news media owners or intimidating outside influences can compromise independence. The identities of some sources may need to be shielded to protect their livelihoods or even their lives. Fairness, open-mindedness, accountability and the public interest, as we will explore, can be variously defined, and there can be legitimate disagreement about just what these values mean and how they can best be realized in practice. But accuracy – the pursuit of truth – should be an unambiguous objective, even when it can only be painstakingly pursued a step at a time.

"Journalism's first obligation is to the truth," Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel emphasized in their essential book about the news, *The Elements of Journalism*. "Even in a world of expanding voices, 'getting it right' is the foundation upon which everything else is built – context, interpretation, comment, criticism, analysis and debate. The larger truth, over time, emerges from this forum."

Who pays for the news now?

News is expensive. Yes, countless fragments of sometimes newsy information can be shared for free on the Internet today. And anyone can report or share an image on social media of something they've just heard or seen – or post it on any of the myriad

blogs for which there is no compensation. But trained journalists and the staff and infrastructure of credible news organizations are expensive, regardless of technology.

Before the digital revolution, as we've said, advertising paid for most news in the United States, in print or broadcasting, supplemented in print by the relative pittance that readers paid for their newspapers, which did not even cover the cost of the ink and paper. But advertising, along with news audiences, has been fragmented by digital and cable television alternatives. The nearly 1400 daily newspapers in the U. S., in particular, have lost more than half of their advertising revenue in just a decade – falling from \$46 billion in 2003 to an estimated \$20.7 billion in 2013, according to the Newspaper Association of America. Classified advertising for everything from cars and jobs to homes for sale and rent made up the largest share of that decline in Edmunds's analysis, plummeting from just over \$15 billion in 2003 to just over \$4 billion in 2013, thanks to popular digital alternatives like Craigslist.

As a result, there have been dramatic changes in who pays for the news.

Newspapers, for example, are now charging their less numerous print readers significantly more for individual copies of and subscriptions to their papers. A majority of newspapers, including most of the largest in readership, also are charging digital readers for access to their websites, with so-called metered paywalls, which allow visitors to view a certain number of stories – on most newspaper sites 5 to 12 per month – before they are required to pay to subscribe.

Altogether, newspaper income from print and digital circulation reached \$10.9 in 2013, according to the Newspaper Association of America, accounting for nearly 30 per cent of newspapers' total revenue, compared to just 16 per cent in 2007. Some newspapers and digital news sites also are offering access to journalists and newsmakers at various kinds of special events for premium payments. Others, such as The Wall Street Journal, Chicago Tribune and Los Angeles Times, have bundled print and digital subscriptions, access to other content, special events and even entertainment discounts into monthly paid memberships. However, even as audience revenue is, on balance, increasing in these ways, steadily declining advertising still accounts for two-thirds of the revenue for all of American journalism, including print, broadcast and digital, according to a 2014 Pew Research Journalism Project study.

Newspapers, although still mostly profitable after severe cost-cutting, are nevertheless seen as relatively unattractive long-term investments in their current forms. Many long-time corporate owners of large groups of newspapers and television stations – including Gannett, Tribune, Scripps, and Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. – have divested their newspaper holdings into separate companies, away from somewhat more profitable television stations and other assets. Still other newspaper owners, including investment companies speculating in media acquisitions, have offered their stripped-down newspapers for sale outright, with their fates unknown.

But, among the recent buyers of selected newspapers at bargain prices are billionaires with agendas. Investor Warren Buffett added 28 papers in small and medium-sized cities in 2011, 2012 and 2013 to the 41 he already owned. Amazon founder Jeff Bezos purchased The Washington Post in 2013. In the same year, Boston Red Sox owner and former hedge fund executive John Henry took The Boston Globe off the hands of The New York Times, and Minnesota Timberwolves owner Glen Taylor, bought The Star-Tribune in Minneapolis-St. Paul.

Henry and Taylor said they want to help The Globe and The Star-Tribune survive as vital local newspapers. "I see The Boston Globe and all that it represents as another great Boston institution that is worth fighting for," Henry told the newspaper's readers. Bezos said he wants The Washington Post to prosper as a digitally enhanced local, national and international multi-media news organization. "For me," he told Post journalists at a newsroom meeting, "it's an exciting opportunity to participate in something that's a pillar of a free society."

"I believe that papers delivering comprehensive and reliable information to tightly-bound communities and having a sensible Internet strategy will remain viable for a long time," financier Buffett wrote about his strategy of buying newspapers that still have relatively substantial local audiences and advertising support. "Wherever there is a pervasive sense of community, a paper that serves the special information needs of that community will remain indispensable to a significant proportion of its residents."

In another sign of the changing times, Alice Rogoff, daughter of a wealthy digital innovator and wife of Carlyle Group billionaire investor David Rubenstein, bought the Alaska Dispatch digital news site in 2009 and then the Anchorage Daily News newspaper

in 2014. She created the print and digital Alaska Dispatch News, now by far the state's dominant news organization.

Local newspaper ownership by wealthy individuals is an old American tradition. Their patronage can protect news organizations somewhat from the whims of the marketplace, but it can also raise news coverage questions. All the wealthy new newspaper owners have pledged not to interfere with news-gathering. But it's likely that people will be watching to see how The Post covers Bezos and Amazon, the Star-Tribune and the Globe cover the Timberwolves and the Red Sox and others of their owners' holdings, and how the Alaska Dispatch News covers the Carlyle Group's extensive investments in Alaska.

The ownership of television stations that broadcast local news is mostly concentrated in large corporations, including the major networks and companies like Sinclair Broadcast Group, which owns and operates more than 160 television stations reaching almost 40 per cent of the U. S. population. Some of their owner relationships also raise coverage questions. Local station owners ABC (The Walt Disney Company), CBS (Sumner Redstone's National Amusements) NBC (Comcast's NBC Universal) and Fox (Rupert Murdoch's 20th Century Fox) are controlled by high-profile entertainment companies with products to be promoted and images to protect, while Sinclair uses its stations to spread its aggressive conservative ideology.

Television station advertising, although not as robust in recent years as in the past, plus the retransmission fees that stations charge cable companies to carry their channels, make them still comparatively profitable. News programs and websites account for almost half the revenue of the average television station, according to the Radio Television Digital News Association, because there is more local advertising time for each station to sell during local newscasts than during network and syndicated shows. And, as we will explain later, many television stations now save money by sharing news reporting, video and even entire newscasts with each other, which reduces or even eliminates original local television news reporting in some communities.

Internet and other media entrepreneurs have started popular and diverse for-profit websites like BuzzFeed, Gawker, Vice, Vox, Politico, and TMZ, which are producing digital news in a variety of forms, along with blogs, gossip, pop culture and digital

amusements. They are competing with older digital news aggregators like Yahoo News, AOL News and The Huffington Post, which also have been investing in original journalism. These digital operations, which have been luring experienced journalists away from traditional news organizations, are experimenting with new kinds of visual, explanatory, revelatory and opinion journalism about everything from politics, national security and foreign affairs to sports, lifestyles and entertainment. Their revenue comes from varying combinations of advertising, digital subscriptions and Internet marketing and consulting services. Some, such as BuzzFeed and Vice, also have attracted significant funding from venture capitalists, which, at least indirectly, injects new money into paying for news.

At the same time, foundations, universities, philanthropists, other donors are funding a growing number of startup non-profit news organizations that are influencing American journalism beyond their still relatively small sizes and numbers, as we will explain. Some of the non-profits like the Voice of San Diego focus on local news, others like Texas Tribune on state issues and still others like ProPublica on journalism of national interest. Some like Arizona State University's Cronkite News, which reports on Arizona for news media throughout the state, are based at universities and staffed by student journalists. Others are the expanded newsrooms of public radio stations like St. Louis Public Radio and New York Public Radio, which have been increasing their local and regional news coverage. Significantly, as we will explore later, many of the non-profits collaborate with each other and with newspapers and television stations and networks so their journalism can reach wider audiences.

However, the finances of most of these fledgling non-profit news organization are fragile at best. They depend on unpredictable grants from national and local foundations, private donations, audience memberships and fund-raising events. A few earn revenue from sharing the journalism and data they produce with other news media. Others are subsidized by universities so their students can do journalism while they are studying it. A fraction of the support for public radio stations – about 10 per cent or so for most stations – is federal money that passes through the independent Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Qualifying non-profits also benefit from federal tax exemptions and tax-deductible donations from supporters, although Internal Revenue Service approval of the

needed 501(c) (3) tax code designation for news non-profits has been unpredictable in recent years.

In a recent experiment, the Knight and Ford Foundations also made a few grants to for-profit news organizations and staff members. In 2012, Ford gave \$1 million to the Los Angeles Times to cover ethnic and prison issues and \$500,000 to The Washington Post to help increase its "government accountability" reporting. Knight gave digital developers at The Post, The New York Times and the Chicago Tribune money to develop innovative databases for election campaign spending and census analysis. In 2014, Knight announced, without details, that it was creating a new "journalism division (that) will focus on leading transformational change in newsrooms."

Altogether, however, the various kinds of new money paying for digital news and innovations in journalism are not yet filling the gap left by still shrinking advertising support. As the Pew Research Journalism Project's State of the News Media 2014 report concluded, "So far, the impact of new money flowing into the (news) industry may be more about fostering new ways of reporting and reaching audiences than about building a new, sustainable revenue structure."

Are newspapers dead? Or are some no longer just newspapers?

American newspapers are in turmoil. Their print circulation is steadily disappearing. Their digital readership is still scattershot. Their advertising revenue is continuing to shrink. Their print editions are getting smaller – in the sizes and numbers of their pages. Many parts of their newsrooms are emptying out.

There are still almost 1400 daily printed newspapers in the United States. Only a few have actually died in recent years – and the biggest casualties were the second newspapers in what had been two-newspaper cities, including Denver, Seattle and Tucson. But scores of daily papers have stopped publishing on one or more days each week to save printing and delivery costs on days when they sell the least advertising. Among the most radical so far are the Times-Picayune in New Orleans, Birmingham News, Press-Register of Mobile and Huntsville Times, all owned by Advance Publications, which now publish papers only three days a week, posting news on their

websites the rest of each week. Two other Advance papers, The Oregonian in Portland and Plain Dealer in Cleveland publish and deliver home editions four days a week, putting smaller editions on newsstands the other days. The Advance newspapers' journalists put all of their news on their websites, while small separate editorial staffs select some of it to be published in their print editions. The jointly operated Detroit Free Press and the Detroit News follow a similar pattern, having reduced home delivery of printed papers to just three days a week.

