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Why all reporters
need to understand how
science works

How coverage of Native
American issues is
changing—for the better

Obstacles and
opportunities facing
journalists
with disabilities

**The Trump campaign gives journalists
a comeuppance: There's no substitute for
listening to voters**

FACE THE NATION

NiemanReports

The Nieman Foundation
for Journalism at Harvard University
www.niemanreports.org

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Periodicals postage paid at
Boston, Massachusetts and
additional entries

SUBSCRIPTIONS/BUSINESS

617-496-6299, nreports@harvard.edu

Subscription \$25 a year,
\$40 for two years;
add \$10 per year for foreign airmail.
Single copies \$7.50.
Back copies are available from
the Nieman office.

*Please address all subscription
correspondence to:*

One Francis Avenue,
Cambridge, MA 02138-2098
and change of address information to:
P.O. Box 4951, Manchester, NH 03108
ISSN Number 0028-9817

Postmaster: Send address changes to
Nieman Reports P.O. Box 4951,
Manchester, NH 03108

Nieman Reports (USPS #430-650)
is published in March, June,
September, and December by
the Nieman Foundation
at Harvard University,
One Francis Avenue,
Cambridge, MA 02138-2098

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Newsrooms are working to stay relevant as social media platforms proliferate and political campaigning undergoes big changes

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COVER:

Patrick Semansky/Associated Press

Loathing on the Campaign Trail Once again, the media discover that there's no substitute for talking to voters

IF CASTING FOR AN ACT ONE IN THIS inglorious season of American political journalism, a mid-July moment in The Huffington Post newsroom might do.

"After watching and listening to Donald Trump since he announced his candidacy for president, we have decided we won't report on Trump's campaign as part of The Huffington Post's political coverage," announced two senior editors. "If you are interested in what The Donald has to say, you'll find it next to our stories on the Kardashians and The Bachelorette."

The imperial post was remarkable for its efficient dismissal of what we now know to be millions of voters. Like so many others,

these editors didn't simply fail to foretell the rise of Trump. In deciding for the voters rather than covering them, they missed the story hiding in plain sight, the biggest of this campaign.

That same month, The New Yorker's Evan Osnos was deep into reporting a piece that would turn out to be one of the most prescient of the season. In "The Fearful and the Frustrated," he documented a six-state journey through Trump country and his encounters with "a confederacy of the frustrated—less a constituency than a loose alliance of Americans who say they are betrayed by politicians, victimized by a changing world, and enticed by Trump's insurgency." All the themes we now know to have fueled Trump's run were ripe for harvest and arrayed in his August story: economic despondency, toxic views of immigrants, hunger for a "hostile takeover of the Republican Party."

"Over the last nine months, I was baffled as reporters continued to treat the Trump phenomenon as a joke, even after he and his supporters had provided abundant evidence of their beliefs," Osnos told me. "Recently, that's become a story, but it's very late."

Instead, proof of Trump's staying power combined with his escalating bigotry focused the media on the question of how best to characterize a demagogue. Having largely sat out the story that would examine the roots of his dark appeal, many journalists turned to denouncing him and his voters. If you were building a time capsule of Campaign 2016 journalism, you would want to include this media writer's tweet about an internal newsroom memo: "BuzzFeed Editor-in-Chief: Fair to call Trump 'mendacious racist.'"

The depth of Trump's support eluded modern measuring tools

Statistician Nate Silver's mirror-to-America election forecasts lent a scientific polish to coverage of our last two presidential races. So precise, so accurate, so comforting. I recently reread a talk by a leading national political columnist given at Harvard in the fall of 2007, 12 months before the election and Silver's laser-sharp predictions. She spoke about the campaign and described the country as "one year away from the coronation of the warrior queen." Another pundit is later recorded as concurring, asking rhetorically: "Can an African-American man with two years experience in the Senate be more electable than Hillary Clinton?" Big data and Silver's poll aggregation methods were a welcome assault on the guessing class.

But then came Trump and Bernie Sanders, the surprising socialist who would be president. Silver's FiveThirtyEight called Sanders's victory over Clinton in Michigan the "biggest primary polling upset ever." A post-mortem podcast by Silver and his colleagues reminded me of childhood interrogations by my parents to determine which of their four children was responsible for some household calamity; so much finger-pointing but no clear culprit. At one point in the podcast, an exasperated staffer ventures: "There were a whole bunch of things."

The limits of modern measuring tools were underscored for me by a riveting recent Guardian story quoting anonymous Trump



Many journalists dismissed Trump's candidacy instead of talking to voters to understand his appeal

STEVE HELBER/ASSOCIATED PRESS; OPPOSITE: LISA ABITBOL

voters at length, many of them describing themselves as “secret” or “closet” supporters, some fearful of being discovered. “Not even my wife knows,” said one man.

“The data revolution had relied on assumptions about how people behave—evangelicals do X, liberal Acela-riders do Y—and it was enormously effective in a conventional race,” Osnos wrote me. “But when the political weather changed from moderately cloudy to a hurricane, the model failed, and it wasn’t updated to keep pace.”

Osnos recalled leaving his first Trump event in Oskaloosa, Iowa, where he’d interviewed a young mother who approved of the candidate’s views on Mexicans and a “genial” Vietnam veteran who defended Trump’s mockery of John McCain because McCain had “betrayed” him and other Republicans. What he heard that day from “ordinary, otherwise likable people” both alarmed Osnos and confirmed that there was a significant story unfolding.

“These interactions were dispiriting but also revealing,” he said. “Something was happening.”

In her cover story for this issue, The Washington Post’s Juliet Eilperin writes that for journalists to avoid irrelevancy, they must adapt new digital strategies and technologies, just as the campaigns have, but also “return to some of the basics of campaign coverage.” The comment recalled for me a recent Shorenstein Center talk by Harvard historian Jill Lepore detailing both the rise of political polling and data science and the crumbling architecture on which much of it is built. She quoted Edward R. Murrow’s response to Dwight D. Eisenhower’s defeat of Adlai E. Stevenson in 1952: “Yesterday the people surprised the pollsters, the prophets, and many politicians. They are mysterious and their motives are not to be measured by mechanical means.”

Vox Pop. Voices. Person on the Street. A tradition of patient voter pulse-taking is still known in many newsrooms by the quaint names that long-dead editors attached to it. It’s a different skill than building “friends” and followers, one that values hearing over collecting.

Say what you will about the mendacious racist. He heard a crack in the earth when none of us was listening. ■



Ann Marie Lipinski

Ann Marie Lipinski

“SAYING WHAT NEEDS TO BE SAID”

Yang Jisheng, this year’s recipient of the Louis M. Lyons Award for Conscience and Integrity in Journalism, paid tribute to fellow journalists in China, who, he said, have “reported the truth, chastised evil, and moved Chinese society forward.” Banned from traveling to Cambridge to accept the award on March 10, the veteran Chinese journalist sent remarks that were read at the ceremony

by Stacy Mosher, co-editor and co-translator of Yang’s book “Tombstone: The Great Chinese Famine, 1958–1962.” The English translation was published in 2013. Writer Eva Song accepted the award on Yang’s behalf.

The Nieman Class of 2016 that selected Yang for the honor cited him as a “role model to all who seek to document the dark and difficult struggles of humankind.”

“Tombstone” chronicles a manmade famine in which 36 million Chinese people died. “Although it could only be published in Hong Kong and remains banned in China, truth-loving people have found various means and channels to distribute it throughout mainland China,” Yang wrote in his statement. “Pirated editions of ‘Tombstone’ are being sold from the hinterlands of the Central Plains to the Yunnan-Guizhou Plateau to the Xinjiang frontier. I’ve received letters from readers all over China expressing their fervent and unwavering support. This shows the power of truth to break through the bronze walls and iron ramparts constructed by the government. Fact is a powerful bomb that blasts lies to smithereens.”

Yang also wrote, “Insisting on being a journalist with conscience and integrity carries risks. When giving a lecture to a class of journalism students, I passed along a tip for avoiding danger: ‘Ask for nothing and fear nothing, and position yourself between heaven and earth.’ By asking for nothing I mean not hoping for promotion or wealth; by fearing nothing I mean examining one’s own behavior and not exposing a ‘pigtail’ for anyone to grab. Don’t rely on the powerful, but rather on your own character and professional independence. These three methods greatly reduce risk.”

In closing, he stated, “May the sunlight of conscience and integrity shine upon the desks of all journalists and writers. May more works be published that awaken the conscience of humanity and allow the light of justice to shine on every corner of the earth.”

In her speech at the ceremony, Louisa Lim, a journalist who reported from China for a decade, said, “Journalism is facing an existential crisis in today’s China. The nation’s assault on freedom of expression and freedom of information is of a magnitude not seen in decades.”

“This climate has not left Yang Jisheng unscathed,” she continued. “His work is under new attack from famine deniers.” One symposium of academics, she said, stated, among other accusations, that “his work has caused greater damage than bribery or corruption.”

“When I looked back through our conversations, one of Yang Jisheng’s favorite phrases is ‘saying what needs to be said.’ These accusations also ‘need to be said’ to fully convey the landscape that Chinese journalists now navigate. ‘Saying what needs to be said’ means refusing to self-censor, refusing to collude in silence, knowingly taking moves that could make you a target, it means not turning away from history exploding before your eyes.” ■



From left: Eva Song, Louisa Lim, and Stacy Mosher at the Lyons Award ceremony honoring Yang Jisheng’s journalism

Gabriel Dance of The Marshall Project: “We don’t care where you see our content”

The Marshall Project’s managing editor on the imperative of platform-specific stories, the supremacy of video, and why he likes to work with Collaborators

FOR A GUY WITH A BACHELOR’S degree in computer science and a master’s in multimedia journalism, you might think Gabriel Dance wouldn’t be all that enamored of nonfiction prose. But he still ranks the written word above other means of communication. “Writing is our most flexible, fastest, and most dynamic form of storytelling,” he says.

Dance began his career at *The New York Times* in 2006 before moving to *The Guardian*, where as interactive editor he was part of the team that received a Pulitzer Prize for coverage of the U.S. government’s secret surveillance program. He is now managing editor of *The Marshall Project*, a nonprofit investigative journalism site focused on the criminal justice system. “Technology and journalism right now are so intertwined that they’re kind of this spinning comet that is sailing into the future,” he says. “We don’t know where one will take the other, but they’re both driving one another right now.” Dance spoke at the Nieman Foundation in January. Edited excerpts:

On the four types of people encountered in newsrooms

At *The New York Times*, where I was on the team that did some of the first experiments

with streaming video, interactive graphics, and user-generated content, the people I met fit in one of four categories, technologically speaking. The Natives—like Aron Pilhofer, Derek Willis, Scott Klein, and Andrew DeVigal—are people who already understood the implications of technology. The second group is the Naturals, people like Jim Roberts. When I arrived, Jim, who’d already been there for 20 years, was head of the digital newsroom. He was as old school journalist as you could get. Jim was not operating from a place of fear; he was operating from a place of excitement. He saw the potential in everything, even though he didn’t understand almost any of it at the beginning. He surrounded himself with smart people and people who he thought would help him learn.

I like to call the third group the Collaborators. They are my favorite group to work with. They are not necessarily interested in learning how to program, do databases, or do the interactives themselves, but they’re excited about working with people who are good at those kinds of things in order to do better projects. They often cause me to have ideas I never would have had. Collaborators are often very good at what they do so they

don’t feel threatened by another person coming in saying, “I want to do work with you.” The last group I met I call the Fearful. That’s a dangerous group to be in. The Fearful operate from a place of fear. They’re not sure what’s going on, they’re not sure how they’re going to keep their job, they’re not sure of the new technology.

On creating platform-specific content

The video landscape is hyper-competitive nowadays. Video also has one of the few advertising schemes that is still paying dividends. The problem is, it’s super hard to crack.

There are two things I find interesting about video. One is virtual reality, such as Oculus Rift. It’s very immersive. That’s going to be a tremendously interesting place for video. The other thing is social media. Video is going crazy on social media, which is dominated by things like Facebook, and I can’t overemphasize how important Facebook is right now to journalism. Websites get huge amounts of their traffic through Facebook. It can turn switches off and on that either reduce that traffic to a trickle or open the spigot to a fire hose.

The Marshall Project, in partnership with ProPublica, recently published “An Unbelievable Story of Rape,” written by Ken Armstrong and T. Christian Miller. It was an interesting, long, complicated, wonderfully written investigation into a woman who said she was raped, then said she wasn’t raped, and the subsequent police investigation around that. We built a 30-second video teaser for Facebook, which got very little attention. Yet the story got crazy good traffic. I think the story is probably the most popular thing *The Marshall Project* has ever published. It happens to be one of the best

If a business reason came along to change how Facebook treats journalism, Facebook wouldn’t hesitate



At The New York Times, Gabriel Dance enjoyed working with Collaborators—reporters excited to work on digital projects

things we've published, but things get crazy traffic for a variety of reasons. What we took away from the experience is that creating content for Facebook or Snapchat—or whatever—needs to be content for that particular platform. People on Facebook didn't engage with our video in a way that says, "Oh, here's a teaser. Let me follow that teaser back to the website." They will watch your video on Facebook, and they want to stay on Facebook and finish consuming it there or stay on Snapchat and finish consuming it there. That's fine, especially for a nonprofit like The Marshall Project. We don't care where you see our content because we don't do advertising.