In addition to losing half their advertising revenue and cutting their newsroom staffs by a third overall in the decade between 2003 and 2013, as we have explained, newspapers lost half of their print circulation during that time. Even with the addition of digital subscriptions in recent years, average paid daily circulation for U. S. newspapers fell from 54.6 million in 2004 to 29.1 million in 2014, according to authoritative news media analyst Alan Mutter. At the same time, unpaid digital exposure in a variety of ways has actually increased audiences for their journalism, even though much of that is sporadic viewing via links from other websites and social media. Eight of every ten adults online in August, 2014 viewed at least some newspaper digital content, according to comScore digital data released by the Newspaper Association of America (NAA). A 2014 Scarborough Research study for the NAA shows that 55 per cent of the total audience for newspaper journalism still read it in print, 30 per cent both in print and on digital devices, and 15 per cent only on digital devices.

Many newspaper owners are focused on cutting costs to remain at least marginally profitable by further shrinking their news staffs and reducing pay, which significantly degrades the quantity and quality of their news coverage, and eliminating days of print publishing while doing little more digitally than posting their content on websites. Many others are claiming to be converting themselves into "digital first" news organizations in ways that sometimes appear to be primarily cost-cutting in digital dress. Only a relatively small number so far are investing in much more ambitious transformations from traditional newspapers into innovative digital news organizations.

In 2014, Gannett, the largest U. S. newspaper publisher as measured by paid circulation, announced that it would spin off its 81 newspapers, including USA Today, into a separate company from its television stations and national non-newspaper digital

holdings like the CareerBuilder and Cars.com websites. It also made the latest in a series of deep staff and salary cuts in its newsrooms and directed that many of its newspapers become "newsrooms of the future," in which editors would be eliminated or re-purposed, reporters would post un-edited stories directly online, and much of what they cover would be dictated by what audience metrics show that readers prefer on their websites.

Journalists at those newspapers were instructed to re-apply for fewer jobs. For example, at Gannett's Indianapolis Star, which employed 275 journalists in 2000, the 124 remaining staff members were told to compete for 106 jobs in 2014. "Every job has been re-defined," Kate Marymount, Gannett's vice president for news, told the Columbia Journalism Review. "That's why everyone applies for a new job. There are some smaller number of jobs, so not everyone will find a job."

Amalie Nash, editor and vice president for audience engagement at Gannett's Des Moines Register in Iowa, told the Columbia Journalism Review that she was reducing the number of newsroom "middle managers," including traditional assignment editors. "Instead you have content strategists and coaches who work with teams of reporters on what they're covering," she said, "how to reach certain audiences, how to respond to what they're hearing through metrics and feedback and everything else."

"Reporters will be empowered to roam for news and listen to you in a more self-directed way," Asbury Park Express executive editor Hollis B. Towns told his New Jersey readers in a public letter. "The stories they write will be based on what you read and click on." The Cincinnati Enquirer requires its reporters to get to know the newspaper's advertising representatives in their coverage areas to share sources and maximize the paper's appeal for 25-to-45-year-old potential readers.

After most local Gannett newspapers drastically de-emphasized or eliminated national and foreign news, USA Today began in 2014 to insert a daily summary section of its national, international, financial and lifestyle news into many Gannett newspapers and their websites. USA Today publisher Larry Kramer said this enables local Gannett papers to devote more resources to local news. It also increases USA Today's print and digital audience, the largest in the country, for marketing to advertisers.

Advance Publications, privately owned by the Newhouse family, has been one of the most aggressive group newspaper owners in transitioning its papers into digitalcentric news organizations. Advance has re-oriented its 33 newspapers in 11 states to feed 12 local and regional news websites designed to be "new digitally focused news and information companies." Home delivery of the printed newspapers was eliminated several days a week to "free up millions of dollars to invest in our digital operations," according to an internal 2013 progress report memo from Randy Siegel, president of Advance Local. Newsroom staffs were cut drastically, some by well over half, leaving Advance journalists to work collectively in places like Alabama, where its news operations at the Birmingham, Huntsville and Mobile newspapers were effectively subsumed into its Al.com digital site. As at many other newspapers across the country, Advance journalists are encouraged to help increase traffic on its websites by frequently posting breaking news, updates, blogs, photos and responses to reader comments on the Advance websites, in addition to using social media to draw attention to their work.

An American Journalism Review survey of 18 metropolitan newspapers found that most of them encouraged all of their journalists to regularly promote their work on social media – including Twitter, Facebook and Google+ -- and some like the Los Angeles Times required it. A 2013 survey conducted by Oriella Public Relations Network showed that six of every ten American journalists were active on Twitter.

The journalists at the Atlanta Journal Constitution, a Cox Enterprises newspaper, were re-organized in 2014 into broad topic teams with "audience specialists" for both digital and print journalism, with their coverage decisions "based on audience metrics, research and judgment," according to a staff memo from senior managing editor Bert Roughton Jr. "For example, instead of covering a bunch of individual companies, the Economy team might focus around a topic such as 'Metro Atlanta's recovery from the Great Recession and how that is reshaping the economy for our audiences.""

In what is becoming routine at many smaller newspapers, the 19 journalists at the York Daily Record in York, Pennsylvania, in 2014 reported and wrote stories, posted on blogs and social media and made videos, usually putting it all on the Internet before editors check on it afterwards. Once a week, according to an account in the Columbia Journalism Review, Record reporters stationed themselves in public places like coffee shops and announced to readers on social media that they were available to meet them to hear what was going on. Like many other smaller papers, The Record no longer had

enough journalists for regular daily coverage of the towns in its circulation area.

Many larger newspapers, like those owned by Advance, have re-oriented their shrinking newsrooms to put their journalism in various forms on the Internet first, then in print, redefining most tasks and jobs. All of the journalists at the South Florida Sun Sentinel, which covers the Fort Lauderdale-Palm Beach-Miami metropolitan area, produce stories, updates and multimedia only for its website. A separate print production team, like those at Advance newspapers, then selects from the online content to produce the next day's print newspaper.

The rhythms of newspaper newsrooms are now dictated by peak audience periods on the Internet – early morning, lunchtime and just after school and work in many places – rather than the traditional evening deadlines for morning papers. The smaller number of editors in most newsrooms handle both digital and print content. New jobs have been created for social media engagement, maximization of web traffic, creation of innovative blogs and other digital journalism, and the production of videos, podcasts and talk shows for the newspaper's websites. For example, The Des Moines Register produced a 22-minute documentary for the 25th anniversary of the making of the movie *Field of Dreams* in Iowa. The Register is one of many newsrooms that now contain state-of-the-art video studios, and newspapers such as the Denver Post and The Washington Post have won regional Emmy awards for their website videos.

Although there are many similarities like these in the ways various newsrooms are trying to transform themselves from traditional newspapers into multi-platform digital news organizations, there are not yet proven models, as there were in the newspapers' advertising-subsidized print past. So far, there are differences in the mix of print and digital audiences and revenue, in the speed and kinds of digital innovation, and in the amounts of new investments, if any. In particular, The Washington Post and The New York Times, with large national audiences, have drawn considerable attention for their approaches to digital transformation.

At the Post, Jeff Bezos injected new money and ambition into digital change that had begun before he bought the newspaper in 2013 from the public company (now Graham Holdings) controlled by Donald Graham and his family. In the first three-quarters of 2014, The Post hired more than 100 people in its newsroom, reversing a long

period of steady contraction. It opened a software development lab in New York and further integrated web developers with the editors and reporters in its Washington newsroom to help develop innovative digital journalism. Its multimedia news and explanatory blogs about politics, national security, world affairs, economic issues, Internet culture, health, science, family life and sports were increasingly aimed at mobile devices. Half of the 40 million unique visitors to The Post's websites in August, 2014 – a 50 per cent increase in total digital audience in a year – came from tablets and smartphones, much of that through web searches and social media links.

A breaking news team and an overnight staff produce digital news and features for washingtonpost.com websites around the clock. An enlarged politics staff produces stories for sunrise and noon digital postings that are reworked for the next day's paper. The Post also offers users of the Amazon Fire and other tablet devices a daily digital subscription selection of 200 stories of national and international interest. And The Post's Newspaper Partner Program gives its digital national and international news to subscribers of the paid websites of more than 160 U. S. daily newspapers, reaching tens of thousands more identifiable consumers of The Post's journalism.

The New York Times refocused its newsroom on digital transformation in 2014, after The New York Times Company decided to concentrate its resources on the newspaper and its website, selling off the Boston Globe, a group of regional newspapers and other holdings. The Times had already established one of the first and most successful digital news paywalls, with 875,000 paid digital subscribers, plus one million print subscribers, near the end of 2014, according to spokesperson Eileen Murphy. The Times commissioned a 96-page report in 2014 from a newsroom committee that noted "traditional competitors like The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post, The Financial Times and The Guardian are moving aggressively to remake themselves as digital first – digital reports that also produce newspapers, rather than the other way around."

In response to the report's recommendations, The Times reorganized its newsroom leadership to add senior editors in charge of digital strategy, interactive news technology and audience development, plus new digital editors in all of its nine news departments. It reduced print-oriented staff in the newsroom while adding positions for

digital and video. A "Watching" blog on its mobile and desktop home pages continuously mixes breaking news and updates, multimedia and even social media postings from The Times and other media from around the Internet 24 hours a day. A popular "Upshot" blog analyzes politics, national issues, economic developments and sports.

Both The Washington Post and the New York Times also are still experimenting with printed news. They each publish print supplements of national and international news for subscribers to other newspapers that no longer have the newsroom resources to cover this news themselves. In October, 2014, the Dallas Morning News began offering its Sunday print subscribers both a 24-page weekly Washington Post supplement of national, world, lifestyle and arts coverage and commentary and New York Times supplements of international, business and culture news and book reviews. Morning News subscribers pay extra for the supplements, and the newspaper shares the revenue from subscriptions and advertising with The Post and The Times.

More than half of the estimated 70,000 journalism working at American news organizations are still in the newsrooms of newspapers and their digital operations. And those newsrooms, despite all their contraction and digital challenges, still originate much of the news that Americans see in print, on the Internet and even on television. Their tortuous transition into the digital age is a critical factor in the ongoing evolution of American news and journalism.

What's happened to news on television?

Television remains the most popular source of news for Americans, even as a majority of us also regularly consume news from newspapers, radio and the Internet. A 2014 study by the American Press Institute's Media Insight Project found that 93 per cent of Americans get at least some of their news from television stations, networks and their websites, 66 per cent from newspapers and their websites, 56 per cent from radio stations and their websites, and 47 per cent from digital-only sites like Yahoo! News and BuzzFeed.

There are now more hours of news on television than ever, even though the size of the news staffs of both local stations and national networks have mostly stagnated after years of reductions to maintain their profitability. The content of television news appears

to be primarily shaped by what is currently popular, with minute-to-minute measurements of audience ratings. News on television is characterized today by: weather, traffic, crime, sports and broadcasters' banter on expanded hours of local television news; celebrity interviews, lifestyle news, entertainment and more banter on the networks' long morning shows; disaster and lifestyle news along with digests of national and world developments on the networks' relatively brief evening newscasts, and endless hours of talk on cable news.

After decades of decline, the combined audience for the flagship ABC, CBS and NBC evening newscasts has steadied in recent years at between 22 and 23 million people. That is still much larger than the combined prime-time cable news audience of less than 3 million for CNN, Fox News and MSNBC, according to the Pew Research Center and Nielson Media Research. But news took up only 18.8 minutes of the broadcast networks' 30-minute evening newscasts in 2012, according to a Pew study, with the rest of the time devoted to commercials and network promotions. Despite its name, ABC World News offered the least foreign news but the most crime, lifestyle and entertainment news, as measured by Pew. NBC Nightly News aired somewhat more government and politics news, along with a sizeable amount of lifestyle news. CBS Evening News had notably less lifestyle news and the most foreign and national security news, even though CBS operated fewer overseas news bureaus, only five, after closing nine bureaus around the world between 2008 and 2012. Since the Pew study, the three networks have further sped up the pace of their evening news programs – with ABC adding garish cable news-style graphics and melodramatic music and sound effects – and have devoted still more of each program's 18-plus minutes to audience-attracting human interest stories and Internet videos of odd occurrences, children and animals.

News has been mostly marginalized on what had been the broadcast networks' other news shows. Their featured morning shows – ABC's Good Morning America, NBC's Today and CBS This Morning – have increasingly supplanted serious news coverage for their combined audience of 12 to 13 million viewers with human interest features, entertainment and talk, especially after their first half-hour on the air. With the exception of 60 Minutes on CBS, with a consistent audience of 11 to 12 million on Sunday evenings, what had been in-depth prime-time news magazines – Dateline on

NBC, 48 Hours on CBS, and 20-20 and Primetime on ABC – have become tabloid television programs. They have featured melodramatic narratives of crimes, court cases and bizarre occurrences, even as their audiences fell in the past decade to about 5 million viewers each.

All three broadcast networks have reduced their news staffs in recent years to cut costs, as estimated by Pew. They do not break out annual budget or staffing details for their news divisions. "Assessing the state of network newsrooms is difficult," Pew reported in 2011, "but available information suggests these newsrooms are less than half the size they were in the 1980s." With smaller news staffs, the broadcast networks are using more reporting and video from their local stations and other sources, including YouTube, Twitter and other social media.

The Spanish-language Univision and Telemundo television networks, which feature telenovela soap operas and variety shows, also produce national news programs on weeknights that resemble those of three major English-language networks and draw sizeable audiences.

The total audience for the three major cable news networks – CNN, Fox News and MSNBC – has fallen in recent years to less than 3 million viewers in prime-time and 2 million during the day, according to 2014 Pew and Nielsen data. But they reported in 2013 that cable news network consumers spend twice as much time watching each day as did viewers of broadcast network news, which may have something to do with age. The New York Times reported in October, 2014 that the median age for American cable news network viewers was 59 for CNN, 61 for MSNBC and 68 for Fox News – compared to an average age of 57 for the audiences of the evening news on the broadcast networks.

In late 2013, Univision and the Walt Disney Company launched a new cable news network, Fusion, aimed at young adults, including English-speaking Hispanics. Drawing on the resources of the two company's news divisions, ABC News and Noticias Univision, Fusion mixes news with commentary and lifestyle, pop culture, satire and entertainment content.

What cable news viewers see today is more talk – interviews, commentary and opinion – and less live coverage of breaking news and events, which had once distinguished cable news. A Pew Research study of cable news content in 2012 showed

that "overall, commentary and opinion are more prevalent throughout the day (63% of the airtime) than straight news reporting (37%)." Only CNN, which has a larger reporting staff and more news bureaus worldwide than any of the other broadcast or cable networks, has recently reversed that trend and increased its breaking news coverage, including from CNN International. Overall, CNN still broadcasts the most news of the three major cable news networks, according to Pew, while MSNBC did the least.

MSNBC specialized in left-leaning political commentary and opinion. Fox News, which had a larger audience, featured right-leaning news coverage, commentary and opinion, including a 2014 prime-time line-up of notably outspoken conservative commentators Bill O'Reilly, Greta Van Susteren, Sean Hannity and Megyn Kelly.

Other ideologically oriented cable and satellite channels aimed at viewers on the political left or right have come and gone in recent years with none yet taking hold. One of them, Current TV, launched by former Vice President Al Gore, sold its channel space on American cable providers to the Al Jazeera Media Network, owned by the ruling family of Qatar. In 2013, it started Al Jazeera America, which offered national and international news produced by U. S. journalists for what initially was a small audience.

Besides the three major general news cable networks, there are a growing number of special interest channels, including CNBC, Fox Business Network and Bloomberg TV for financial news, ESPN and offshoots of the major broadcast networks for sports, and the Weather Channel. The audience for the financial news channels has been concentrated among business people, while the game and highlights coverage and commentary on sports cable channels is aimed at diverse sports audiences.

Relatively little news appears on public television in the United States. The non-profit Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), which has more than 350 member public television stations, does not produce news or any other programming. Instead, PBS acquires and distributes programs from large public stations, independent producers and other sources, including Britain's BBC. Among those are a variety of documentaries, including Frontline investigations, NOVA science and technology programs and American Experience history and biography films – all produced by public television station WGBH in Boston.

The only daily news program on PBS is the struggling evening News Hour,

formerly the MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour, which Robert MacNeil and Jim Lehrer donated to the Washington, D.C. public television station WETA in 2014. Its reported audience has plummeted from 2.5 million viewers in 2005 to less than 1 million in 2013, and it has lost millions in corporate donations to support what had been an annual budget of about \$25 million. The News Hour's staff and budget have been cut, and the program has had to rely on inexpensive interviews and news reading.

Why does so much local television news look the same?

Local television news in the U. S. is formulaic – formatted by industry consultants to maximize audience ratings and advertising revenue. There are a number of widely copied, somewhat similar and sometimes mixed formats, most of which focus on presentation rather than substance. For "Eyewitness News," television reporters present their stories in live "stand-ups" in front of where a news event occurred earlier, even though the traffic accident had long ago been cleared from the intersection or the courthouse where the trial took place is dark and empty. "Action News" contains fastpaced short stories and snippets of video, without much substantive reporting, to avoid losing impatient viewers. "Franchise News," with slogans like "On Your Side" or "Coverage You Can Count On," features subjects like health and consumer news or crime fighting that can be promoted to viewers as having an impact on their lives. During each periodic "sweeps week," the audience ratings for which are marketed to advertisers, most stations showcase sensationalized crime, consumer and investigative reporting. Local stations also tend to reflect the branding and personalities of the networks with which they are affiliated. Industry insiders point out, for example, that ABC's network programming attracts more women viewers than CBS or NBC, so some ABC affiliates favor news stories they believe would appeal to women.

Regardless of format, weather, traffic, sports, crime and unusual events dominate local commercial television newscasts. Pew Research Center studies of selected local stations' newscasts showed that the average time they devoted to weather, traffic and sports increased from 32 per cent in 2005 to 40 per cent in late 2012 and early 2013. Coverage of what Pew characterized as "accidents, disasters and unusual events' jumped from 5 per cent of local news airtime in 2005 to 13 per cent in late 2012/2013, in addition

to the 17 per cent of newscast time devoted to crime stories.

Coverage of local government and politics, meanwhile, decreased from an already paltry 7 per cent of air time in 2005 to only 3 per cent in 2012/2013. "For some time, television consultants have been advising local television stations that viewers aren't interested in politics and government," Pew stated in its 2013 State of the News Media report, "and it appears that advice is being taken."

Local television newscasts often contain eye-catching video of weather events, disasters, crimes and bizarre behavior that they obtain cheaply from stations and networks around the country and the world, as well as from social media and their own viewers. These video snippets are featured in newscasts even when they have no connection to the station's community.

Many local stations also devote time in their newscasts to features about and promotions of programs on their affiliated networks, in addition to frequent promotions of the stations' own on-air anchors and reporters. The Washington Post has reported that news stories on the Sinclair Broadcast Group's television stations have even included promotional mentions of some of their advertisers. Still more time on most newscasts is consumed by often inane banter among the on-air "personalities."

Even though audiences for local television news have been steadily declining overall, stations have been adding newscasts, particularly in the early morning. The average amount of time devoted to local station newscasts each weekday increased from 3.7 hours in 2003 to 5.4 hours in 2012, according to Pew. The number of stations starting local news at 4:30 a.m., for example, increased in just one year from 245 stations in 113 markets in 2012 to 634 in 207 markets in 2013, according to Nielsen data. But most stations have not increased their news staffs, which are smaller than newspaper staffs in most of the same cities and towns. So the stations have increased time slots for local advertising revenue on their newscasts without increasing their newsgathering costs. With their news staffs spread ever more thinly, the stations are even less likely to do indepth reporting about their communities, virtually ignoring subjects like education, the environment, local business and technology that are not believed to sufficiently engage their audiences.

Spanish-language stations owned by Univision and NBC Universal's Telemundo

also have increased their hours of local news, which resembles that of English-language stations and draws similar-sized audiences in cities like Los Angeles, Miami and New York, with large Latino populations.