What we'll need to do is hire somebody to produce content specifically for these platforms. That is a real skill, and it's not the same skill as writing an 800-word story or a 5,000-word story. It's not the same skill as producing a 10-minute documentary. It's not the same skill as doing an interactive graphic. It's a skill of knowing how to engage people, knowing how to quickly get their attention and maintain it, by knowing what they're interested in.

On the success of AJ+

One place that's doing wonderfully with this right now is AJ+. This part of AJ+ is under the leadership of Jigar Mehta, who was at The New York Times while I was there. [He since was hired by Fusion.] What Jigar is

doing with his social media team at AJ+ is the envy of the industry. A video they posted called "Flint's Drinking Water Poisoned Kids" has over two million views. If you had shown me that video a year ago, I would have been like, "What the hell is going on? Why are they printing all the copy? Why aren't they talking? Where is the voice over? Where is the narrative?" Facebook started auto playing videos when you're in your feed. What's happening is people don't have their headphones in, and they're not listening to their Facebook while they're scrolling through it, so the audio appears as text on the screen.

Jigar has a few rules. One is that you have to catch somebody's attention in the first five seconds, which is terrifying. Two is that you have to use these short, punchy captions in order to get people to continue to watch them. This is what they're doing on probably 80 percent of their videos. This video is built for Facebook. AJ+ doesn't even have a website. Writing for the ear is much different than writing for print. My understanding is that these videos with the copy on them are going gangbusters. They're usually 45 to 90 seconds long.

Video editing is like copy editing. You can take something that nobody would want to watch and make it beautiful just by being technically very good at it. Then you need a video editor on the content side to make sure the story is being told well. That

person has to be somebody like Jigar, who has a deep background in documentary filmmaking and traditional video.

On Facebook

Facebook doesn't make a ton of money off of the journalism business. They're worried about much bigger things. If a business reason came along to change how Facebook treats journalism, Facebook wouldn't hesitate.

To be honest, Facebook is 90 percent of what matters. Twitter is a wonderful place to chat with our friends, to have influencers tweet your story. It drives extremely little traffic, especially in comparison to Facebook. We run a lot of analytics on what stories do well on our Facebook and, unsurprisingly, it's policing, race, and rape. We can publish a story on policy that affects way more people, and nobody's going to read it. Nobody's going to engage with it in the same way.

On why there is no "template" for great graphics

A lot of people will look at excellent graphics and say, "OK, this is great. What's the template for this, or what tool do you use to build that?" I say, "Show me the template or the tool for that Pulitzer Prize-winning investigation. Show me the tool you used to build that "Unbelievable Story of Rape" piece. There isn't one. These are all works of journalism, crafted things. ■

No Veteran Left Behind Finbarr O'Reilly, NF '13, joins with a Marine to drive conversation about war's impact

WHEN I MET SGT. THOMAS JAMES Brennan at a remote combat outpost in Afghanistan's Helmand Province in 2010, I was an embedded Reuters photographer and he was the leader of Third Platoon, Fourth Squad, Alpha Company, First Battalion, Eighth Marines.

The rails of my camp cot were inches from Brennan's bunk under an open desert sky and, for several weeks, we spent the long hours before falling asleep each night

talking about war, the impact it has on people, and the gap that exists between civilians back home and those who have fought overseas on their behalf.

Back then, Brennan saw me—the reporter and photographer—as the bridge connecting military and civilian worlds through my stories and pictures. Now he has left the Marine Corps and has himself become a journalist, one devoted to covering the aftermath of America's recent wars.

He is building an online investigative journalism initiative and community called The War Horse, aimed at addressing the need for a public discussion about the social impact of America's post-9/11 conflicts.

I will be The War Horse's advisor on visual storytelling, ensuring the quality and authenticity of the site's images and videos.

Brennan's transition hasn't been easy. I was with him on a combat operation when an explosion from a rocket-propelled grenade injured him during a Taliban ambush. We remained in contact upon his return home to the U.S., and through his struggles with a brain injury caused by the blast. Brennan, who also served a combat-heavy tour during the Battle of Fallujah in Iraq in 2004, was diagnosed with post-traumatic stress disorder and medically retired from the Marine Corps in 2013.

Forced to confront difficult realities as a civilian, Brennan turned to writing as a way to process his experiences. He documented

A Marine-turned-journalist is building The War Horse to examine war's aftermath

his struggles in a moving series of articles for The New York Times's At War blog, and wrote about what it feels like to kill, and about his downward spiral to a suicide attempt. Despite his personal challenges, Brennan last year earned a master's degree from Columbia Journalism School, where he was a Stable Investigative Journalism Fellow. His work has won a handful of awards and, six years after we started talking about war, we're still discussing its impact as we work on our book, "Shooting Ghosts" (Penguin Random House, 2017), about the psychological costs of war.

There are lots of things Brennan and I disagree on—gun control, smoking, and the merits of Fox News—but we do agree on the need for a lively debate about war and trauma, and the need to hold to account a dysfunctional government bureaucracy that has failed to deliver adequate health care to those who have served. It may be an unusual twist for a Marine who I met on an Afghan battlefield to have turned the tables and become embedded in the media, but who better to drive the conversation about the aftershocks of war? ■

The War Horse intends to cover the social impact of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, where this Marine was photographed in 2010



Eyes on the Prize Administrator Mike Pride, NF '85, balances past, present, and future in the Pulitzers centennial year

TWO E-MAILS IN MY IN-BOX TODAY AWAIT response. One is about Periscope, the other about Bitly. Before answering, I will have to Google Periscope and Bitly to see what they are. I'm a digital fossil stuck in the tar pit of yesterday.

Oh, I e-mail and blog, but when I was hired nearly two years ago to administer the Pulitzer Prizes, the job came with a nudge to raise my digital profile. I started tweeting, but now my grandchildren tell me tweeting is ancient. I'm ancient, I stick with it. I like the company of the journalists and writers there.

I retired as a newspaper editor in 2008 and devoted my retirement to writing history books. My work benefitted from the ever-deepening store of primary documents on the Internet, but it did not require

keeping up with emerging social media. The Pulitzer job drew me back into a world that does.

In the competition for journalism prizes, we encourage entrants to use new tools. We have a new and more dynamic website. Social media are important in communicating who we are and where we're headed.

Fortunately, my newspaper career taught me to enjoy working with people who know more than I do. My younger colleagues today are clueless about pica poles and pneumatic tubes but savvy about social media. Even when I don't quite grasp what they say, I trust them.

I brought three qualities to the job: a history of running things, experience with the Pulitzer Prize process, and respect for the prizes' place in our culture.

As we prepared last year for the centennial of the Pulitzers, which is now underway, I set out to mine the prize-winning work of a century and create a content stream for the website. This task heightened my sense of how the prizes evolved from humble beginnings. It made me appreciate anew Joseph Pulitzer's genius in linking literature and scholarship with journalism.

It would be foolish to suggest that when the prizes debuted 100 years ago, journalists suddenly abandoned questionable practices and historians seized on better sourcing and clearer narrative techniques. But two trends are undeniable: by their choices Pulitzer



jurors and board members have set and raised standards for books, drama, music, and journalism; and hundreds of entrants each year aspire to these standards.

This year, because of the centennial, several interviewers have asked whether the prizes will be around a hundred years from now. All I can say is that the Pulitzer Prizes have grown into their times and will continue to do so. Hundreds of events are being held around the country in 2016 to celebrate the values and work that the prizes represent. The board that oversees them is adapting to changing technology, new platforms, and the tumult in journalism.

Shortly after I arrived at Columbia University, home of the prizes, Nick Lemann stopped by to welcome me. As a former colleague on the Pulitzer Prize Board, Nick gently reminded me that the prizes don't need much fixing. The challenge, I'm learning, is to respect this proud Pulitzer tradition while helping to steer the prizes forward. ■

FINDING WISDOM IN THE CROWD MOLLY BINGHAM, NF '05, PRESIDENT AND CEO OF THE D.C. NONPROFIT ORB, IS PART OF A TEAM DEVELOPING A TOOL TO CREATE SCIENTIFICALLY SOUND DIY SURVEYS

AS JOURNALISTS, WE'VE all heard an editor say "get some vox pop in this piece." For decades, we've used informal polls to gauge what the public thinks about a particular topic. Yet the

reality is that we never really knew what the public thought and public opinion surveys were too expensive for most news outlets.

In the last few years companies like Facebook, Twitter, and SurveyMonkey have put survey power in the hands of anyone who wants to "hear" the opinions of a digitally active subset of the population. But there's a catch. Responses to digital surveys need to be appropriately weighted—a first step in any statistical analysis. Otherwise what the survey "says" can be inaccurate.

In January Orb, the D.C.-based nonprofit journalism organization of which I am

president, received a \$450,000 grant through the Knight Foundation's Knight News Challenge on Data. It will support Orb and its partners, Datassist and Cognite Labs, to develop a tool that will allow people to generate surveys and automate the complex statistical computations needed to deliver accurate, properly weighted results.

Orb will augment the use of free surveying apps with a set of software tools and online services that frame proper sampling questions and help embed them into existing survey platforms. Orb's tool will empower journalists to meaningfully expand and

diversify our sources. We will be that much closer to knowing—quickly and inexpensively—how a subset of the public views an issue.

For example, when a local school district is considering merging two elementary schools, the survey tool will empower local journalists to get an accurate picture of the community's views on the issue.

We're now looking for journalism outlets to help us test the tool. The first release of the free tool is expected this summer with a full version available later this year. Alpha and beta testers are welcome. ■

Adjusting the Frame

How journalists and artists are finding complementary ways to tell stories and engage audiences

BY MICHAEL BLANDING

CARRIE ROY SAW IT IN HER HEAD BEFORE the conversation was even over—a giant wooden sculpture of the back half of a cow, atop a square brown plinth of manure. She was sitting in a bar in Madison, Wisconsin, talking over beers with Kate Golden, who at the time was multimedia director at the Wisconsin Center for Investigative Journalism. Golden was lamenting the difficulty of representing statistics in ways that get people to pay attention, like the fact that Brown County, Wisconsin is home to more than 100,000 cows (more than half a cow per acre of farmland), which each produce up to 100 pounds of manure a day. That waste threatens to pollute private wells in the area. “These numbers can have astonishing impact when you encounter them for the first time, but they don’t translate well into the story,” says Golden. “Too many numbers make people’s heads swim.”

Roy, an artist who grew up in rural North Dakota and concentrated in visual and environmental studies at Harvard, creates work that helps people navigate numbers. In the spring of 2015, she and Golden packed a half-dozen artworks—including the aforementioned cow, a wool sculpture in the colors of a brook trout depicting the “fuzziness” of climate change statistics, and a farm faucet mounted on a pedestal of different-colored woods to represent pesticide contamination—into a U-Haul for a seven-city Wisconsin Center for Investigative Journalism roadshow. Roy and Golden went to Madison, Eau Claire, Green Bay, and La Crosse, among other cities, where Roy’s visualizations of the state’s water issues sparked conversations about pollution, conservation, and other environmental problems.

The exhibits brought in people who may never read through an investigative piece—or go to a typical art show for that matter. Roy and Golden found themselves talking with a retired water engineer, a veterinarian who was also a woodworker, and a beer brewer concerned about clean water, among others, each spurred by the art to talk about the issues around water use in the state. “We ended up getting a lot of people who were thoughtful about these issues,” says Golden. “I’m interested in media that people can feel and see in person because it makes things more real for them. Sometimes charts and graphs can really lack an emotional connection. When [Roy] turns them into art, it helps connect those numbers to what is really happening and affecting people.”



The Wisconsin Center for Investigative Journalism project is one example of how journalists are employing the arts to get important issues off the page and screen and into people's lives. At the same time, artists are beginning to employ reporting techniques, using interviews, public records, documentary footage, and photo captions to create work addressing social, economic, and political topics that usually fall within the purview of journalism.

In the early 2000s, the Russian art collective Chto Delat ("What Is To Be Done?") published a newspaper filled with trenchant political commentary on post-Soviet Russia. Since 2008, Chicago-based Temporary Services has produced over 100 booklets, pamphlets, and newspapers—through its publishing house, Half Letter Press—that frequently criticize the art world's exploitation of unpaid labor. More recently, Dushko Petrovich, a surrealist painter and adjunct professor at Yale, released a one-issue satirical newspaper called Adjunct Commuter Weekly (subsequently relaunched as the webzine ACW). The publication highlights the predicaments of legions of part-time professors who travel between campuses by plane and train to make ends meet. Through projects like these, journalists and artists alike are finding complementary ways to tell stories and engage audiences.

Art and journalism began converging sometime around the French Revolution, when images representing contemporary social conditions and politics began to appear in the work of artists like Francisco Goya and J.M.W. Turner. For his 1819 oil painting "The Raft of the Medusa," depicting with savage realism the wreck of a French frigate and subsequent stranding of the crew, in which all but 10 of the 150 people onboard perished, Théodore Géricault exhaustively interviewed two of the survivors. And, of course, political cartoons have been a staple of American journalism since Ben Franklin published a fractured snake with the caption "Join, or Die," creating a mashup of art, satire, and politics that has been distilling complex issues down to pithy images ever since. In the 20th century, photographers Walker Evans and Dorothea Lange documented the poverty of the Great Depression for the Farm Security Administration with bleak but highly stylized images, while Henri Cartier-Bresson made pictures that are works of both art and reportage. Even Norman Rockwell—best known for his saccharine lithographs of rural Americana for The Saturday Evening Post—painted a series of canvasses in the early 1960s exploring the civil rights struggle.

By the 1960s and '70s, conceptual artists like Hans Haacke and Dan Graham were using the language and structure of investigative journalism to comment on controversial

To present statistics in a way that fosters public engagement, hire an artist

social and political topics. In a project at the Museum of Modern Art, Haacke set up two plexiglass ballot boxes and, using the language of newspaper polls, asked museumgoers to voice an opinion about the fact that New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller, who was a museum trustee, had not denounced President Nixon's bombing of Cambodia. In another show, this one at the Guggenheim, Haacke used public records to expose the real estate and financial networks behind one of the Lower East Side's biggest slumlords, presenting the information with photographs of buildings, captions, charts, and graphs. The museum cancelled the show before it opened, deeming it "inadequate" for an art institution.

"All art bears witness in some way to history or individual experience," says Jennifer Liese, director of the writing center at Rhode Island School of Design and editor of "Artists Writing, 2000–2015," a collection of writing by contemporary artists due out this summer. The difference between journalists and artists, she argues, is "art does this explicitly and intentionally" while journalism tries to take a more objective, or at least dispassionate, view. "Journalists and artists in a lot of ways play a similar role in society," says Heather Chaplin, director of the Journalism + Design program at the New School in New York. "They are both supposed to be telling us the truth about our society even if it's truth we don't want to hear."

While journalism in its most traditional sense may have focused on factual reportage, there has always been an artfulness to the craft, from how reporters order their material to narrative storytelling techniques. Chaplin argues that digital technology and increased competition have led journalists to employ more creative techniques to capture viewers' attention, including multimedia



Molly Crabapple's sketches, based on photographs, portray wartime scenes from Aleppo, Syria

storytelling, stylized visuals, and interactive techniques to create a more personal and emotional experience. “It’s no longer possible to say people are going to read this just because it’s important,” she says.

SUCH “AESTHETIC JOURNALISM” has dovetailed with a burgeoning activist impulse by artists to engage with politics and world events. If journalism marshals its techniques to provide a view on the world, then art provides a “view on the view,” a way to question our assumptions about how we perceive the world, says Alfredo Cramerotti, director of MOSTYN, a publicly funded art gallery in Wales, and author of the book “Aesthetic Journalism.” “Journalism proposes a certain perspective and uses a number of elements to make it valid. The work of an artist and the value of artistic practice is in taking a perspective and shifting it slightly so it becomes something else.”

In creating that shift in perspective, argues Cramerotti, artists have long assumed the tools and techniques of journalism without making them apparent—or perhaps without even realizing it themselves. Cramerotti had firsthand experience with this when, in 2003, he was commissioned to make a work about a bridge in Istanbul connecting Europe and Asia, and produced a sound installation involving interviews with residents. “I realized I was commissioned to make an artwork, but came back with a journalistic installation,” he says.

The same digital technology that has allowed journalists to experiment with new artistic forms has also propelled artists to experiment with new means of documentary production and dissemination. One artist who has played with such forms is Santiago Mostyn, who was born in San Francisco, grew up in Zimbabwe, Grenada, and Trinidad, studied at Yale, and is currently based in Stockholm. Back in 2012, Mostyn was in a month-long residency in Istanbul, and asked people what places in the city were special to them. By chance, they coincided with places the Turkish government monitored via security cameras, which could be viewed online. Mostyn went to those places and was filmed himself.

In 2013, he was back in Stockholm when the Gezi Park protests broke out in Istanbul. He immediately went to the surveillance websites again and began editing footage of the battles between protesters

Carrie Roy's sculpture draws attention to the link between cow manure and water pollution

and police—then put them together in an art piece called “Double Take: Istanbul’s Streets Then and Now,” which juxtaposes images of relaxed crowds shopping in urban markets with riot police hosing down protesters with water cannons. As much as it foregrounds the familiar scenes of violence, the contrast equally draws the viewer’s attention to the normalcy of the previous footage, humanizing the scene in a way most media reports of the Middle East and surrounding areas don’t. He is currently at work on a project in which he rowed an open boat across the sea from Turkey to Greece, a treacherous crossing for migrants, changing the view of that area from the one we are familiar with from news footage.

Mostyn’s work was commissioned by Creative Time Reports, a Web-based platform for artists to comment on national and world affairs. The publication—a project of Creative Time, an organization that has commissioned public art in New York City for decades—has partnered with The Guardian, Foreign Policy, and Al Jazeera, among other titles, to publish articles, on everything from government surveillance to mass incarceration to racial discrimination, by artists like Ai Weiwei and Marina Abramovic. “We’ve always believed in the power of artist’s voices to weigh in on society and bring something unique and engaging to the public,” says Marisa Mazria Katz, a journalist who has been published in The New York Times, Financial Times,



and elsewhere, and has edited the site for four years.

Another artist the organization has commissioned is Trevor Paglen, who has used photography and filmmaking to investigate surveillance and security issues. For “Watching the Watchers,” Paglen flew a helicopter over the headquarters of the National Security Agency (NSA) and other U.S. government surveillance agencies to capture nighttime aerial photographs of their campuses. He published the images on The Intercept, a news site—created by Glenn Greenwald, Laura Poitras, and Jeremy Scahill—that focuses on government secrecy. Paglen’s landscapes are moody and deliberately sinister, revealing the massive size of the agencies at the same time failing to provide any glimpse at what goes on inside.

The artworks present a view of the U.S. surveillance apparatus dramatically different than the one that would appear in a strictly journalistic work, says Katz: “A journalist can write about the billions of dollars these agencies are receiving and unpack a trove of rare documents, but what [Paglen] strives to do is create a visual culture around something that is so obscure.”

IN PAST WORK, PAGLEN PARTNERED with investigative journalist A.C. Thompson, then with SF Weekly and now with ProPublica, to research and photograph sites related to the U.S. government’s “extraordinary rendition” program, in which suspected terrorists were held without charge and interrogated at secret locations outside the United States. That work was published in 2006 in “Torture Taxi.”

An art exhibit by Laura Poitras builds on her print and documentary work, but in a more personal and physical way

While Paglen follows journalistic ethics in fact-checking information and not misrepresenting himself during reporting, he doesn’t see himself as journalist. “Art doesn’t necessarily have to give you an answer. Images don’t explain themselves really. For me, it’s more about developing a way of seeing rather than a way of understanding,” he says. In fact, he sees his role more as raising questions in the minds of his audience than providing any kind of answer or explanation.

Others have seen art photography and photojournalism as less in opposition to one another so much as on a continuum. “The image has an uncanny authority which can cut both ways,” says Susan Sterner, a former staff photographer for the Associated Press who heads the New Media Photojournalism program at the Corcoran School of the Arts & Design in Washington, D.C. On the one hand, a photo can seem like a much more authoritative vision of reality; on the other, a photograph always includes an element of contrivance that moves it toward the realm of art “through the lines you are choosing and what you decide to photograph.”

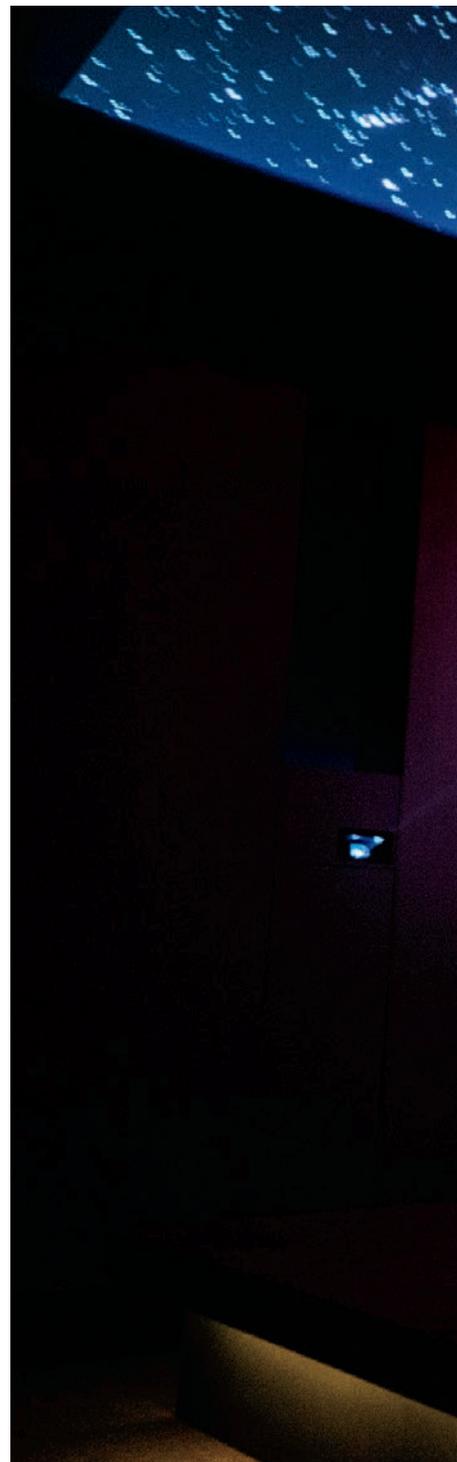
Sterner’s program consciously works to break down distinctions between art and journalism, helping journalists to experiment with new ways to make their images stand out. As a successful example of that trend, she points to Washington Post journalist Dave Burnett, who shot the 2004 presidential campaign with an old-school 4x5 black-and-white camera. With the large-size negatives he was able to produce photos with much greater detail and contrast in a way that seems to slow down and isolate the subject in space. “You can create more nuanced work when you allow yourself to think outside the profession’s boxes,” says Sterner. More recently, Dallas Morning News photographer Mona Reeder set out in a photo essay called “The Bottom Line” to illustrate Texas’s skyrocketing youth incarceration rate and other statistics with provocative, highly stylized photos of children in prison and inmates on death row.

Outside of some ethical guidelines—for example, that photojournalists in general document events as they transpire, while fine art photographers are more apt to compose and orchestrate the subjects of their images—Sterner says that the difference between the genres has much more to do with audience and intent, and sometimes, simply the venue in which it’s shown. We look at a photo very differently in a newspaper from

one on a gallery wall. “When something is on the wall, the scale changes,” she says. “You have to move and approach it. It’s a more physical experience. You are meant to lose yourself in the work.”

That’s certainly the feeling of a new art exhibit at the Whitney Museum of Art in New York by journalist and filmmaker Laura Poitras, who directed the documentary “Citizenfour” about NSA whistleblower Edward Snowden. The exhibition “Astro Noise,” on view through May 1, pulls viewers into the last decade and a half of the “war on

JAKE NAUGHTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX



terror” in a visceral way, starting with video footage of Ground Zero following the 9/11 attacks and interrogations in Afghanistan put side by side in harrowing confusion. Visitors continue through darkened hallways peering through thin slats at classified NSA and CIA documents, or lying down on a bed to stare up at the sky as drones fly by. They view images of Poitras’s own surveillance, obtained through Freedom of Information Act requests to the government. And at the end of the exhibition, they discover that they too have been subject to surveillance, as images

of other museumgoers lying on the bed are broadcast to them, and coded information from their own cellphones scrolls down a screen. The end result is an experience that covers much of the ground of Poitras’s print and documentary work, but in a more physical, personal, and emotional way.

That’s also true of the arresting drawings of Molly Crabapple, an artist who has travelled from Gaza to Guantánamo Bay to write and illustrate pieces for *The New York Times*, *Vice*, and *Vanity Fair*. As a teen, Crabapple was drawn to the work of Henri

de Toulouse-Lautrec, who hung out in cafes with writers and anarchists and painted the demimonde of Paris. “I always dreamed about this role for artists as very much involved in the world and as documentarians of it,” she says. “I am much less interested in art that is of someone’s internal state but impenetrable to others.”

Back in 2011, Crabapple was living across from Zuccotti Park as the Occupy Wall Street protests broke out. Her apartment became an ad hoc pressroom for reporters who needed a place to plug in their laptops.

Visitors to the Laura Poitras exhibit are invited to gaze at a video of the skies over Yemen, Somalia, and Pakistan where drone wars are conducted



“The more time I spent with journalists,” she writes in her recently published memoir, *“Drawing Blood,”* “the more their techniques rubbed off on me—like glitter, or a rash.” Her work became increasingly political, and she spent weeks researching dense allegorical works taking on topics from the Tunisian revolution to the global financial crisis. In 2012, she started practicing journalism herself, travelling to Greece with British journalist Laurie Penny to create the e-book *“Discordia,”* about the Greek debt

crisis. Crabapple sketched subjects while Penny interviewed them.

“It’s much easier to disarm people when you are sketching,” Crabapple says. “People feel very alienated when they have a camera shoved in their face. I am kind of quiet when I am doing a sketch, and people will really talk to me.” She also feels her artist’s eye allows her to notice details other journalists might miss—like a chart at Guantánamo Bay encouraging guards to rate their “spiritual health” on a five-color scale from red

to green—and by sketching scenes she can cause a viewer to look differently at themselves and the issues.

CRABAPPLE’S LATEST PROJECT for Vanity Fair involved taking cell phone photos of daily life in Syria and Iraq from an anonymous source in Raqqa and Mosul and transforming them into colorful sketches. “Usually what they

FOCUS ON PROCESS, NOT PRODUCT

Journalists are using “social practice art” to inform and engage audiences

WHILE JOURNALISTS HAVE experimented with reader collaboration through citizen journalism and crowdsourced news, “social practice art”—which emphasizes working with communities, often those marginalized or disenfranchised—offers an avenue through which readers can engage with news stories on a more personal and emotional level. In many cases, the art lies as much in the process of creating the piece as in any product resulting from it.