As we will detail later, some local stations have increased local investigative reporting, although much of it is little more than "watchdog" consumer stories, after television consultants' research showed that viewers want it and stations can build some of their branding around it. Station group owners such as NBC, Gannett, Hearst and Scripps have encouraged the hiring and training of additional reporters and producers for their stations' investigative units, with many of the resulting stories aimed at sweeps weeks.

The local television newscast looks exactly the same on two or more stations in many places around the country because, in fact, it *is* the same. More than one-fourth – or 307 – of the 1,026 television stations that broadcast local news are now getting much or all of that news from another station, according to a 2014 research report by Hofstra University Professor Bob Papper for the Radio Television Digital News Association. This is a result of steadily increasing consolidation in the ownership of local television stations. The ten largest station owners, as of 2014 according to Pew, are Sinclair Broadcast Group, which owns or operates 167 stations in 77 local television markets, Gray Television with 124 stations in 40 markets, Nexstar Broadcasting with 108 stations in 44 markets, LIN Media with 43 stations in 23 markets, Tribune with 42 stations in 34 markets, Gannett Broadcasting with 43 stations in 33 markets, Media General with 31 stations in 28 markets, CBS with 29 stations in 19 markets, Scripps with 19 stations in 13 markets and Meredith with 13 stations in 11 markets.

In many cities and towns, these companies own or operate two stations – called "duopolies" – and save money by closing the newsroom at one station, which then broadcasts the news produced by the other station, with the same on-air anchors and identical stories. In Eugene, Oregon, for example, the newsroom of KMTR, an NBC affiliate now operated by Sinclair, was merged into the newsroom of KVAL, a CBS affiliate now owned by Sinclair, and the two stations broadcast the same newscasts.

A 2013 Pew survey found that a growing number of stations with different owners also broadcast the same local news to save money. In Lansing, Michigan, for

example, WLAJ, an ABC affiliate owned by Shield Media, simulcasts the newscasts produced by WLNS, a CBS affiliate owned by Media General. In Syracuse, New York, the combined newsroom of two separately owned stations affiliated with CBS and NBC produces identical local news stories for the stations' separately branded newscasts.

Even television stations owned by a single company in different cities and towns often share at least some news content, Pew found. Nine stations owned by Nexstar Broadcasting in New York state and Vermont, for example, share 40 to 50 video clips each day. This can dilute the amount of local community news broadcast by those stations, but it can also provide them with relevant coverage of their region or state capital that they could not afford on their own. Stations in many of the largest U. S. markets also have reduced costs by forming local news services that share reporting and video coverage of major events and expensive resources like helicopters.

Greater quantities of local news can be found on 24-hour regional news channels operated by big media companies on cable television systems in some parts of the country. The seven largest are Time Warner Cable's NY 1 and Cablevision's News12 Long Island in the New York City metropolitan area, Sinclair's News Channel 8 in the Washington, D. C. metropolitan area, Comcast's New England Cable News, Tribune's Chicagoland Television, Bright House Networks' Bay News 9 in the Tampa Bay area in Florida, and Gannett's Northwest Cable News in the states of Washington, Oregon and Idaho. Time Warner Cable also operates smaller cable news operations in cities in New York State, North Carolina and Texas.

These regional cable channels broadcast news around the clock in rotating blocks of live and repeated news and discussion shows, plus bulletins of updated news, weather and sports. They augment their own news resources with content sharing agreements with broadcast stations and newspapers in their areas, some of which have the same owners. Sinclair's ABC affiliate station in the Washington area, for example, shares news and video with Sinclair's jointly operated cable News Channel 8 in the same building. The Chicago Tribune newspaper and Tribune's WGN television station share content with its Chicagoland Television cable news channel. Gannett's television stations in Seattle, Portland and Boise share video with its Northwest Cable News. And Cablevision owns Long Island's Newsday newspaper along with the News12 Long Island cable news

channel.

Content sharing gives viewers of many of the regional cable news channels a greater volume of local news, if not the resources for deeper enterprise or investigative reporting. As subscription cable operations, their freedom from the pressures of audience ratings enables them to devote more news coverage and discussion programs to subjects like government, politics, business, education, technology and culture, which are scarce on local broadcast television newscasts.

Most non-profit public television stations do not produce or broadcast local news programs at all. PBS and station officials cite the high cost of newscasts, a lack of philanthropic support for news programming, a perceived lack of viewer interest and competition with commercial television stations. Some stations do produce low-cost regional public affairs interview and talk shows.

A very few more ambitious public television stations are working with universities and other news organizations to produce their own local news. For example, San Diego's public television station, KPBS, operated by San Diego State University, broadcasts its own evening newscasts, with assistance on breaking news and video content from the local ABC-affiliated commercial station, 10 News San Diego. The KPBS public television station shares a sizeable newsroom with the KPBS public radio station, which also broadcasts local newscasts, and with inewsource.org, an independent startup non-profit digital investigative news site in San Diego that works with KPBS radio and television on investigative projects. KPBS also shares a local news reporter with the Voice of San Diego non-profit news site and collaborates with El Latino, San Diego's Hispanic newspaper, which publishes KPBS stories in Spanish. And KPBS produces its own digital news site.

How is digital technology changing television news?

Digital technology – from satellite transmission to computerized graphics to miniaturization of video cameras – has long had a profound impact on television news. What is different with the Internet today is that digital technology is challenging television news rather than just enabling its operation. The digital revolution is forcing

networks and stations to evolve from the traditional television medium to digital multimedia on many kinds of screens and devices.

The free access news websites of the major broadcast and cable networks, for example, now attract much larger and younger audiences than their televised news programs. Their websites contain more news than their television newscasts, including print versions of news stories and streaming video and photo galleries that their website audiences can read and watch whenever they want. Yet the networks' websites produce only a small fraction of the advertising revenue of their television newscasts.

The websites of all of the major broadcast and cable news networks, which also contain content from other sources, are among the 20 most visited news sites in the U. S., along with the digital versions of The New York Times, The Washington Post and USA Today newspapers and digital-only sites like The Huffington Post and Google News. ABC and Yahoo formed a digital content partnership in 2012 that has drawn the Internet's largest news website audience, overtaking cnn.com. The majority of the audience for all these sites now comes from smart phones, tablets and other mobile devices, on which most digital visitors spend only a few minutes each day.

Local television stations have moved more slowly than the networks in evolving their websites from primarily promotional arms of the stations into comprehensive local news sites – and more slowly than many newspapers in involving their news staffs in digital journalism. By 2014, only three of the more than 1,000 television stations broadcasting local news across the U. S. were charging for access to their websites, and the audiences for local stations' websites were not much larger than those for their television newscasts.

An annual survey by Hofstra University Professor Bob Papper for the Radio Television Digital News Association showed that, in 2013 and 2014, local television stations were beginning to move faster to beef up their websites' content, to push their staff to promote them on social media, and to design strategies for their stations' news on digital media, especially mobile devices. Yet Papper found that only 22 per cent of local television newsroom content was web-only, only a few station employees worked full-time on their websites, and only 20 per cent of the station's news directors had responsibility for their websites. Just as they do with televised newscasts, some local

stations share websites to hold down costs.

KNXV-TV, the ABC affiliate in Phoenix, is one of the more aggressive local stations on the Internet. Its digital media staff has been growing, and its reporters write website print versions of their television stories, post updates and promote their work on social media. The station's website features news from its own staff, the Washington bureau of its owner, Scripps, and other sources. Anita Held, KNXV-TV's vice president and general manager, said that 65 per cent of its website traffic comes from mobile devices and that its visitors watch much of its weather, sports, crime and human interest video.

What's happened to news on radio?

With the notable exception of public radio and a relatively few all-news commercial radio stations scattered around the country, there is very little news on American radio stations today.

Most of the 11,343 commercial AM and FM radio stations in the U. S. in 2014 broadcast no news or only a short two-to-five-minute news bulletin from ABC Radio or CBS Radio at the top of each hour of their music, sports or talk programming. The several hundred stations that label themselves as "news/talk/information," according to the Pew Research Center, are "filled with more talk than news, much of it nationally syndicated" conservative personalities such as Rush Limbaugh, Sean Hannity, Michael Savage and Glen Beck.

Only in 19 cities are "all-news" commercial radio stations broadcasting news throughout the daylight hours or around the clock, mostly sandwiched between frequent traffic, weather and sports reports and commercials. On some of those stations and their websites, much of the news is repurposed from broadcast networks, news services and local newspapers, although each of the stations also has a few reporters on the street.

By contrast, the most ambitious all-news stations – nearly all of them owned and operated by CBS Radio in large cities – including New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago, San Francisco and Los Angeles – have relatively large reporting staffs and sometimes cover more local news than commercial television stations in the same cities. On their websites, the CBS all-news stations combine their own news stories and

multimedia with audio and video from CBS News.

The largest amount of national news on the radio is broadcast by non-profit National Public Radio (NPR) through its estimated 900 member public radio station across the country. In addition to news bulletins on the hour, NPR broadcasts two-hourlong morning and evening news programs every day, with local news produced by the local member stations inserted into each hour. The audiences for Morning Edition on weekday mornings (nearly 7 million listeners each day) and All Things Considered in the afternoons (more than 5 million) are the largest for radio news, competitive with the audience for broadcast television network news and much bigger than the cable television news audience. NPR newscasts include news stories from NPR's own staff of hundreds of radio journalists in news bureaus around the country and the world – and from NPR member stations.

Local news coverage varies widely among public radio stations, which mix news with public affairs, cultural, entertainment and music programs. The majority of public radio stations have only a few, if any, local news reporters. Only the largest public radio stations and groups of stations – including WNYC in New York and New Jersey, Chicago Public Radio, Minnesota Public Radio, Southern California Public Radio, and Oregon Public Broadcasting in the Pacific Northwest – maintain sizeable newsrooms and cover their communities meaningfully on the radio. Some public radio stations are collaborating with each other and with start-up non-profit digital news organizations to increase local news coverage.

Why doesn't public broadcasting play a bigger role?