That was certainly the case with *“Eyes on Oakland,”* a collaboration between the Bay Area’s

Center for Investigative Reporting (CIR) and the Oakland-based social practice art collective, Mobile Arts Platform. For several years, CIR had been reporting on the increasing use of surveillance technology at the Port of Oakland. What started as a network of cameras at the port had “ballooned,” according to CIR’s reporting, into a citywide network comprising closed-circuit cameras, license-plate readers, microphones to detect gunshot locations, cell phone calls, and social media into a unified police database, with little public debate about its

use. When Mobile Arts Platform’s Chris Treggiari was invited to participate in an art exhibit at the Oakland Museum of California under the theme *“Who Is Oakland?”* the two groups saw a unique opportunity to collaborate.

The team outfitted a van as a sort of mobile newsroom, parking it in locations in the neighborhood and at commercial centers. Cole Goins, a CIR senior manager for engagement and community collaborations, greeted visitors with a clipboard, asking them to take a quiz to test their knowledge of surveillance technology. Participants could also use a screen-printing station in the van to make signs reading, *“Surveillance is ...”* and write in their responses, which included lines like *“A tool that cuts”* and *“In my pocket.”* The reactions ranged from outrage over the extent of surveillance to support in the name of public safety. Treggiari photographed participants with the signs they’d made and displayed the images as part of the *“Who Is Oakland?”* exhibit. **“I am not advocating for**

whether these tools should be used or not used,” says Goins, **“but the public has a right to know how they are being used and what they are being used for.”**

While the project was a collaboration among artists and journalists, ultimately the biggest collaboration was with members of the public. Rather than the one-way mode of transmission typical with an article, participants actively created the story as they contributed their own experiences. **“We were giving people information in a way that they can process it and internalize it and create something with it,”** says Goins. **“We are not telling people what to create. We are providing the pieces and the platform so they can create and respond and act for themselves. If you think of journalism as the collection and dissemination of information, we were doing that. That information is going to stick with them much more than just another thing they read online.”**
—MICHAEL BLANDING



Artists and journalists went mobile to engage with Oakland residents

are documenting is violent and graphic, and very often there is not a lot of dignity to them,” she says of the material with which she worked. By taking a fleeting image and turning it into a studied—even beautiful—work of art, she hopes to restore some of that dignity and cause readers to look longer at images from which they might ordinarily be inclined to look away.

Each sketch took more than eight hours for Crabapple to make; each has only a few colors, with some parts finely detailed and other parts hastily sketched, with ink blotches scattered across the page. Since publishing the first part of the series in the fall of 2014, however, Vanity Fair story editor Kia Makarechi says the publication has been overwhelmed by the positive response, with many people sharing the images on social media. “Many people remarked on how beautiful the package was,” says Makarechi, a strange response for what is essentially a piece of war reporting. The contrast between the ugliness of the subject matter and the attractiveness of Crabapple’s art, however, helped draw readers into the package, including the accompanying text by Crabapple’s source, who wrote a heart-breaking essay about how rebel rule has transformed life in Aleppo.

While artists like Crabapple, Mostyn, and Paglen use journalistic techniques to create their unique views of the world, some news outlets are using artistic techniques to change the way they connect with audiences. Hoping to expand the scope of its storytelling, the Alabama Media Group, which runs The Birmingham News, The Huntsville Times, and Mobile’s Press-Register, as well as statewide news website AL.com, hired its first artist-in-residence—Jennifer Crandall, a video journalist who produced a successful series of short profiles for The Washington Post called onBeing, featuring a diverse range of Washingtonians sharing their “musings, passions, histories, and quirks.” Each video features a person—a Muslim beauty pageant winner, a 7-year-old fan of rap and metal, a white guy in a blazer talking about his pet peeves—presented against a white background simply talking to the camera about what his or her life is like. In the aggregate, they are touching, intimate, surprising, and strangely addictive. It’s no surprise, meanwhile, to hear that, although she attended journalism school at the University of Missouri, Crandall never quite felt at home as a journalist. “I’ve always been someone who has



Trevor Paglen intends to provoke questioning with his images of the NSA's campus

been asked to fit within these boundaries,” she says. “I straddle them somehow.”

For the Alabama Media Group, she crossed boundaries, literally and figuratively, as she traversed the state, recruiting Alabamians for a video project about their state and Walt Whitman. Participants read one of the 52 sections in Walt Whitman’s “Song of Myself,” which Crandall invited them to do in the way they wanted and in an environment of their own choosing—from high school football games to horse farms to living room easy chairs. Crandall chose Whitman, a white Northerner who worked

as a nurse during the Civil War, to play with the contradictions and complications of American identity. “Walt Whitman is seen as the American writer, and yet he’s a Yankee,” she says. “I wanted to cheekily co-opt that.” As the Alabamians—young and old, black and white—read the words, they let down their guard revealing a more vulnerable side of themselves, at the same time the poet’s words offer a grand celebration of humanity—making the videos feel individual and universal at the same time.

The Alabama Media Group plans to release the 52 sections serially over the next year, as a collaborative project among the artist, the journalists, and citizens. The project “allows this to feel so much bigger than when people narrowly speak from their own experiences,” says Michelle Holmes, vice president of content at Alabama Media Group, citing Whitman’s exhortation that his readers, “not look through my eyes” but “listen to all sides and filter them from yourself.” By asking readers to step outside their comfort zones, Holmes and Crandall hope viewers will be inspired to consider, even re-consider, what it means to be an Alabamian, an American, and a human being—something both great art and great journalism do especially well. ■

Jointly hiring an artist-in-residence is a first for three Alabama newspapers



RESEARCH AND REPORTING

Why understanding how
science works is important
for all reporters, not
just science journalists

BY PAUL RAEBURN



A

CONDITION called ductal carcinoma in situ (DCIS) is—or is not—a precursor of breast cancer. It does—or does not—require

treatment. Doctors differ on these questions because definitive scientific evidence doesn't exist. Some women with DCIS, a collection of abnormal cells in the milk ducts of the breast, choose to have a mastectomy. Some a lumpectomy and radiation. A few watch and wait.

So when a study addressing this issue appeared in *JAMA Oncology* last August, it drew widely divergent coverage. Gina Kolata at *The New York Times* wrote that DCIS posed little or no risk: "Patients with this condition had close to the same likelihood of dying of breast cancer as women in the general population." Alice Park in *Time* came to a different conclusion: "DCIS may not be as benign as doctors once thought." And Jennifer Calfas at *USA Today* cited dueling experts, drawing no conclusion at all. The study, she wrote, "sparked a debate on the importance of treatment options for women diagnosed with the earliest stage of breast cancer"—if, in fact, DCIS is an early stage of breast cancer.

Confused? The study, as well as comments from lead researcher Steven A. Narod and his hospital, was confusing, too. Narod, of the research institute at Women's College Hospital in Toronto, told the *Times* that after a biopsy to remove the abnormal cells, "the best way to treat DCIS is to do

nothing." Yet the hospital's press release quotes Narod as saying that DCIS "has more in common with small invasive cancers than previously thought" and "there's an inherent potential for DCIS to spread to other organs." In fact, nothing in the study supports the broad assertions made in many stories. And few stories focused on the clearest findings: Age and ethnicity are risk factors.

Coverage of the DCIS study highlights what is perhaps the biggest challenge facing today's science journalists: Evaluating and interpreting complex and sometimes contradictory results at a time when so many news stories—from climate change and health reform to energy and environmental regulation to political polling and economics—rely on a fairly sophisticated understanding of science. That makes journalism's role in developing public science literacy more crucial than ever. "We need a science-literate world because, as science and technology change the environment we live in, we need to understand how we can be smart in navigating those changes," says Deborah Blum, a Pulitzer Prize-winning science writer, director of the Knight Science Journalism program at MIT, and publisher of *Undark*, a new science magazine based there. "How do we do that if we don't understand how it works?"

That was part of the challenge posed by the DCIS story. Even science writers who specialize in medical coverage—or, more narrowly, cancer coverage, or even breast cancer coverage—had trouble navigating the subject. And few science writers have

the luxury of such narrow beats. Most cover multiple fields, writing about a NASA experiment one day and a toxic waste controversy the next. Yet they must quickly translate the science behind these stories, while also being wary of mistakes and fabrications.

The task is made more difficult by recent difficulties within science itself. During a period of sometimes severe budget constraints, scientists are under increasing pressure to get results. Failure to do so can jeopardize careers and future funding. As a result, studies finding an effect for an experimental drug, for example, are far more likely to be published than unsuccessful trials—even though negative results can sometimes be just as important. A study that finds a promising effect of a drug against a tumor might sound exciting, but the reception of the finding might change if a dozen other papers were published on the same drug and none found any effect.

In addition, there's been an increase in retractions of research papers, either due to errors or to fabrications. Data needed to assess a study's validity is sometimes kept confidential, either for commercial or competitive reasons. Plus, the way research is funded—and who funds it—further complicates the search for truth. Much of the funding for academic research comes to universities from the government. Universities encourage a publish-or-perish model in which researchers have incentives to publish every time they collect a sliver of new data—because they get promoted based partly on the number of studies they've published and where they've published.

The legitimacy of scientific research is often said to depend upon rigorous peer review; that is, when a paper is submitted to a journal, other experts in the field are asked to review it for accuracy. But confidence in peer review is waning. Sometimes, inferior or fraudulent work slips through.

Peer review can fail even when applied to important papers by respected scientists. In a recent multi-year project, for example, a group of researchers tried to replicate 100 psychology studies. They succeeded in confirming only 39. In March of 2015, the British journal *BioMed Central*, after finishing its investigation, retracted 43 articles involving efforts to “positively influence the outcome of peer review by suggesting fabricated reviewers.” According to Ivan Oransky, co-founder with Adam Marcus of the blog *Retraction Watch*, science writers have plenty of reasons to be skeptical. He argues that they should be as wary of scientists as political reporters are of politicians. “When we think about holding politicians accountable, companies accountable, we look for fraud, corruption, and dishonesty,” Oransky says. “But the accountability metric for science is whether or not what scientists are claiming is going to hold up.” Given the uptick in retractions, journalists can no longer rely on peer review to be confident of a study’s legitimacy.

Of course, failure to replicate results doesn’t mean the original findings were wrong or that the research was fraudulent. Science involves trial and error. In fact, part of the challenge for science writers is to express the nuances and uncertainties in even the best-performed experiments. “It’s pretty complicated to replicate findings,” says Sarah Brookhart, executive director of the Association for Psychological Science. “There are always issues of reproducibility, replication, and generalizability”

due to animal models not translating to humans, for example, or differences in methodology. That point was underscored in early March, when a paper published in *Science* found that the study that succeeded in replicating only 39 of 100 experiments had statistical errors of its own. Reporters, Brookhart argues, should view research papers as part of a process, not as an outcome with a firm conclusion.

Sometimes peer reviewers don’t properly do their jobs. But the sheer number of papers being published has created another problem: there are not enough reviewers with the time to give each study a thorough vetting. Atul Gawande, a surgeon at Boston’s Brigham and Women’s Hospital and a staff writer for *The New Yorker*, suggests journalistic fact checking may sometimes be more thorough than scientific peer review. “The peer review process is helpful,” he says, “but when I’m being fact-checked in *The New Yorker* ... *The New Yorker* doesn’t just look at my footnotes. They look to see whether I cherry-picked my footnotes. They read the article and see: Did I quote something out of context? Are there five other articles that suggest otherwise? They’re doing peer review for me.” Given that some 2.5 million scientific papers are published each year, Gawande acknowledges that that kind of rigorous fact checking just isn’t possible for most peer-reviewed journals—or most news publications, for that matter.

Smart and careful reporting can, however, get around some of these problems. Christie Aschwanden, lead science writer for the data-journalism site *FiveThirtyEight*, demonstrated this last fall when she analyzed a study claiming young users of e-cigarettes were eight times more likely than non-users to start smoking traditional cigarettes. Brian Primack, a professor at the University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine, was the lead author. The study, which appeared in *JAMA Pediatrics*, surveyed 694 participants between the ages 16 and 26, and then surveyed them again a year later.

Sixteen of those surveyed had smoked electronic cigarettes at the beginning of the study. Aschwanden found that the paper’s headline-making findings—the *Los Angeles Times*: “Teens who vape are more likely to smoke later, study says”; *Time*: “E-cigarettes are a gateway to tobacco, study says”—arose from the fact that six e-cigarette users had become traditional smokers between the first and second surveys. Six. “So because six people started smoking, news reports

alleged that e-cigs were a gateway to analog cigs,” Aschwanden wrote. It was a large study, but the key misreported finding relied on only a handful of the participants.

The fault, according to Aschwanden, lay in confusing correlation with causation. Though there was an increased risk associated with those who smoked e-cigarettes, there were so few e-cigarette users surveyed—just 16—that the sample is too small for definitive results. “It’s a perfectly fine piece of research,” Aschwanden says, “but it seemed like a hypothesis-generating study rather than one we can actually conclude anything from. You had to read the fine print to see that they were looking only at a small subset.”