Americans provide comparatively little support for public broadcasting – an estimated \$4 per capita in government funds and private donations combined. The roughly \$400 million that Congress appropriates for public broadcasting each year amounts to \$1.30 per U. S. citizen – compared to an estimated \$22 per capita in government spending on public broadcasting in Canada, about \$80 in Britain and more than \$100 in Denmark and Finland. The federal money in the U. S. goes to the quasi-independent Corporation for Public Broadcasting. The CPB then gives grants to non-profit public television and radio stations, most of which are licensed to colleges,

universities and other non-profit organizations. CPB grants account for only a fraction of the budgets of most public stations – and only a tiny fraction for the largest stations. The rest of their financial support comes from philanthropic, corporate and personal donations and, in the case of a few large stations, the sale of programs they produce and syndicate to other public broadcasting stations.

Only a small amount of the CPB money makes its way into news. Three-fourths of it goes to public television stations, which, as we have discussed, do very little news reporting. Instead, the television stations spend most of their money on broadcast facilities, overhead, entertainment programming and fund-raising. Only a quarter of the CPB money – about \$100 million each year – goes to public radio stations, even though they greatly outnumber public television stations. And most public radio stations' fund-raising supports only very small news operations.

In recent years, the CPB has spurred a movement to increase local journalism on public broadcasting stations, investing more than \$20 million in various projects since 2009. To encourage collaboration among stations that could increase the impact of their news staffs and resources, for example, the CPB has made grants to nine "Local Journalism Centers" in which a number of neighboring public radio and television stations partner on regional news coverage of subjects including agriculture in the Midwest, education in the South, the changing economy in Pennsylvania, energy in the mountain and prairie states, the environment in the Northwest, and immigration and border issues in the Southwest. Some of them have had difficulty collaborating effectively across distances, and two have disbanded. But the remaining seven – comprising 55 public radio and television stations – have been continuing the experiment.

What is news on the Internet?

In one sense, as we've said, it is whatever people believe to be news in what they consume on social media, e-mail, mobile apps and websites. In another, it is what news always has been, but in new digital guises. What has been word-of-mouth news is now also transmitted by social media and e-mail. What has been published and broadcast as journalism by news organizations is now also found in a variety of new forms on every kind of digital device.

The majority of news on the Internet still originates with digitally transforming traditional news organizations: newspapers, news services, and television and radio networks and stations. Digital forms of the news they produce now appear on their own websites and many other places throughout the Internet. Fifteen of the 20 most-visited American news websites in 2012, as measured by Nielson, were those of television and cable networks and newspapers and newspaper groups – including ABC, CBS, NBC, Fox, CNN, The New York Times, The Washington Post, Wall Street Journal and Gannett, Tribune and Advance newspapers. Several of them also have relatively large followings on Facebook and Twitter, according to ComScore data. As we've explained, most of these news media are increasingly working to re-orient their news operations and economic models to the opportunities and demands of the Internet, with varying degrees of progress.

At the same time, an increasing amount of digital news is being offered by start-up "digital native" news organizations that are only available on the Internet. Some are for-profit general interest websites with large audiences and increasingly well-known brands. Many others, which we will discuss later, are relatively small non-profit news organizations focused on niches like investigative reporting or community journalism.

Some of the for-profit digital native websites with the largest audiences began as aggregators of news content picked-up from the websites of established media. The digital native sites have never compensated those news media for that content, although they have helped drive traffic to their websites.

For example, The Huffington Post, now owned by Internet pioneer AOL, has combined links to content from major news organizations with its own journalism and blogs from volunteer contributors about everything from politics and world news to parenting and health, plus a potpourri of popular recycled Internet stories and videos about celebrities, entertainment, lifestyles, sex, animals and what it labels "weird" occurrences. Among examples of its own original journalism, The Huffington Post's military affairs correspondent, David Wood, won a 2012 Pulitzer Prize for a series of feature stories on the lives of severely wounded veterans and their families. Ariana Huffington, the website's founder and CEO, has attributed its huge audience (115 million unique visitor views in August, 2014) to a mix of hard and soft news, original and

borrowed, which, she said in a 2014 digaday.com interview, makes it "a leader in terms of all the content people want."

The digital formula of The Daily Beast, founded and formerly published by celebrity journalist Tina Brown, has been very similar to that of The Huffington Post, which, along with Huffington herself, had once been seen as arch rivals of The Daily Beast and Brown. Now owned by IBT Media, the Daily Beast has featured a similar mix of links to content aggregated from other news organizations, contributed blogs and entertainment features from around the Internet.

One of the newer aggregators, Mashable, has combined general and entertainment news content from other media with its own reporting on social media, technology and business. One of the oldest, Yahoo News, part of the giant Yahoo! Web portal and search engine, has recently been expanding its original news and sports reporting, while hiring prominent journalists from newspapers and television. Its merged website with ABC News has featured mostly news from ABC and other news media.

Some for–profit websites started by tech entrepreneurs have built large audiences by analyzing web traffic data to determine what content would attract the most people. BuzzFeed, for example, has featured trivia lists, animal features and popular web videos. Gawker Media has mixed sensational news stories with celebrity gossip, animal features and unusual occurrences. Hollywood-based TMZ is full of gossip and titillating videos about entertainment personalities and other celebrities. Yet all three also have occasionally broken significant stories of great impact with information, recordings or videos obtained from undisclosed sources. For example, TMZ posted both a video of then Baltimore Ravens football player Ray Rice punching his wife inside an elevator and an audio recording of then Los Angeles Clippers basketball team owner Donald Sterling making racist remarks.

Original news reporting has been rare on these websites, however. They have more often featured the same stories, photos or videos that have gone viral on the Internet, with their own catchy headlines and garish display to attract the most possible web traffic.

Some newer websites – such as Vox, FiveThirtyEight and Quartz – have specialized in explaining the news and analyzing noteworthy data, in addition to

aggregating other content. A few start-ups like Syria Deeply have focused on a single subject with aggregated content from other media and their own blog posts. They are all similar to explanatory, data analysis and single-subject blogs on the websites of traditional news organizations, including The New York Times and The Washington Post.

There are far fewer for-profit startup websites that primarily do original news reporting. Politico has specialized in incremental news about politics and the news media for an insider audience, part of which has paid substantial subscription prices for its Politico Pro specialized information products. Business Insider has focused on business and technology, while Re/Code and Tech Crunch also cover technology. Salon and Slate are older digital magazines that have featured staff stories and blogs about politics, public affairs, culture, media and entertainment. Vice, a Canadian print magazine that morphed into a digital upstart, has covered some of the same subjects, aimed at a younger audience, plus popular but sometimes controversial videos, such as a series shot in 2014 in the company of extremist Islamic State in Iraq and Syria troops in the Middle East.

Even fewer commercial digital-only news sites specialize in local news, and only a few of them have survived. An exception is Hearst's SeattlePI.com, which replaced the Seattle Post-Intelligencer newspaper when it closed down in 2009. One of the newest independent for-profit startups, Billy Penn in Philadelphia, has combined links to news produced by other Philadelphia media with its own reporting, entertainment features and community events aimed at the city's growing population of young adults.

More numerous "hyperlocal" for-profit news sites, resembling blogs with advertising, have been started by entrepreneurs in smaller communities and neighborhoods scattered around the country. Some, like the Local News Now sites in several Washington, D. C. suburbs, operate independently. Others collaborate with local newspapers; several dozen neighborhood sites in the Seattle area, for example, have shared story links and advertising sales with the Seattle Times.

Perhaps most significantly, startup digital native commercial news sites have so far augmented rather than replaced the increasingly digital traditional commercial news media. In fact, without them, much of the news content of the digital startups would disappear. In addition, the economic models that the newcomers are trying to establish –

varying mixtures of venture capital, advertising, digital subscriptions, ticketed events and digital services for commercial customers – have yet to prove more viable for the future than the changing economic models of older news media.

Are blogs journalism?

Many of the millions of blogs populating the Internet contain elements of news of one kind or another – in addition to more numerous musings, opinions and rumors – whether produced by individual people blogging on their own or by journalists working for news organizations, large and small. What began as diary-like word posts in the 1990s now include photographs, videos, graphics, reader comment and links to other content on the Internet.

A significant number of independent bloggers have produced what has become widely followed journalism-like news about parenting, food, fashion, health, travel, education, economics, technology, the law and other subjects in which they have become expert. Some blogs have been merged into newspaper and digital-only websites or grown on their own into what amount to digital native mass media, such as The Huffington Post, Gawker or Talking Points Memo. The initial reverse-chronological posting patterns of some blogs have morphed into designed website pages and mobile device applications.

At the same time, newspapers and broadcast media have added to their websites more and more blogs by their own journalists. Many of them post items throughout the day on incremental developments and inside information on such beats as politics, sports, business, technology or education. News organizations also use bulletin-like blog posts for minute-by-minute real time coverage of major breaking news events until fuller stories can be pieced together.

How are social media changing journalism?

Even as blogs continue to evolve and multiply, news and information also are increasingly being shared by individuals and news organizations in words, images and links on social media – from social networks Facebook, Twitter and Linked-In to photosharing Instagram, video-sharing YouTube and one-to-one chat sharing WhatsApp.

Millions of people using social media each day discover news shared by other people and

news organizations, whether they are purposefully looking for it or not. Half of the people using social media surveyed by the Pew Research Center in 2014 said they had shared news stories, photos or videos at one time or another.

An example explored by The New York Times in 2011 was the killing of terrorist leader Osama bin Laden in a U. S. Special Forces raid in Pakistan. Rumors about it were widely shared on social media 20 minutes before confirmed reports were broadcast late at night on broadcast and cable networks – and an hour before President Obama announced it from the Oval Office. News of Obama's statement and photos people took of him making it on their television and computer screens also filled social media.

A significant number of people also use social media to share news they are witnessing themselves. In the Pew Research Center survey, 14 per cent of social media users said they had posted their own photos of news events, while 12 per cent said they had posted videos. Many residents of Ferguson, Missouri, for example, posted eyewitness information, photos and videos on social media about the 2014 police shooting of black teenager Michael Brown and the protests and clashes with police afterward, helping to make it a heavily covered national story.

Journalists and their news organizations use social media to monitor news developments, seek out news sources and solicit and find information from their audiences. They also use social media to help distribute their journalism and attract larger digital audiences, as well as to measure and analyze those audiences. Many news organizations, for example, put catchy new headlines on digital versions of their stories to increase measured "share worthiness" on social media.