Another challenge for science writers, is that reporters, like scientists, cannot be experts in everything. In a recent two-month stretch, for example, *New York Times* columnist Carl Zimmer wrote about warming oceans, the emerald ash borer (an Asian beetle that attacks ash trees), animal mimicry, the paleo diet, vaccines, a salamander fungus, and the passage of fetal cells to mothers. The trick to covering such a broad terrain, Zimmer says, is not to be an expert in each of these areas, but to track down the people who are. That’s not always easy, and many outside experts have their own biases. That’s why a quick call to one authority might not be enough. In complicated stories, Zimmer, who also is national correspondent for *Stat*, Boston *Globe Media*’s new online science and health publication, might talk to half a dozen sources, even though only one or two appear in the story.



**RESEARCH PAPERS
SHOULD BE REGARDED AS
PART OF A PROCESS,
NOT A FIRM CONCLUSION**

The idea that reporters must use outside sources to help evaluate research might sound obvious. But the remarkable thing is how few do it, especially when science forms a key part of another type of article, say, a political story. Zimmer urges all reporters, whether they are science writers or not, to report out the science when it's a central factor in a story. Find credible sources to help vet the research. Reporters who don't have a virtual Rolodex filled with scientists should ask colleagues on the science desk.

BECAUSE SO MANY SCIENTIFIC results are provisional, sometimes the challenge lies in explaining to readers what is certain and what is speculative. Kathryn Schulz, a staff writer at *The New Yorker*, faced that problem in her July 2015 story “The Really Big One,” in which she detailed the massive earthquake predicted for the Pacific Northwest. If the Cascadia subduction zone, the 700-mile fault line running from northern California to near Canada's Vancouver Island, gives way completely, the resulting earthquake could have a magnitude of up to 9.2, according to seismologists. That would be greater than the 2011 earthquake and subsequent tsunami off the coast of Japan that caused massive devastation. Researchers agree that an earthquake will occur—Cascadia subduction zone quakes happen on average every 243 years; it's been 316 years since the last one—but it's impossible to say exactly when it will happen or precisely what the consequences might be.

Given the scientific evidence for a quake, Schulz wrote the piece in the future tense rather than the more cautious conditional: “The area of impact will cover some hundred and forty thousand square miles, including Seattle, Tacoma, Portland, Eugene, Salem (the capital city of Oregon), Olympia (the capital of Washington), and some seven million people ... Water heaters will fall and smash interior gas lines. Houses that are not bolted to their foundations will slide off ... Unmoored to the undulating ground, the homes will begin to collapse.” Things will only get worse when the tsunami hits.

Chris Goldfinger, a seismologist at Oregon State University whose work was featured in the piece, says Schulz may have used a bit of showmanship in her writing (the article won a 2016 National Magazine Award for feature writing) but she got the science right. “Adding a little color and a little humor, as long as you

don't stray from the facts,” Goldfinger says, “I see absolutely nothing wrong with that. It's a way to get people's attention, to get people to talk about it. If you write the exact same information in a dry, dusty way, it wouldn't have gone viral, and it wouldn't have done as much good as it's done.”

Schulz's article generated massive public interest—and distress. Forums were held across the Pacific Northwest about the region's lack of preparedness, and measures to reverse that neglect—from creating tsunami evacuation routes to updating older buildings so they can withstand high-magnitude earthquakes—are being discussed by policymakers, if not already being undertaken.

Gawande says he tries to address some of the challenges inherent in science journalism



TO COVER DIVERSE SCIENCE TOPICS, CARL ZIMMER CALLS ON THE KNOWLEDGE OF EXPERTS



Science reporter Carl Zimmer was among the speakers at a 2013 TEDx gathering in Washington, D.C. called to discuss reviving extinct species

by waiting on a story to see whether it holds up. “I’ll tend to sit on it for a while and say, ‘How’s it going to look in three months or six months? Where is this evolving?’ If you’re in short-form reporting, that means circling back on the stories you did six months or a year ago and saying, ‘Okay, now how does it look from that perspective?’ and developing it as a beat. That’s your way around getting caught out in the moment by whatever the current hype is.”

Veteran science journalists quickly learn that decisions about what not to cover are as important as decisions about what to jump on. Last September, for example, the journal *Nature* published a study claiming to have found evidence for infectious transmission of Alzheimer’s disease. But Virginia Hughes,

science editor at BuzzFeed News, decided not to cover it. “It’s a ridiculous study,” she says. “It was eight people, I think, and very, very speculative. We knew it was going to make huge headlines.” A day later, Kelly Oakes, science editor at BuzzFeed UK, did decide to do the story, but not in the conventional way. She wrote a story that knocked down the study and the wild headlines it had generated.

The point is that reporters shouldn’t accept anything at face value. “Journalists should be covering the problems in science as a matter of routine,” says Dr. Ben Goldacre, who used to write a *Bad Science* column in *The Guardian*. “A big dramatic new finding on a new treatment? Cover the work showing that early findings tend to overstate benefits. A positive clinical trial

from a university that does a lot of clinical trials? Maybe they’ve left less dramatic data unpublished. Find out what proportion of their previous trials has gone unreported.”

Oransky believes journalists should completely change the way they think about published papers. Reporting “shouldn’t stop when a paper is published ... You have to treat every paper like a living document. You have to treat every finding as provisional”—especially those that invite big headlines. Adds MIT Knight Science Journalism director Blum: “Science is a process and every study is a data point in that process. You have to figure out where it is in the arc of that process.” ■

With reporting by Eryn M. Carlson

BECOMING VISIBLE



Mainstream and tribal news outlets are changing the ways they cover Native American issues—for the better

BY JON MARCUS

Teens ignore the threat of a summer storm in Wounded Knee, South Dakota. Reporters are trying to move beyond the stereotyping of Native Americans



A

F E W D A Y S
before Christmas
2014, a few min-
utes after 6 p.m.,
police in Rapid
City, South Da-
kota were called

to a house where
Allen Locke and his family were living. Locke, 30, was intoxicated, his wife said, and she wanted him out of the house until he sobered up.

The responding officer, Anthony Meirose, found Locke on the kitchen floor. As Locke stood up, the officer noticed a steak knife in his hand. Meirose told investigators that he heard Locke say “It’s a good day to die,” and that he told Locke several times to drop the knife, according to a report from the South Dakota Division of Criminal Investigation (DCI). When he didn’t, Meirose fired five shots at him. Locke was pronounced dead at the hospital. The South Dakota DCI determined that Locke had lunged at the officer, though his wife says she witnessed the incident and disputes this. No charges were filed against Meirose.

The killing of Allen Locke received little attention outside Rapid City. Nor was there much widespread coverage of the killings of Paul Castaway, shot in Denver in July by police who said he was threatening his mother, though she argues that deadly force was unnecessary in this incident; William J. Dick III, a 28-year-old suspected armed robber who died in Washington State after a U.S. Forest Service agent shocked him with a Taser; or Larry Kobuk, 33, who died after being restrained by officers booking him into the Anchorage Correctional Complex on charges that he stole a car and drove it with a suspended license.

All of these people were Native Americans.

The day before his death, Locke, a member of the Oglala Lakota tribe of Pine Ridge, and about 100 other people took part in a march

in Rapid City calling for better treatment by police of Native Americans. “Hands up. Don’t shoot,” the protesters chanted under gray skies and in chilly temperatures. There is, one speaker at the rally said, “an undeclared race war here in South Dakota.”

Police kill Native Americans at almost the same rate as African-Americans, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). Between 1999 and 2013, an average of .29 per 100,000 Native Americans were killed by police, compared to .3 per 100,000 for blacks and .11 per 100,000 for whites. “America should be aware of this,” argues Chase Iron Eyes, a lawyer and a leader of the Lakota People’s Law Project, which runs a publicity campaign called Native Lives Matter. But for the most part, America is not aware of this. However, that may be changing, albeit slowly, as both mainstream media and Native American-run digital outlets begin to cover American Indian issues more robustly.

In some ways, Native American cultures are worlds unto themselves, but increasingly they are part of bigger issues that transcend their borders. Take energy, especially with the extensive drilling of oil on Native American land in North Dakota and elsewhere. National energy issues are Native American issues, too. According to Mary Hudetz, a former president of the Native American Journalists Association (NAJA) and the former editor of Native Peoples magazine, there is an urgent need for more investigative reporting on Native American issues, but such projects are hampered by a lack of press freedoms on Native American lands and a shortage of journalists—Native American and otherwise—who understand the culture as well as the politics and legal intricacies of Native American life.

Stories that mention Native Americans remain comparatively rare, according to Christopher Josey, who conducted research on this topic as a doctoral candidate at the

University of Illinois. His 2010 review of the top 20 Internet news sites by traffic, from the Daily Beast to The New York Times, found that Native Americans accounted for .6 percent of the people portrayed in news coverage on those sites. According to the 2010 census, the 5.2 million Native Americans make up 1.7 percent of the U.S. population. When they were mentioned in stories, Josey says, Native Americans were often portrayed in stereotypical situations—as workers in casinos, for example. “By neglecting them in coverage and showing them in stereotypical ways when they do,” he says, “news media are communicating that Native Americans are not a vital part of the national conversation on race.”

There is plenty of bad news to report. The exploitation and oppression experienced by Native Americans has translated into incontrovertible health, psychological, economic, and social challenges. According to a 2009 report from the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, Native American men are imprisoned at more than four times the rate of white men, and Native American women over six times as often as white women. (Black men are imprisoned at nearly six times the rate of white men and black women at four times the rate of white women.)

CDC data paints a bleak picture for Native Americans. Sixteen percent of Native Americans—their Census designation is “American Indians,” and most advocates say both terms are acceptable—have diabetes, the highest rate of any U.S. ethnic or racial group. The incidence of alcohol-related deaths is three times that of the broader population. The rate of drug-induced death is the highest of any minority group. Native Americans are more likely to experience sexual assault. And according to Census data, about 25 percent live in poverty, whereas the poverty rate for the general population is about 15 percent. According to

a federal report, in 2012 Native Americans' high school dropout rate was more than double the average—14.6 percent compared to 6.6 percent across all races. According to the Labor Department, the unemployment rate for Native Americans who don't live on tribal lands is roughly double the national average, at 11 percent in 2014, the most recent figure available.

One reason Native issues get so little attention is that editors worry about retelling the same old story about poverty, alcohol, and drugs on reservations, says Scott Gillespie, editorial page editor at the (Minneapolis) Star Tribune. Many Native Americans, in turn, mistrust journalists, tired of the “poverty porn” they say depicts the places in which they live as all but hopeless. The setting for these stories is often the Oglala Lakota Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, the nation's poorest, where mortality, depression, alcoholism, drug abuse, diabetes, and other problems are prevalent. “There's the idea that you're perpetuating that story line,” Gillespie says. “That isn't helping anybody, and I think it might be one of the things keeping editors from saying, ‘Let's go do it.’”

Still, some news outlets are pushing to address crucial Native issues. Pacific Standard, published by the nonprofit Miller-McCune Center for Research, Media and Public Policy, ran an investigation into sexual violence against Native American women in the booming oil towns of North Dakota. ProPublica has reported on how Native Americans living on a North Dakota

reservation may have been cheated out of money for oil rights. Kaiser Health News covered how Native American health services are benefiting from the Affordable Care Act. Student journalists at the Stabile Center for Investigative Journalism at Columbia University reported on the exploitation of Native Americans by payday lenders, a project for which they received an Investigative Reporters and Editors Award. Cronkite News, a service of the Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communication at Arizona State University, has produced more than 70 stories relating to Native Americans since 2011, one of which, about potential commercial development on Navajo Nation land in the Grand Canyon, was picked up by PBS NewsHour. Mic.com, a website aimed at millennials, is among the handful of outlets that have reported on the high rate of killings by police of Native Americans.

The Washington Post's award-winning series about injustice on Native American lands and the (Minneapolis) Star Tribune's editorials outlining the deplorable condition of many federally-funded reservation schools demonstrate the challenges of covering Native issues.

The impetus for the seven-part Washington Post series on crimes—including domestic violence and sexual assault—against Native Americans in Alaska, Arizona, and the Dakotas came from conversations with criminal justice experts. “Someone said to me, ‘No one's writing about what's going on with Native Americans,’” says reporter

NATIVE AMERICANS ARE KILLED BY POLICE AT ABOUT THE SAME RATE AS BLACKS

Sari Horwitz, whose beat is the U.S. Justice Department. “It's hard to get interest in a newsroom for stories that most people don't feel affect them. Native Americans and Native American issues are invisible in this country.”

Horwitz persuaded her editors to let her do these stories, in part, by making the argument that they were about a compelling subject outside the usual Beltway bubble. More than a quarter of Native American women have been the victims of rape or attempted rape and almost half have experienced some other sexual violence—slightly more than the average for women in the U.S.—according to the National Center for Injury Prevention and Control. A 2008 report submitted to the Justice Department found that two-thirds of female Native Americans who were the victims of rape or sexual assault described their perpetrators as white or African-American—many of whom would therefore go unpunished because up until March 2015 tribal courts couldn't prosecute non-Natives. (Tribal courts can now try non-Natives for crimes of sexual violence thanks to the Violence Against Women Act.) Covering the Native American community in depth requires resources that are in shorter and shorter supply—time, money, and patience. Newspapers rarely will give journalists months off for special projects.

For many reporters, getting their news organizations to back ambitious stories about Native Americans is only half the battle. The biggest, they say, is gaining the trust of their subjects—especially for white journalists who come to reservations as strangers. “The trust issue was a huge one,” Horwitz recalls. “I am basically another white female journalist calling and saying, ‘I want to come and study you.’ There have been so many studies and so many efforts to figure out what's going on, and this is just one more person coming, and then nothing changes.” People on reservations are reluctant to talk about

The (Minneapolis) Star Tribune ran a series of editorials about limited resources at tribal schools



taboo subjects like sexual abuse and suicide, while bad experiences with outsiders in general—and journalists, in particular—make many suspicious. “People feel like they’ve been lied to before and promised things that didn’t happen,” says Star Tribune editorial page editor Gillespie.

Horwitz’s breakthrough came when she found a Native American woman, a victim of sexual abuse, who had become an activist and knew that sharing stories in a paper like the Post could help get people to care about these issues. “It was freezing cold,” Horwitz remembers. “I sat at her kitchen table, and she told me a story about how her mother had been sexually abused, how she had been sexually abused, how her daughter had been raped. She started telling me all these different stories about the legacy of boarding schools and how that had led to so much sexual abuse on reservations. Each story led to the next one.” As the stories in the series started to

appear, other Native Americans began to trust Horwitz, too.

Gillespie’s colleague at the Star Tribune, Jill Burcum, faced similar challenges when she began work on what would ultimately become a series of editorials called “Separate and Unequal,” about the abysmal conditions of under-heated, sparsely equipped tribal schools, at least one of which was infested with rodents. Burcum had one thing going for her, though: some experience on reservations, since she’d covered the story of a 16-year-old who killed nine people and injured five on a shooting spree at the Red Lake Reservation in 2005. Native Americans “feel—fairly, I think—that we parachute in, often in tragic situations, or come up to document problems that reflect poorly on them,” Burcum says. “They feel, not wrongly, that we’re there for our benefit, and then we go away. So why would you open up your home to a journalist or talk to them?”

In these circumstances, Burcum says, reporters from the outside have to find a trusted person on the reservation who will advocate for them. “You have to have a sponsor, and the superintendent acted in that capacity for us,” she says. “We were sort of under her wing. People felt that they could talk to us.”

Burcum and her photographer took other steps to gain their sources’ confidence. They spent hours at one school over five or six visits, requiring a four-and-a-half-hour drive each way. They stayed in a hotel on the reservation, part of a tribal casino, where they got to know the hotel staff. They made sure to eat at tribal restaurants and shop in tribal stores. They tipped well. Burcum even sometimes brought along the harp she plays. “Then they kind of remembered me,” she says. “It was part of letting people know that you’re a real person. By being there and me having my crazy little personality quirks, we set ourselves apart.” Finally, she says, “People felt that they could talk to us.”

NATIVE AMERICAN NEWS OULETS

A sampling of websites that offer news and commentary on Native American issues

Indian Country Today Media Network

A national platform for Native voices and issues, Indian Country Today is a news service owned by the Oneida Nation of New York, with coverage of breaking news, politics, arts and entertainment, business, education, and health.

Indianz.com

A product of the Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska and the Native American-owned Noble Savage Media, this website posts a mix of original news reporting and aggregated reports about subjects relevant to Indian Country.

National Native News

Funded in part by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, National Native News is a headline news radio program, providing listeners with coverage of local and international current events

relevant to Native American and indigenous communities. The show can be heard online and on radio stations across the U.S. and Canada.

Native America Calling

A production of the Native-operated Koahnic Broadcast Corporation, this live call-in program is streamed online and broadcast on nearly 70 public, community, and tribal radio stations in North America, bringing callers in conversation with guests about a wide range of issues.

Native Appropriations

Founded by Adrienne Keene, a member of the Cherokee tribe and an assistant professor of Native American studies at Brown University, Native Appropriations is a blog highlighting misrepresentations of Native people and racial insensitivities toward them in mainstream culture.

Native Health News Alliance

An independent nonprofit news organization launched in partnership with the Native American Journalists Association, Native Health News Alliance produces multimedia news and feature stories focused on the health and wellness of Native communities and their governments. Media outlets that register with NHNA can publish the organization’s articles for free.

Native News Project

Reported, written, photographed, and edited by journalism students at the University of Montana, the Native News Project features long-form stories from Montana’s seven reservations. In 2015, the theme was “Intertwined: Stories of Detachment and Connection from Montana’s Reservations.”

Native Sun News

A weekly newspaper based in Rapid City, South Dakota, the Native Sun News covers local news and events around the Northern Plains region, which includes the Pine Ridge Reservation. Its “Voices of the People” section features editorials and opinion pieces on national issues that affect Indian Country.

Trahan Reports

Mark Trahan, University of North Dakota journalism professor and former editorial page editor for the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, posts news about federal Indian policy, health care reform, and elections. He also writes a number of opinion columns reprinted by outlets such as the Indian Country Today Media Network and High Country News.

—ERYN M. CARLSON,
JON MARCUS,
AND JONATHAN SEITZ

THE SERIES OF EDITORIALS WAS published at the end of 2014 and was a finalist for a Pulitzer Prize. In response, the Minnesota legislature increased state funding for Native American education. Burcum testified before a congressional committee about problems at reservation schools. The series remains prominent on the paper's website. "We'll keep it there until the problem's solved," Gillespie says.

As for her sources on the reservations, Burcum says, she thinks they feel progress has been made, "but they've been around long enough to know that things don't change that quickly." In April, U.S. Rep. John Kline, R-Minnesota and chairman of the House Education and Workforce Committee, visited one of the schools spotlighted by the series, and so did Burcum. Her reception then was different from the first time she'd set foot on the reservation: "I got hugs from the tribal elders. The kids were glad to see me. The teachers stay in touch."

Instead of focusing on unemployment, which is more than 50 percent in some tribal areas, the Native News Project at the University of Montana School of Journalism looked at the entrepreneurial things people did to earn money, from a tribal ranch on the Fort Peck reservation to a flower and coffee shop on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation to an electronics manufacturing business on the Flathead Reservation. "We're not necessarily focusing on the shadows and the sadness," says Jason Begay, a Navajo who grew up on a reservation and runs the Native News Project, "but on how people are persevering." Other Native News Project stories have examined sexual and gender identity among Native youth, how Christianity and Native traditions coexist on a Crow reservation, and the possible impact on Native populations of the legalization of marijuana.

Many Native Americans applaud this approach. "We are really struggling to find ways to change the narratives in our communities, that we're lifting ourselves up, and we need others to work with us on that," says Jacqueline Pata, part of the Tlingit tribe and executive director of the National Congress of American Indians. "My concerns have always been, and continue to be, about balance."

More balanced coverage, argues Mark Trahan, a member of the Shoshone tribe and former editorial page editor at the Seattle Post-Intelligencer whose Trahan



The Sac and Fox Nation in Oklahoma raised concerns about the impact of the Keystone pipeline

Reports covers Native American issues, would include pieces about the Alaska Native Medical Center (ANMC). The ANMC focuses on services to prevent illness and has achieved impressive outcomes, including a 40 percent reduction in emergency room visits and a more than 35 percent decrease in admissions, despite historic health disparities between Native Americans and other groups. "It does amazing, innovative work at far less cost, and yet it's uncovered," he says. "That amazes me."

Tristan Ahtone, a member of the Kiowa tribe of Oklahoma who used to report for Al Jazeera America, has won a following among Native Americans and others for writing about new topics, such as how one tribe is invoking treaty rights to stop another oil pipeline, the rethinking of the militant American Indian Movement that grew up alongside the Black Panthers in the 1960s, and an international indigenous basketball tournament. His approach: "Stop looking at Indian Country as a foreign place with foreign people doing foreign things. It keeps us apart from each other, and reinforces the idea that these people are different, that they're victims, that they're helpless. They get covered when there's doom, gloom, or there's blood. The cumulative effect is that you've got communities that are isolated from the rest of the country and generally distrustful of journalists, and that just creates a continuing cycle."

Ahtone is one of only a handful of Native American journalists. There are 118 self-identified Indian journalists work-

ing at U.S. daily newspapers, according to 2015 data from the American Society of News Editors. That's .36 percent of all U.S. newsroom employees. Native American activists say there needs to be more newsroom internships and training programs for aspiring Native American journalists. Hudetz says the NAJA's summer internship program, established in 2014, has already made a difference. At least six of the 10 college students who participated that first summer have gone on to a journalism internship or graduate studies in journalism. "Native students don't always get what they need in a college journalism program," Hudetz says, "or they might need some mentors on the outside who can support their education from afar and who understand and appreciate their cultural heritage. Without that, they don't feel supported, and they don't pursue it, and they feel discouraged."

"Native media content creators are establishing themselves and could function as the eyes and ears on the ground in partnership with mainstream media," says lawyer Chase Iron Eyes. "We just need to build those bridges so the people in the mainstream know what's going on."

Journalists in the mainstream need to do their part, too, Trahan says: "I don't think new media is ever going to replace what a national network could do. On its worst day, a network newscast still has an audience bloggers only dream about. When the mainstream does something, it still matters." And when it doesn't, says Horwitz, "Those stories float away." ■

*Donald Trump is
a master of the social
media universe
whose candidacy
foregoes the expense
of traditional political
campaigns*



**COVERING
THE
CAMPAIGN**

ON THE TRAIL

**Having failed to
foretell Trump's
rise and facing
mounting public
disaffection,
newsrooms are
rethinking how to
cover campaigns**

BY JULIET EILPERIN



E

VEN IN HIS FIRST BIG

presidential campaign, in a milieu where few people were short on confidence, Ted Cruz stood out for his self-assurance and conviction that he knew what was best for those who surrounded him. He was a fresh face on the scene—as we all were—and he was full of promises. Cruz asked for people’s votes within moments of meeting them. And he spread word of his candidacy, complete with the image of his face, in the most modern, efficient way around: a photocopied flier. Tacked to a tree. Or in some cases, to a dorm room door.

It was 1988. Cruz was 17 years old, a skinny kid from Texas who wanted to be president of the Princeton University Class of 1992. As a fellow class member, and aspiring journalist, I watched the race with passing interest. But it was not to be. Cruz was one of 12 candidates on the initial ballot, but didn't make it past the primary. Michael Goldberg, an affable, smart kid from Cleveland, eventually won the election. Undaunted, Cruz sought the same position the next year and was again eliminated in the first round of voting. Another conservative Texan—Chad Muir, a popular lacrosse player everyone assumed would eventually run for the nation's highest office—got more than three times as many votes.

Cruz did eventually make it onto student government, in 1990, and joined the committee on campus safety, the first of many prominent political posts he would hold over the course of his career. And over time his tools of voter outreach became increasingly sophisticated, to the point where in December of last year his current campaign for president mined the data of supporters who posed with Santa Claus in a dozen cities.

Tacking up fliers is ancient history. And, given the technological upheaval of the past four years, to say nothing of the past quarter century, so may be some of the conventions of traditional campaign reporting.

In a year in which there's been a sprawling presidential race (at least on the Republican side), a fractured media landscape, and unprecedented opportunities for candidates to appeal directly to voters, campaigning and campaign coverage are being transformed. Candidates like Cruz and others are using sophisticated data-mining techniques to identify and target messages to increasingly refined demographic groups. Marco Rubio's campaign curated and posted short video clips to appeal to specific demographics, and he encouraged voters to consult their second screens during debates. Hillary Clinton used Snapchat's Live Story feature to send highlights of her first official rally to millions of the platform's users. Clinton and Bernie Sanders—unfiltered by a television moderator—have conducted an entire line of debate on Twitter about the meaning of "progressive."

Donald Trump's triumphant use of social media has allowed him to reach enormous audiences to start and settle feuds, make observations both frivolous and frightening, and drive the news cycle into the ditch of his own choosing. In March, after a protester rushed



BERNIE SANDERS

Percentage of party members who say the 2016 campaign has not been focused on important policy debates

63%

OF DEMOCRATS

44%

OF REPUBLICANS

SOURCE: PEW RESEARCH CENTER SURVEY DEC. 2015

the stage at a campaign event in Dayton, Ohio, Trump tweeted that the man was affiliated with ISIS. When Chuck Todd on "Meet the Press" told Trump it wasn't true, Trump said, "All I know is what's on the Internet."

Trump more than any other candidate has "managed to fulfill a vision, long predicted but slow to materialize, sketched out a decade ago by a handful of digital campaign strategists: a White House candidacy that forgoes costly, conventional methods of political communication and relies instead on the free, urgent, and visceral platforms of social media," reporter Michael Barbaro wrote in *The New York Times* back in October. This new kind of campaign is prompting news organizations, both legacy and digital, to rethink how to cover political candidates.

Social media platforms like Twitter were a factor four years ago, too. But what is different this time around, argues Jill Abramson, a visiting lecturer at Harvard and former executive editor of *The New York Times*, "is the brutality of minute-by-minute competition and coverage. There's this wild chase for scooptlets. News breaks that no one remembers two days afterwards." And that frenetic search for news, Abramson argues, has come at a cost.

Though the volume of coverage has grown significantly, no small portion of it has been either hastily assembled, trivial, or, like so much coverage of previous campaigns, focused exclusively on the horse race. The nanosecond news cycle incentivizes reporters to publish as soon as possible and often to elevate snark over substance. Trump's inflammatory rhetoric guarantees traffic, so his statements garner more attention than crucial policy issues.