At the same time, social media have further fragmented digital traffic to news websites in what Cory Haik, senior editor for digital news at The Washington Post, has called "the great unbundling of journalism." Digital news consumers, especially younger adults, have been increasingly clicking from social media onto individual pieces of news organizations' journalism rather than to their home pages or the rest of their websites, where they would have been likely to stay longer and consume more content. By late 2014, Haik said, only one-third of the many millions of digital readers of Washington Post news content came directly to the home page of its website, while one-third found individual stories through search engines, and another third arrived via links on social

media. And nearly all of the traffic to the newspaper's content on mobile devices, she said, came from search engines and social media. So Haik started a team of developers analyzing traffic patterns of those digital visitors to find ways to attract them to more Washington Post journalism.

Indeed, one of the most interesting developments along this front has been the way that social media is challenging search as the primary driver of news audiences today. Whereas, for many years, "Google optimization" was an article of faith at many digital news outlets, today social media optimization is just as important, if not more so. What this means is that, rather than simply writing headlines and articles that rank highly in Google search results, editors and writers are crafting articles that "perform well" on social media as well. An obsession with how news can "go viral" is part of this strategy, and this shift—from search to social—has important business implications for Silicon Valley as well.

We shouldn't forget that social media – like some blogs and websites – also transmit misinformation, unfounded rumors and purposeful disinformation. Some of the shared messages, photos and videos from the chaotic 2014 street clashes in Ferguson, Missouri, for example, were unintentionally misleading about the actions of protesters and police or were misinterpreted as they were passed along on social media. In 2011, social media spread erroneous news reports that then congresswoman Gabby Giffords had died in the Tucson shopping mall shooting in which she was seriously injured. In 2013, Reddit prominently posted unfounded rumors about who was responsible for the Boston Marathon terrorist bombings. The startup website Storyful (acquired in late 2013 by Rupert Murdoch's News Corp.), which helps client news organizations authentic news reports and videos that appear on social media, has found many of them to be hoaxes.

Who decides what news is now?

According to communications scholar Andrew Chadwick, digital technology has helped to create a "hybrid" news media system. [cite: Chadwick 2013. *The Hybrid Media System: Politics and Power.*] The process of deciding "what counted" as news, of course, was never simple and involved a variety of actors struggling to get information that mattered to them into the newspaper and on TV, and also involved journalists and editors

evaluating the newsworthiness of that information. What has changed today is that the news agenda setting process has grown even more complicated and there are many more people and technologies involved. Newspaper editors and broadcast news producers who not long ago were the primary "gatekeepers" of what the public saw and heard as news have been replaced in part by news "traffic directors," and in part consumers of digital media.

What we call these news traffic directors involved in the agenda setting process include the leaders of digital native websites, the programmers of algorithms that determine what news is most easily found on search engines and social media, the digital data analysts in news organizations who discover which content attracts the most traffic to their sites and how it gets there, curators of personalized content digital media, and so-called "power user" digital news consumers who are most active in sharing what they like online. They all help decide what people first see when they click on websites or what pops up on the screens of their computers and mobile devices. News consumers, for their part, have their own say in ways that include the Twitter feeds they follow, the Facebook pages and links they prefer and the digital news alert subjects they select. Websites and social media increasingly try to feed back to consumers the kinds of content they have most often clicked on in the past, just as advertisers try to feed to them ads that fit the profiles their keystrokes have drawn over time.

Traditional news media gatekeepers still play a role by deciding what news their organizations cover, which is still the largest amount of news available to be shared digitally. But they lose much of their influence after that – as their content bounces around the Internet like a beach ball in a sports crowd.

So is everyone a journalist now? What is audience engagement?

Anyone with access to the Internet can share news and create journalism, just as citizen contributors to the news media did in the pre-digital past. That does not necessarily mean that they are or will become journalists, but they can play a significant role in shaping the content of journalism.

Most news organizations regularly monitor social media for news, photos and videos shared by citizens, and they evaluate tips and images sent directly to them.

Increasing numbers of news organizations also actively solicit information from their audiences through social media, as well as print, broadcast and website appeals. Some reach out to selected groups of people to help them research specific subjects. Others, like The Washington Post's PostEverything blog, accept, edit and publish journalism from outside writers and citizens. All of this amounts to audience engagement with the news.

ProPublica, the New York-based national investigative reporting non-profit digital news organization, uses social media to create communities of citizens to participate in its investigations. For its ongoing multi-year series of investigative stories about the quality of American health care, for example, ProPublica created a Facebook group of more than 2,000 people willing to discuss patient safety with each other and ProPublica reporters. It solicited 560 responses from people about harm done to them as patients and another 150 responses from health care providers willing to share their experiences and views about patient safety. ProPublica journalists check out the information as part of their reporting of stories for the non-profit's website and for news media partners that publish and broadcast its stories.

Other news organizations – from newspapers like The Washington Post, Miami Herald and Charlotte Observer to numerous public broadcasting stations – have tapped the Public Insight Network (PIN) archive of participating audience members created by Minnesota-based American Public Radio. Journalists post queries to PIN members to discover stories and to solicit information, interviews and feedback for stories they already are working on. The Miami Herald, for example, found sources for an investigation into Florida's failure to protect children in families with child welfare histories. A number of public broadcasting stations used PIN queries of their audiences to select key issues and questions for candidates in their coverage of local elections in 2014. A student-staffed PIN bureau at Arizona State University's Walter Cronkite journalism school assists smaller news organizations and student journalists in using the PIN archive.

In another audience engagement experiment, a number of public radio stations led by WBEZ in Chicago have asked audience members to pose questions about news topics, vote on suggested stories they want to explore, and then help journalists report them for a weekly radio program called "Curious City," which is being expanded by its founders into "Curious Nation." Public radio station WNYC has used a foundation grant for surveys and focus groups to identify concerns of New York City residents that might influence the station's news coverage. With a \$3.9 million grant from the Knight Foundation, The Washington Post, The New York Times and the non-profit technology developer Mozilla have been exploring development of a Knight-Mozilla OpenNews monitored "publishing platform for readers" to share comments, information, articles, images and other audience-generated content. The Dallas Morning News, which has been experimenting with reader-contributed blog posts about local news and lifestyle subjects, won a \$250,000 grant from the Knight Foundation in 2014 to enable more citizens, particularly Hispanics, to use social media tools to help inform, shape and act on Morning News journalism about education and other community concerns.

Other kinds of audience engagement appear to be designed as much to save money as to expand journalism. Some large audience websites – including The Huffington Post, Forbes, Medium and Reddit – have solicited and published unpaid stories and blog posts from their readers to add to their content without increasing their costs. Over 90 per cent of Medium's content in 2014, for example, has consisted of unpaid contributions, according to digiday.com. Huffington Post has faced complaints from free-lance journalists about lack of compensation, and other sites have been embarrassed by errors, conflicts of interest, and racist and sexist posts by unpaid contributors, whose content is lightly edited, if at all.

In these and other still unpredictable ways, the relationship between the media and the people who used to be known only as their audiences is evolving rapidly.

What is the role of non-profit journalism?

Before digital technology disrupted their economic models, many commercial news organizations devoted significant resources to "public service journalism" – such as extensive coverage of public affairs and investigative reporting – while still realizing extraordinarily large profits. As their advertising revenue and profits fell sharply and their news staffs and resources were cut deeply after the turn of the century, public service journalism declined dramatically.

To try to fill some of the resulting gaps, as we noted earlier, a number of

journalists, backed by charitable donors, started small non-profit digital news organizations focused on community, state or national public affairs coverage and investigative reporting. In 2014, the Pew Research Journalism Project counted 200 such non-profit digital news organizations receiving about \$150 million annually from foundations, universities, philanthropists and other donors.

Many large donors said they acted to ensure the future of public interest journalism by funding non-profit sites. San Diego businessman Buzz Wooley initially financed the Voice of San Diego for local news and investigative reporting. Texas venture capitalist John Thornton helped start the Austin-based Texas Tribune for state news coverage. And California philanthropists Herb and Marion Sandler underwrote ProPublica for national investigative reporting. Other donors have backed non-profit news sites covering specialized subjects, including the environment (Inside Climate News), criminal justice (The Marshall Project), health (Kaiser Health News) and education (Chalk Beat). Still others have supported ideologically oriented non-profit sites, such as Media Matters, which reports on the news media from a liberal point of view, and Watchdog.org of the Franklin Center for Government and Political Integrity, for which a network of independent journalists in state capitals across the country report from a conservative point of view.

National and local philanthropic foundations – led by the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, endowed with the Knight family's newspaper chain inheritance, and the Ethics and Excellence in Journalism Foundation, funded by Oklahoma's Gaylord newspaper publishing family – have helped finance many of the non-profit digital news organizations. In just two of many examples, Knight and several California-based foundations have backed the state and national journalism of the Berkeley-based Center for Investigative Reporting, while Knight and the Pittsburgh Foundation helped start Public Source for investigative reporting in Pittsburgh and Pennsylvania.

Much of the journalism produced by non-profits has been published and broadcast by commercial news media who collaborate with them. ProPublica's investigative reporting has appeared in newspapers including The New York Times, The Washington Post and Los Angeles Times and on commercial and public television networks and public radio. Journalism produced by California's Center for Investigative Reporting,

Pennsylvania's Public Source and The Texas Tribune, among a number of regional non-profits, has been published and broadcast by news media throughout their states. Some non-profits have charged publishing partners a relatively small fee for their stories, but most of them have given their journalism to commercial news media free of charge. This has provided the non-profits with much larger audiences than they would otherwise have, and it has given budget-conscious commercial news media significant additional journalism at little or no cost.

Some non-profits have been working even more closely with public radio and television stations, including the collaboration between the inewsource.org investigative reporting non-profit and public station KPBS in San Diego, which we mentioned earlier. For example, the I-News investigative reporting non-profit in Colorado has merged with Rocky Mountain PBS to produce news on its stations throughout the state. The St. Louis Beacon local news non-profit has merged its newsroom with that of St. Louis Public Radio. And the Seattle-based Investigate West non-profit collaborates on radio and television reports with public stations in the state of Washington.

Journalism produced by non-profit news organizations has had a notable impact across communities and states, prompting reforms and drawing attention to such issues as local school performance, environmental problems, government malfunctions and corruption, and sexual assaults on college campuses. A number of non-profits have won major regional and national journalism awards, including Pulitzer Prizes, usually dominated by commercial news media. ProPublica won 2010 and 2011 Pulitzers for national and investigative reporting, respectively, and Inside Climate News, which did not even have a physical newsroom at the time, won a national reporting Pulitzer in 2013 for its investigation of an environmentally damaging oil spill in Michigan.

As we discussed earlier, most news non-profits remain financially fragile. Their leaders must constantly search for new kinds of financial support beyond the foundations and big donors who gave them their starts. Many local and statewide non-profit news sites are trying to build broad-based local fund-raising and memberships, similar to public broadcasting stations. The New Haven Independent website, for example, now raises 70 per cent of its support locally. The Knight Foundation gave a \$1.2 million grant in 2014 to the Voice of San Diego and the MinnPost local news non-profit in

Minneapolis-St. Paul to help them grow their local membership models.

The Texas Tribune, founded in 2009, has become one of the largest-staffed and financially strongest non-profit digital news sites. Its staff of 40 produces state government, politics, issue and investigative reporting and interactive databases of Texas government and demographic information. With initial investor John Thornton, Evan Smith, the Tribune's CEO and editor-in-chief, has tapped the state's considerable wealth for philanthropic donations, paid memberships, paid-attendance events with newsmakers, and abundant corporate sponsorships on its website and for its events. The Tribune took in \$5.1 million in revenue in 2013, including \$1.16 million in corporate sponsorships, \$1.13 in event income and nearly \$700,000 in memberships.

How are some universities producing journalism, rather than just teaching it?

A significant amount of non-profit public service journalism is now being produced by students in university journalism schools. Their stories and multimedia are being published and broadcast by newspapers, television and radio stations and news websites in many cities and states where they are located, helping to fill some of the gaps in news media coverage of local communities, state governments, business, the environment and other subjects, in addition to investigative reporting. These students have been doing professional-level journalism while learning it.

Students at the University of Maryland's Merrill College of Journalism, for example, have covered state and federal government news for Maryland newspapers from college-run bureaus in the state capital of Annapolis and Washington, D. C. Other universities with statehouse bureaus in which students have produced stories for news media in their states include Boston, Illinois, Kansas, Missouri and Montana. Student reporters, including those working part-time or on internships for news organizations, accounted for one of every six reporters working in statehouse news bureaus in 2014, according to a Pew Research Center study.

Students at Arizona State University's Walter Cronkite School of Journalism cover state and federal government, business and sports news for Arizona news media from bureaus in Phoenix, Los Angeles and Washington, D. C. They produce a nightly half-hour regional newscast for Arizona's largest public television station, which became

part of the Cronkite School in 2014. In January, 2015, Cronkite students produced a half-hour documentary on heroin abuse in Arizona that was simulcast on every television and radio station in the state. The Cronkite School also is the base for the annual foundation-supported News21 national student investigative reporting project, in which about 30 selected students from 20 universities produce multimedia stories about such subjects as food and transportation safety, voting rights, gun laws and young veterans that have been published and broadcast by news media throughout the country.

Students at Northwestern University's Medill School of Journalism work in a Medill news bureau in Chicago and a national security reporting project in Washington, D. C. Graduate journalism students at Columbia University cover city and state government for its New York World news website. Annenberg School students at the University of Southern California run the Los Angeles digital news site Neon Tommy. Students at the City University of New York and New York University staff neighborhood news blogs in New York City boroughs. And Florida International journalism students staff the South Florida News Service, working with editors at the Miami Herald, Sun-Sentinel and Palm Beach Post, which publish their stories.

All of this is part of a movement by some journalism schools toward what advocates call a "teaching hospital model" for professional journalism education, similar to university law school clinics and university teaching hospitals in which law and medical students gain real life experience. Although academic leaders in some universities have ignored or resisted the trend, philanthropic foundations have focused their journalism education funding on schools experimenting with the teaching hospital model. Not surprisingly, both commercial and non-profit news media have welcomed the professional quality journalism these programs have provided them at no cost. And the journalism students have been better prepared to step into multimedia news positions in rapidly changing newsroom.

How does collaboration among news media work?

The frequent sharing of journalism by non-profit news organizations with each other and commercial news media has been part of a growing trend of collaboration among news organizations of all kinds. This is a relatively new development. Before the

turn-of-the-century digital disruption of journalism, news media seldom shared journalism with each other. Now, both shrunken older news organizations and the still small startups need to share journalism.

Eight of Ohio's largest newspapers have regularly shared each other's stories, reducing costly duplication of coverage of news of statewide interest. Five Texas newspapers – in Austin, Dallas, Fort Worth, Houston and San Antonio – also have shared some stories, giving each paper journalism it wouldn't have otherwise. The Baltimore Sun and The Washington Post have traded coverage of their cities' sports teams.

Local newspapers and television and radio stations in a number of cities have collaborated with each other on news, traffic and weather reports. In New Orleans, television station WVUE has provided weather reports and news videos to the Times-Picayune and its website, and the newspaper has collaborated with the station on news and investigative reporting. NBC-owned television stations in Chicago, Miami, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia and San Diego have collaborated with local non-profit news organizations on everything from breaking news to investigative projects, providing the non-profits with financial assistance and the stations with enterprise journalism they would not have produced on their own.

Non-profit news organizations including ProPublica, The Texas Tribune, Center for Investigative Reporting in California and Washington, D. C.-based Center for Public Integrity have encouraged other news organizations of all kinds to take stories and data on their websites and produce localized versions for their own audiences. ProPublica has even posted a "reporting recipe" step-by-step guide for some of its stories for the benefit of other news media.

Collaborations also have provided newspapers and broadcasting media with indepth news about specialized subjects that they may no longer cover extensively themselves. The Kaiser Family Foundation's non-profit Kaiser Health News, for example, has produced health care news published and broadcast by newspapers and public radio stations throughout the country. Two of the first three investigations of criminal justice issues produced by The Marshall Project non-profit on its 2014 launch were published by The Washington Post. ProPublica's Pulitzer Prize-winning investigation of deaths at Memorial Medical Center in New Orleans in the aftermath of

Hurricane Katrina was first published in The New York Times Magazine.

Whatever became of objectivity in journalism? Is transparency a better goal?

"Objectivity" – an ambiguous concept that may once have connoted "just the facts" journalistic detachment – has become an outmoded goal, if it ever was a viable one.

Edward R. Murrow of CBS was not being objective in attacking McCarthyism. The Washington Post was not being objective in determinedly investigating how the Watergate burglary involved high-level political crimes that brought down a President. The Guardian, The Post and The New York Times were not being objective in judging for themselves which of the NASA surveillance secrets revealed by Edward Snowden would be published by them. News organizations are not being objective in deciding to give much more weight to the scientific evidence of man-made global warning than to the nay-saying of some interest groups and politicians. Nor are they being objective in regularly fact-checking what politicians and officials say and then rating their truthfulness.

In the digital age, it is clearer than ever that there are sometimes only one or often many more than two sides to most stories, that false balance does not equate truth, and that context, explanation, judgment, point of view and "voice" can all be part of credible journalism. Credibility is what matters most for individuals and news organizations pursuing truth through journalism. As we discussed earlier, accuracy, fairness, openmindedness, independence of power and ideology, and dedication to accountability and the public interest are among the news values necessary for credible journalism.

We also included transparency about sources and methods whenever possible – which allows the audience to judge for themselves the credibility of journalism and its adherence to the other values. In *The New Ethics of Journalism: Principles for the 21*st Century, Tom Rosenstiel and Kelly McBride say this means "show how the reporting was done and why people should believe it." And they add that, when necessary, anyone committing journalism should make clear "whether you strive for independence or approach information from a political or philosophical point of view."

News organizations should be transparent about whether political or ideological

leanings influence their journalism. Commercial news media should be transparent about any influence exerted by owners, advertisers or other powerful interests. Non-profit news organizations should be transparent – as many are – about the identities of their funders and donors.

News stories should be transparent about sources of information and their reliability. They should be transparent about what is not known or what is in dispute. And they should be transparent about context that could shape the meaning of the story.

Is journalism feeding political polarization in America or exploiting it?

A 2014 Pew Research Journalism Project survey showed that people with strong conservative or liberal political views tend to favor certain news media and stay away from others. And they follow a similar pattern in their use of social media. "When it comes to getting news about politics and government, liberals and conservatives inhabit different worlds," Pew concluded. "There is little overlap in the news sources they turn to and trust."

Consistent conservatives "clustered around a single news source, far more than any other group, with 47 per cent citing Fox News as their main source for news about government and politics," Pew reported. Consistent liberals "rely on a greater range of news outlets," including The New York Times, The Guardian, The Washington Post, NPR, MSNBC, and Huffington Post. Consistent liberals strongly distrusted Fox News and conservative talk radio personalities, while consistent conservatives strongly distrusted most of the other cable and broadcast networks.

As Pew pointed out, most Americans find news from a variety of digital sources every day, but the most conservative and the most liberal news consumers have tended to engage more in political conversations and activity. Yet there has been little research into whether the news media they favor — or what they see elsewhere on the Internet — cause or reflect their political polarization.

That said, it's obvious that Fox News and websites and blogs like Daily Caller, Matt Drudge's Drudge Report and Lucianne Goldberg's Lucianne.com are heavily skewed toward conservatives and MSNBC and websites and blogs like The Huffington Post, Think Progress and Markos Moulitas's Daily Kos are similarly skewed toward

liberals. Yet, to support their views in a variety of ways, they often link to journalism on more mainstream news sites. According to The Washington Post, 4.4 per cent of the links to its political journalism come from the Drudge Report, compared to 5.5 per cent from Google. [Move to section 3]

What is accountability journalism and its role in news media today?

Investigative reporting that gives voice to the voiceless in our society and holds accountable those with power over the rest of us has played a growing role in American journalism since Watergate. A number of newspapers and television networks, even after drastic down-sizing in recent years, still have assigned journalists to do investigative reporting as a specialty or on their beats. Increasing numbers of televisions stations have expanded their investigative reporting, even though much of it may be for competitive branding. And, as we've discussed, a number of non-profit startups have primarily done investigative reporting, which they have shared with other news media.