A recent study by two Penn State Ph.D. students found that between July and mid-October of 2015 the New York real estate magnate received between 40 and 50 percent of the coverage among all GOP presidential candidates from the three major cable news networks and a selection of local news stations. And that was at a time when so many Republicans were vying for the nomination they couldn't fit on a single stage. According to the Tyndall Report, which tracks the airtime devoted to various subjects on nightly newscasts, ABC, NBC, and CBS during 2015 dedicated a total of 1,031 minutes to the 2016 presidential campaign. Almost a third, 327 minutes, was devoted to Trump-related story lines, nearly six times more than the next most newsworthy Republican, Jeb Bush (57 minutes), and more than the entire Democratic field combined. Coverage of Clinton's campaign clocked in at 121 minutes, while Sanders only received 20 minutes.

For years critics of the mainstream media on the left and right have argued that the consolidation of the industry, especially among television networks, and the fact that a handful of wealthy businessmen now control these outlets, has led to myopic coverage that fails to capture the experience of ordinary Americans. For liberals like Sanders, The New York Times's Jason Horowitz wrote, "the profit-hungry billionaire owners of news media companies serve up lowest-common-denominator coverage, purposefully avoid the income-inequality issues he prioritizes and mute alternative voices as they take over more and more outlets." Conservatives, meanwhile, say legacy media companies try to bait their candidates into attacking each other but fail to convey the anger many voters feel toward the federal government and officials serving in Washington.

Trump's name in a headline may lead to additional traffic, but there is a chorus of voices now calling on the media to take a strong stand against him, including Vox's Ezra Klein, whose video declaring, "He's so fun to watch that it's easy to lose sight of how terrifying his rise really is," garnered hundreds of thousands of shares on Facebook. Harvard University political theorist Danielle Allen went even further, suggesting that "when journalists cover every crude and cruel thing that comes out of Trump's mouth," even those reporters purporting to deliver objective coverage are fueling his political ascent. "Perhaps we should just shut the lights out on offensiveness," she wrote in The Washington Post (Full disclosure: I'm an 18-year veteran of the Post and now serve as its White House bureau chief), "turn off the mic when someone tries to shout down others; re-establish

Percentage of adults learning about the presidential election from these social media platforms in a given week



FACEBOOK



YOUTUBE



TWITTER



GOOGLE PLUS

SOURCE: PEW RESEARCH CENTER SURVEY JAN. 2016

standards for what counts as a worthwhile contribution to the public debate."

The charged rhetoric around Trump's campaign erupted into violence in early March, when his supporters clashed with protesters at multiple venues. On March 9, as Rakeem Jones, an African-American protester, was being escorted out of a Trump rally, in Fayetteville, North Carolina, John McGraw, a 78-year-old white man, punched him in the face and said Jones might be an Islamist extremist because "he's not acting like an American." Trump has suggested he may pay the legal bills of McGraw, who now faces assault charges. The controversy did little to slow Trump's momentum: in the March 15 primaries he walloped Rubio in Florida, forcing him from the race, and lost just one, John Kasich's home state of Ohio.

During what is incontrovertibly a pivotal election, the press faces a genuine risk of being displaced from its role as a crucial source of insight and information for the electorate. Avoiding this fate will entail a return to some of the basics of campaign coverage, while simultaneously adapting new digital strategies and technologies to remain relevant and accessible. And all of this must be accomplished at a time when most Americans are not enamored with the Fourth Estate. A Pew Research Center survey published in November 2015 found that only the federal government and members of Congress ranked lower than journalists in the public's esteem. Sixty-five percent of respondents said the national news media had a negative effect on the country, as opposed to 25 percent who described it as positive, while Congress had a ratio of 75 percent negative to 14 percent positive.

Even as more and more journalistic outlets are covering campaigns—Vox with its explainers, BuzzFeed News with its quirky videos and ambitious investigative pieces, The Huffington Post with its long-form documentaries—consumers are increasingly getting their news elsewhere. In some cases, the campaigns themselves are crafting their own content and distributing it to voters through social media.

In the 2000 campaign, the Pew Research Center found that reporters, commentators, and other journalists generated 50 percent of the narratives about the candidates, while candidates and their surrogates drove 37 percent. In 2012, those percentages were reversed: Pew estimated that candidates and their allies drove roughly half of the narratives in the press about the campaigns, with the press itself generating roughly a quarter. "In the 2012 [election], campaign reporters were acting largely as megaphones, rather than investigators," says Jesse Holcomb, associate director of research at Pew. "What we found was a striking lack of journalistic intervention in that conversation."

As politicians and their surrogates dictate more and more of the campaign conversation, John Harwood, who covers politics and the economy for CNBC and The New York Times, notes that even when journalists try to hold candidates responsible for some of their most out-

rageous claims, they face the challenge that another suite of media outlets—along with the campaigns themselves—can tell targeted audiences why those stories should be ignored. “The influence that was wielded by a small number of news outlets has given way to an inordinate number of competitors,” Harwood says. “Accountability for one is amplification for another ... The process is fraught and fractious, and due to the polarization in the country, many people are not susceptible to factual argument.”

Perhaps the most surprising aspect of this phenomenon isn’t that it has happened, but the pace and scale of the change. In 2013, while a fellow at Harvard’s Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy, then-CNN national political reporter Peter Hamby wrote a report titled “Did Twitter Kill the Boys on the Bus?” outlining how social media was degrading the quality of campaign coverage. Invoking “The Boys on the Bus,” the classic account of the coverage of the 1972 campaign by then-Rolling Stone reporter Timothy Crouse, Hamby used Mitt Romney’s 2012 campaign as a case study of how social media—particularly Twitter—had produced shallower political journalism. Hamby argued that, as campaigns have become more choreographed, the value of being a reporter on the bus has diminished, and pressure to feed the social media beast has distracted both reporters and audiences from producing and consuming more in-depth coverage. “Put down Twitter and slowly back away,” he advised.

FEW PEOPLE—INCLUDING HAMBY himself—have heeded that advice. Hamby now serves as head of news for Snapchat, an app on which the recommended length of a video is less than 10 seconds. Hamby’s conversion from social media skeptic to leading practitioner mirrors the push on the part of news organizations to reach audiences, especially younger audiences, where they are. And where they are is typically not on news sites. Speaking at Harvard’s Shorenstein Center last September, Hamby emphasized that “millions of first-time voters” use Snapchat. “These are people who are not watching television; they’re not reading *The New York Times*; they’re not reading *The Washington Post*; they might not even be using Facebook that much,” Hamby said. “But they are living on Snapchat.”



TED CRUZ

“Due to the polarization in the country, many people are not susceptible to factual argument”

—John Harwood, *CNBC, The New York Times*

Every day, some 20 million people watch one of Snapchat’s Live Stories, and it has become a coveted audience because, according to the firm, more than 60 percent of smartphone users between 13 and 34 identify themselves as users of the app. BuzzFeed, CNN, Mashable, Vice, Vox, and *The Wall Street Journal*, among others, are all part of the Discover program, which gives selected publishers a dedicated channel to which they can push curated stories that refresh every 24 hours.

Snapchat is increasingly getting into the content publishing business itself, curating video from users to create Live Stories, which last longer than 10 seconds and also remain accessible on the site for 24 hours. The best ones convey scenes from the campaign trail with a sense of intimacy and immediacy. Using geo-fencing, which identifies users in a specific location at a specific time, Snapchat’s editorial team can capture video from everyone at, say, a Sanders rally, edit together the best moments, add graphics, and then publish it to their 100 million users. “At CNN, we would cover an event with one or two cameras,” Hamby said in his Shorenstein talk. “At Snapchat, we have everyone’s cameras at our disposal.”

The videos provide a pithy, informal look at what’s happening on the trail. One of its more popular stories,



PolitiFact founder Bill Adair wants to integrate live debates with the results of real-time fact-checking

THE FUTURE OF FACT-CHECKING

New fact-checking projects use advanced technologies to automate and accelerate the process

BY TATIANA WALK-MORRIS

IN AWARDING ITS LIE OF THE Year title to Donald Trump last December, the staff at PolitiFact had a lot of material from which to choose.

During the first GOP debate on August 6 in Cleveland, Ohio, the front-runner for the Republican presidential nomination said the government of Mexico sends “the bad ones over,” referring to the undocumented immigrants entering the U.S. from that country. There is nothing to suggest the Mexican government encourages criminals to enter the U.S.

On November 21 in Birmingham, Alabama, Trump claimed “thousands of people were cheering” in Jersey City, New Jersey as the World Trade Center towers collapsed on September 11, 2001. There is

no evidence for this claim, and Trump has not put forth any to support it.

On November 22, Trump retweeted an image that contained the following statistics: “Whites killed by whites—16%. Whites killed by blacks—81%.” FBI statistics show that in 2014, 82 percent of white murder victims were killed by whites, and the number of whites killed by blacks was approximately 15 percent.

“We did have a long discussion about if there was one [lie] that was more significant than the other, but at the end of the discussion it just seemed like it was a tough call,” says Angie Drobnic Holan, editor of PolitiFact, the 2009 Pulitzer Prize-winning fact-checking wing of The Tampa Bay Times. “They were all pretty

inaccurate and inflammatory.” So PolitiFact ended up designating Trump’s collective falsehoods as Lie of the Year rather than singling out one as especially egregious.

Campaign seasons are always busy times for fact-checkers, but this presidential campaign has been particularly intense. According to the Reporters’ Lab at Duke University, there are 96 active fact-checking projects in the U.S. and abroad, up by 50 percent since last year. And many are using advanced technologies to automate and accelerate the process. “The key to the future of fact-checking is getting the fact-checks virtually instant and making it so the fact-check is presented on the medium that the claim is made on,” says Bill Adair, director of The Reporters’ Lab and founder of PolitiFact.

Research suggests that people do care about the facts—sort of. An American Press Institute (API) study, which measured public views on fact-checking during the 2014 campaign season, found that nearly half of those surveyed were somewhat

or very unfamiliar with the practice. Those who were more familiar with fact-checking had more favorable attitudes toward it, as did individuals well informed about politics more generally, especially Democrats. The API study, released last spring, found that 59 percent of politically well-informed Democrats had very favorable views of fact-checkers, versus 34 percent of well-informed Republicans. For less politically well-informed Democrats, 36 percent considered fact-checkers favorably, compared to 29 percent of less well-informed Republicans.

Fact-checking is increasingly being bolstered by tools like ClaimBuster, an automated platform designed to help identify which claims by politicians should be checked. A collaborative project among journalists, academics, and computer scientists from the University of Texas at Arlington, Duke University (including Adair), Google Research, and The Dallas Morning News, ClaimBuster is programmed to give political statements a check-worthiness

from the first GOP presidential debate in Cleveland on August 6, features quick cutaways of Jeb Bush and his wife attending church and Governor Kasich welcoming everyone to Ohio. At different intervals Hamby gives rapid-fire explainers (why there’s a “JV debate”

in addition to the main one, how the candidates are arranged on the stage according to their standing in the polls) and includes kitschy moments like a shot of Cruz’s daughter with a caption dubbing her “debate coach.”

ALAN DIAZ/AP

rating that flags which ones merit verification. During the Democratic and Republican debates, the ClaimBuster team fed closed-captioning text into the prototype, and posted some of the most check-worthy statements on Twitter. While the system now only identifies statements, researchers hope ClaimBuster will eventually be able to monitor live streams, social media feeds, and websites to not just instantaneously detect factual claims but also to match identified statements with a repository of existing fact-checks from outlets like PolitiFact and FactCheck.org.

The nonprofit digital library Internet Archive is also working to advance fact-checking. Its searchable Political TV Ad Archive uses algorithms to identify and categorize political advertisements in 20 markets, including those in Florida, Iowa, Ohio, and Virginia, and make them available to fact-checkers, as well as others interested in the material.

The Archive has partnered with the Reporters' Lab at Duke, The Washington Post's Fact Checker, FactCheck.org, and the Center for Public Integrity to scrutinize political ads from the 2016 primary season, and, to date, outlets ranging from Fusion to Fox News have used the data in stories. Andrew McGill, senior associate editor at The Atlantic, and colleagues mined the archive to visualize a typical Iowan's television screen on January 29, two days before the caucuses, when an average of one ad aired every 45 seconds.

At Duke, Adair is also developing Share the Facts, a widget allowing journalists, bloggers, and columnists to embed summaries of fact-checks in their articles the way

they can already embed tweets. A recent post on PolitiFact's North Carolina site, run in partnership with The News & Observer in Raleigh, rated as "Half True" Trump's statement that NASCAR had endorsed him. While he did receive the endorsement of its CEO, NASCAR itself did not endorse Trump. The posting included the embeddable widget, showing Trump's remark, the date and occasion on which the claim was made, and PolitiFact's veracity rating, which ranges from "True" to "Pants on Fire" false.

Michelle Ye Hee Lee, a reporter on The Fact Checker at The Washington Post, is extending fact-checking to Snapchat. Because Snapchat prioritizes images over text, Lee selects fact-checks that can be quickly explained without a lot of prose. For example, when Ted Cruz claimed during the March 3 GOP debate that he spent much of his life in law enforcement, Lee posted Cruz's claim above an illustration of the candidate. When users swiped right, they saw the Post's brief debunk of Cruz's claim: "not rly ... He's exaggerating. He was a lawyer for Texas & defended criminals in private practice." Snapchat fact-checks like these have garnered the most views of any Post political story on the platform.

As journalists and computer scientists work to refine and streamline the process, Adair thinks the growth of the practice marks "a wonderful moment in accountability journalism. Fact-checking provides a critical service to democracy that many, many people do, in fact, rely on to shape what they believe to be true."