The Investigative Reporters and Editors organization, with about 4,000 members, has been training more reporters at more news organizations than ever before. Digital technology has given reporters unprecedented access to data and other sources of information and enabled computer-assisted analysis of what they have found. Collaboration among news media has enabled sharing of shrunken staff and resources and wider exposure for investigative reporting. And its mission has expanded.

Accountability journalism today has encompassed traditional investigative reporting, fact-checking political speech, digging into digital data and aggressive beat coverage to reveal as much as possible about what is really going on in every aspect of American society – from national security, government, politics, business and finance to the environment, education, health, social welfare, culture, sports and the media itself. Accountability journalism has exposed, among much else, local, state and national government corruption, frauds committed by businesses and charities, citizen abuse and unwarranted shootings by police, unpunished child molestation by Catholic priests, performance-enhancing drug use and spousal abuse by professional athletes, neglect of military veterans' medical problems by the U. S. Veterans Administration, and plagiarism and fabrication by journalists and authors.

Accountability journalism has prompted change and reform. In one example, a 2013 investigation by the Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel found that newborn screening supervised by hospitals and state agencies across the country were failing to have hundreds of thousands of blood samples examined by laboratories in time to save babies from life-threatening conditions that could have been corrected. Hospitals and states soon changed their procedures, with some crediting the newspaper.

The widespread criticism of the news media for not being more aggressive in digging into the Bush administration's rationale for going to war in Iraq or Wall Street's financial manipulations leading to the 2008 financial meltdown shows that Americans have high expectations for accountability journalism. However, practicing it can be challenging, especially in places around the country where newspapers no longer have sufficient staff or resources, television stations are not increasing their investigative reporting and no one is starting an investigative non-profit.

What is advocacy journalism and what role does it play?

Advocacy journalism seeks to achieve certain outcomes. Editorial pages and opinion columns and blogs are advocacy journalism. News organizations whose owners use them to promote their ideological and political views – such as the conservative Sinclair Broadcast Group that we discussed earlier – are engaged in advocacy journalism. Some of the cable news networks – Fox News on the right, MSNBC on the left and Univision on immigration reform – are practicing advocacy journalism. So are the news websites of advocacy groups like Human Rights Watch and the Committee to Protect Journalists.

Advocacy journalism can still inform while it advocates. The best newspaper editorials and opinion columns, for example, are based on reliable, sometimes revelatory reporting. Some accountability journalism can be seen as advocating change while revealing societal problems and wrongdoing. Avowed advocacy groups also can produce credible journalism about special interest subjects. Human Rights Watch and the Committee to Protect Journalists, for example, each have sizeable staffs of researchers and writers producing professional reporting that is often relied upon by the rest of the

news media.

But the news sites produced by other advocacy groups – such as the conservative Heritage Foundation's Daily Signal and the liberal Center for American Progress's Think Progress – are more propaganda than journalism. Some groups, like the conservative Franklin Center for Government and Public Integrity, which we discussed earlier, do not disclose their ideology or funders as they seek news media publishing partners. Transparency of purpose and funding is essential for judging the credibility of advocacy journalism.

Why do journalists sometimes use anonymous sources? How dependent is journalism on "leaks"?

The most credible journalism, as we've discussed, is transparent about its sources, identifying them whenever possible. However, especially in investigative reporting, sources can be reluctant to be identified for fear of losing their jobs or even coming to harm. Journalists make agreements to treat them as confidential sources whom they promise never to identify without being released from their agreements.

Famously, much of the Watergate reporting by Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein of The Washington Post depended on such confidentiality agreements with sources who reached all the way up in the government to senior officials in the Nixon White House. None of those sources were identified while they were still alive. The Watergate stories usually referred to them only as "informed sources." With the exception of former FBI official Mark Felt, referred to until near his death only as "Deep Throat," Post editors knew the identities of all the Watergate sources, as editors should in judging the credibility of stories.

Today, many news organizations also require that anonymous sources be described, without violating confidentiality agreements, in ways that help audiences judge their reliability. Hence, news stories often refer to "a senior government official" or "a source with knowledge of the investigation." Because that still presupposes considerable trust of journalists and news organizations, anonymous sources should not be overused, as they too often are, just to avoid the trouble of persuading a source to go on the record. Government officials are especially eager to not be identified, even in

routine stories, as the sources of "leaks."

Journalism in our democracy depends on officials being forthcoming with information about the people's business, including leaks from anonymous sources, whether authorized by government itself to reveal sensitive information without taking political responsibility or by government officials who believe the information should be made public. This is especially true of information classified as secret, the dissemination of which is legally risky for government employees.

Journalists, of course, have a responsibility to do additional reporting to determine the veracity and context of information from leaks. More often than people may realize, what may appear to be a purposeful leak is actually the product of a journalist aggressively seeking and gathering information from numerous sources and piecing it together like a puzzle. That was how, for example, The Washington Post's Dana Priest discovered the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency's secret prisons for the interrogation of terrorist suspects in countries in Eastern Europe and Asia.

Should the relationship between journalism and the government be adversarial or cooperative?

As we have said, one of the responsibilities of the American news media should be to hold government accountable for its actions. And the news media should be independent of government, not an arm of it.

That independence and accountability imperative do not necessarily create an adversarial relationship if government is being sufficiently transparent and the media are being accurate and fair in reporting. However, in reality, some American media are obviously biased and even irresponsible in reporting on government, and government at all levels has a tendency to be secretive, politically protective and resistant to real accountability. Conflict is then inevitable.

There are times when the media and government do cooperate to protect human life or national security by delaying or withholding publication or broadcast of certain information, such as aspects of ongoing law enforcement activities, military actions or covert intelligence operations. However, under the First Amendment and the U. S.

Supreme Court decision in the Pentagon Papers case setting a very high bar for prior restraint on publication, those decisions must be made by the news media alone after consulting with government.

What about the Obama administration?

The relationship between the Obama administration and the press has provided a case study. Despite promising unprecedented government transparency, the Obama administration has tightly controlled disclosure of government information sought by the news media and cracked down relentlessly on unauthorized leaks. Attempts to interview government officials have been shunted to press officers who refuse permission or monitor interviews. Officials suspected of disclosing to reporters, without authorization, anything classified as secret have been subject to investigation, including lie detector tests and scrutiny of their telephone and email records. An "Insider Threat Program" in every government department has required all federal employees to help prevent unauthorized disclosures by monitoring the behavior of their colleagues.

Six government employees, plus two contractors including Edward Snowden, have been subjects of felony criminal prosecutions for leaking classified information to the press under a 1917 Espionage Act during the Obama administration, compared to three such prosecutions in all previous U. S. administrations. In one of those investigations, the administration secretly seized two months of call records for 20 telephones lines and switchboards in Associated Press bureaus in New York, Washington, D. C. and Hartford, Connecticut used by more than 100 AP journalists on bureau, home and mobile phones.

At the same time, the Obama administration has created government websites and used social media to widely disseminate its own digital version of news – White House-produced photos, videos, webcasts, blogs and voluminous databases of favorable information – while barring the media from previously accessible meetings and events. President Obama also did not keep his promise to reverse over-classification of government information or to reduce delays and refusals to fulfill Freedom of Information Act requests.

The administration has shrugged off persistent complaints by journalists and news organizations, prompting them to be increasingly aggressive in their questioning of its actions and to take steps to shield their reporting activities from government surveillance. And some news media with ideological agendas such as Fox News have repeatedly attacked the Obama administration and distorted its record. Algether, it has been one of the most adversarial relationships between government and journalism since the Nixon administration.

How are private interests trying to manage news?

While news organizations have been shrinking, corporate journalism has been growing. The number of corporate public relations specialists increased from 166,000 in 2004 to 202,500 in 2013, five times the number of newspaper reporters that year, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. And they have been increasingly working in corporate newsrooms that produce, in addition to traditional advertising and press releases, their own news-like stories and videos that appear as "sponsored" or "brand" journalism" in newspapers and on news websites and social media.

These corporate journalists have sources inside their companies, to whom the news media are often denied access, and the resources to produce sophisticated print, visual and digital story-telling with subtle brand references that can be difficult to differentiate from other journalism. For a couple of months in late 2014, the marketing department of Verizon Wireless experimented with a news-like website, called SugarString, full of Verizon-produced stories for consumers about mobile communications and digital technology, with only small "Presented by Verizon" labels at the bottom of the web pages.

Many newspapers and digital media – from The New York Times to Buzzfeed – have started their own money-making "content marketing" staffs, working separately from their newsrooms, to produce brand journalism for advertisers and other corporate clients that mimics news content. The New York Times brand advertising staff, T Brand Studio, for example, has produced subtly branded print and digital journalism for Dell, Netflix and Cole Haan shoes, among other clients.

How accountable are the news media and journalists? Does it matter how popular they are?

Journalists usually rank near the bottom of surveys of popular opinion about various professions – just above advertising salespeople, politicians, lobbyists and car salespeople in Gallup's annual poll. This could be attributed, in part, to journalists reporting unpleasant news, as well as information that clashes with the views of many in their audience. In addition, the missteps of the news media – errors, bias, plagiarism and fabrication – are more exposed than those in most other professions, except perhaps politics.

More important than popularity, in our view, is the credibility of journalism, whether or not it makes audiences uncomfortable. Journalistic credibility is dependent on news media accountability, which has actually increased in the digital age. Reporters, bloggers and anyone else monitoring the news media can use the Internet to fact-check accuracy and expose plagiarism and fabrication, and anything they find can be shared widely on social media. This continual fact-checking of the news media may contribute to the increasing unpopularity of the press, as might rampant political polarization in the United States (we will discuss this development in Part Three). But it may also lead to increased media credibility, at least in the medium to longer term.

What might be just as important as whether the news media are popular or credible is the fact that the opinions of the audience on these topics *matter* more now than they did before. In an important book on the sociology of news production, scholar Herb Gans made the argument that what journalists think about other journalists matters far more to the average news reporter than what the audience thinks about them. In this way, as in many others, the news media is a *profession*, where the judgment of peers often trumps the judgments of clients. But Gans' book was written in the 1960s and 70s, and published in the early 1980s. The self-judgment of the news profession still matters, and matters a lot. But one of the more important trends in journalism in 2014 might just be the fact that what the audience thinks about the news matters more now than ever before. In this way, the autonomy of journalism as a profession has been weakened.

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