With reporting by Eryn M. Carlson

of footage, and it doesn't attempt to provide a rich analysis of what's happening. And the very fact that Snaps disappear underscores their limited utility, according to Leonard Steinhorn, professor of public communication at American University: "You see it, and it goes away." When it comes to his own students and their friends, Steinhorn says, "They are informed. But with [Snapchat], and the way they seek out information, it is almost a block, for even the most sincere, to becoming more knowledgeable."



NEWS OUTLETS ARE NOT CEDING the social media space but moving aggressively to seize it, crafting content specifically for platforms like Facebook, Twitter, and Snapchat.

A significant portion of Vox's overall traffic is mobile, so when it creates graphics or other display-oriented pieces, the social media platforms people use on phones guide their efforts. "When we're making these cool graphics, if they don't work on the phone, it's just a wasted effort," says Sarah Kliff, who oversees the site's graphics and data team. "It can feel constraining as a newsroom, but it's really important to meet readers where they are."

Accomplishing that entails not just engaging in the platforms people are using, but telling stories in ways that hold their attention. Vox helped pioneer the use of "social cards," which allow reporters to capture a single, telling quote and pair it with an artist's sketch of the candidate. The cards convey one powerful idea in an instant and can be easily shared.

Vox organizes its coverage differently, too. Reporters cover policy areas rather than individual candidates. Yet Laura McGann, who leads Vox's politics-and-policy team, acknowledges that the chaotic primary season has led to a juggling of resources to explain some unexpected story lines. "A lot of other outlets are competing to predict who is going to win," she says. "They look at the micro news events—'She bought a burrito!'—and ask, 'Does that mean she will win?'" My question is not, 'What happens next in the campaign?' The question is, 'What kind of president would this candidate make?'"

Vox's "gaffesplainer" is a case in point. Back on July 8, Bush made a controversial remark during an interview with the New Hampshire Union Leader's editorial board, which was live streamed on Periscope, a platform that wasn't around last election. He said that Americans would have to work longer hours in order to meet his objective of achieving an annual 4 percent growth rate. Democrats pounced on the comment, and the media narrative focused on whether it was a "gaffe."

Vox's Matthew Yglesias, by contrast, analyzed the economic theory and statistics necessary to inform an assessment of Bush's argument. The number of hours people work in a prosperous country tends to decline over time, Yglesias noted, because they become more

The piece does offer a variety of perspectives—including protesters chanting "GOP, out of touch!" and a brief commentary from Democratic National Committee chairwoman Debbie Wasserman Schultz—but it's impossible to tell who has shot the different bits

productive and don't have to compensate with extra hours. He also noted that the last time the U.S. experienced that level of growth, during the 1990s, Americans were putting in longer hours. Yglesias's conclusion: Americans already work unusually long hours for those in the developed world and Bush had no specific policy proposals outlining how the U.S. would be able to reach his ambitious goal of sustained, robust economic growth. Vox has done similar work analyzing Rubio's plan to combat the Islamic State and Clinton's infrastructure-spending plan.

Vox's Kliff, in addition to heading the site's data and graphics team, has spent years covering health care policy. She has published pieces about how Sanders has revived the issue of single-payer coverage with his "Medicare for All" proposal, which led to a spike in readership of the content Vox already had on the issue. Seeing the rise in interest, Vox's Dylan Matthews reported how the numbers on Sanders plan panned out.

Matthews explained how the cost was equivalent to spending an additional 8 percent of U.S. gross domestic product (GDP) on health care, in addition to the 8.1 percent of GDP currently spent and would give America "about the same level of government spending relative to the economy as you see in the Netherlands, and more spending than you see in the United Kingdom, Germany or Spain." Sanders's plan includes a "premium," which Matthews called what it is: a 2.2 percent flat income tax. Vox's coverage is noteworthy because it takes candidates' ideas seriously, scrutinizing where they come from and where they would lead us if they were actually executed.

B BUZZFEED NEWS HAS A TEAM OF 17 reporters and editors focused on the campaign, producing everything from quick takes to investigative stories and profiles. In recent years, the Clintons have repeatedly claimed that one of the reasons Bill Clinton signed the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) in 1996, which denied federal marriage benefits to same-sex couples even if their marriages were recognized in individual states, was to stave off what they said would have been far worse—a federal constitutional amendment. BuzzFeed's Chris Geidner dug through thousands of documents the Clinton Library had released on the law and LGBT rights and determined that there was no evidence for the idea that the signing of DOMA was, in the words of Hillary Clinton, "a defensive action."

And, after a reader tweeted that Trump had voiced opposition to the Iraq War on Howard Stern's radio show—a position he has trumpeted on the campaign trail—BuzzFeed's Andrew Kaczynski and Nathan McDermott went through old recordings of the show to determine that he had, in fact, voiced tepid support. "Are you for invading Iraq?" the shock jock asked him. "Yeah, I guess so," Trump replied.

Percentage of Americans who said these U.S. institutions have a negative effect on the way things are going in the country



CONGRESS



FEDERAL GOVERNMENT



NATIONAL NEWS MEDIA



LARGE CORPORATIONS

SOURCE: PEW RESEARCH CENTER SURVEY AUG.-OCT. 2015

The Huffington Post has produced several cinematic-quality video series, including "16 & President" and "New Hampshire," publishing some directly onto Facebook rather than its own site. In some instances, the raw content resonated with the public. Scott Conroy, senior political reporter for The Huffington Post, says that he and his team had shot footage of an emotional Chris Christie discussing the overdose of a law school classmate who had become addicted to painkillers. The footage didn't make the final cut of "16 & President." "On a slow Friday night, I thought to myself, 'That was actually a great moment,'" Conroy recalls. He put it online, and it has attracted more than 8.6 million views so far.

More importantly, "New Hampshire" gave viewers a sense of how that state's primary actually works, and why it is different from other early contests. Everyone talks about how intimate the interactions can be between candidates and voters, but "New Hampshire" captured those moments in real time. And they weren't just the obvious town hall scenes. A makeup artist who had lost her stepdaughter to a heroin overdose explained how she brought up the issue with every presidential hopeful who sat in her chair; a young digital reporter for CBS, who dropped everything to chronicle the race for nearly a year, got to know John Kasich well enough to tease him about his basketball moves.

The campaigns' treatment of the traveling press is nearly comical at this point—if it wasn't so tragic. At one point, Clinton's handlers put reporters behind a rope line as she walked, making the press corps look like a herd of cattle. She decided to answer a couple of questions from the media right after Super Tuesday, the first time in nearly three months she had done so. Most Republican campaigns aren't much better. Trump has banned BuzzFeed reporters from his events as credentialed media, though they often attend as members of the public. Trump expelled Jorge Ramos, an anchor for the nation's leading Spanish-language network, Univision, and the host of a weekly, English-language current affairs program on Fusion, when Ramos tried to ask him about his illegal immigration plan without being called on. He let him back in a few minutes later and allowed him to ask questions.

As a result, even the idea of access itself is coming into question. "The candidates are now so shrink-wrapped and programmed," says Washington Post national political correspondent Karen Tumulty. "You rarely hear anything spontaneous out of their mouths."

Adam Nagourney, who served as The New York Times national political correspondent between 2002 and 2010 and covered Bill Clinton's 1992 campaign for USA Today, says in past elections reporters have been able to see candidates evolve on the campaign trail. "A candidate learns to be a better, smarter, more informed candidate," says Nagourney, who now serves as the Times's Los Angeles bureau chief. "Then it really helps to be on the plane. But I don't know if that's as valuable anymore. People are much more risk-averse."

Yet traveling with candidates remains essential to in-depth coverage. Nate Cohn of *The Upshot*, a *New York Times* section that covers politics and policy, predicted the demise of both Trump and Cruz in 2015. Both he and *FiveThirtyEight*'s Nate Silver urged readers to discount Trump's standing in the polls, suggesting he would inevitably decline. Reporters regularly on the trail thought differently.

For months *The Washington Post*'s Jenna Johnson traveled with Trump, capturing the massive crowds he attracted as well as their intense anger. Johnson discovered something at the endless rallies that doesn't show up in a spreadsheet: the devotion of Trump's supporters. There were some who came to gawk at the spectacle, of course, but they were the exception. "The overwhelming number of people I talk to love him, and adore him, and plan to vote for him," Johnson says. In October she wrote about the billionaire's "super fans," people like Paulette Del Casale, who not only attended four rallies in three separate states in short succession but moderated a private Facebook page dubbed "Trump Defeats the Establishment."

Reporters and producers of the *Reveal* podcast, from the Center for Investigative Reporting, found the same when they traveled to Trump events in Nevada, Iowa, and South Carolina. Reporter Katharine Mieszkowski interviewed a down-on-his-luck man, Mike Augustine, who said Trump makes him feel rich inside. His support for the billionaire is so fervent, in fact, that he's willing to set aside his top political issue—the legalization of marijuana. However, if Trump doesn't get the GOP nomination, Augustine plans to vote for Sanders.

The "Pumped on Trump" episode of the *Reveal* podcast is full of surprises about Trump backers. As a follow-up to the January episode, *Reveal* partnered with online polling company YouGov to paint a picture of the typical Trump supporter. The results: the average Trump backer is white and older than 44; nearly half have a high school education or less, and half make less than \$50,000 a year. Twenty-seven percent of respondents said they were independents, while 21 percent said they were Democrats.

Rigorous on-the-ground reporting and newer data-driven techniques can be powerful allies. Nate Silver's *FiveThirtyEight* came to prominence when it correctly called the 2008 election results in every state but Indiana. It later became a licensed feature for *The New York Times*, before coming to its current home at ESPN



HILLARY CLINTON

“
The
question is,
‘What kind
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this candidate
make?’
”

—Laura McGann, *Vox*

in November 2014. When the current site launched, Silver wrote that his ambition was to “make the news a little nerdier” by bringing a data-centric approach to journalism.

FiveThirtyEight has more than two dozen full-time writers and editors and another couple dozen regular contributors. The site's approach is rooted in a critique of horse-race political journalism in which news blips are presented as key turning points. “*FiveThirtyEight* got started out of a very specific critique of political journalism, which was that a lot of it was false, basically, that it was overhyped,” says politics editor Micah Cohen. “*FiveThirtyEight* sometimes gets tagged as anti-traditional journalism, which isn't really true. It's just, there are some questions that are answered with this tool—data—and there are other questions that are better answered with other tools—reporting and that kind of thing.”

One question easier answered with data has to do with endorsements—namely, which ones are, or used to be, most valuable to candidates. In presidential primaries, when the party establishment, especially governors and members of Congress, agree on the best person for the nomination, rank-and-file voters have tended to

follow suit—something FiveThirtyEight has mapped with its 2016 Endorsement Primary, which assigns weighted point values for endorsements based on the office held by the endorser. As of March 1, Rubio, who has since dropped out of the race, was in the lead with 168 points, much more than Cruz (50) or Trump (29). The endorsement tracker offers a different take on the race than conventional polling, one that highlights the currency political outsiders hold in this race. And while many media outlets consistently treated Rubio like a front-runner because he was favored by many party elites, the primary and caucus results showed that Cruz was Trump's main rival.

EVEN AS MANY JOURNALISTS FAULT social media for making political coverage more superficial, others are using data gleaned from those platforms to enhance and deepen reporting. The Laboratory for Social Machines, an initiative of MIT's Media Lab, is using Twitter's entire database of tweets going back to the platform's launch in 2006 to explore connections among the campaign's three main players: the candidates, the media, and the public. The MIT team hopes the data can help journalists show how campaign coverage, candidate messaging, and the public's response converge to shape the election's most important narratives as well as its outcome.

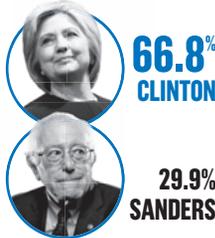
The project, dubbed The Electome, has the potential to spur "a new kind of journalism about the election, somewhere on the border of what polling used to do and what journalism has always done," says William Powers, a research scientist at the Lab and former staff writer for *The Washington Post*, "a view of the election that is more issue-oriented than we've gotten in the past and also that includes the public voice having a peer role."

One of the first things the Electome team set out to learn was how journalists can tap into public opinion to better cover what Powers calls "the horse race of ideas" rather than the horse race among candidates. In December, the Lab teamed up with *The Washington Post* to publish an analysis of what topics Twitter users were interested in during this election cycle. Using The Electome's algorithms to comb and sort hundreds of thousands of daily tweets mentioning election issues or candidates, the researchers found that tweets related to foreign policy and national security were the most prevalent, followed by conversations centered on immigration.

Twitter obviously represents only a small subset of the American population, and a not very representative one at that. But if The Electome's methods can be applied to other social media platforms, the technology could provide an important way to capture the public's voice and point of view. Powers urges caution when analyzing such data, though, given that these areas of

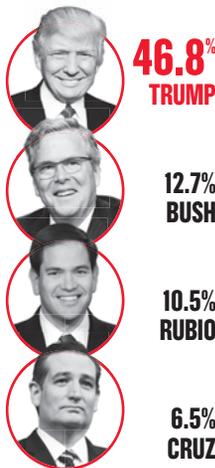
Percentage of TV news mentions of Democratic candidates

(AS OF MARCH 20)



Percentage of TV news mentions of Republican candidates

(AS OF MARCH 20)



Number of mentions by cable news networks

(AS OF MARCH 20)



SOURCE: GDELT PROJECT, WITH DATA FROM THE INTERNET ARCHIVE TELEVISION NEWS ARCHIVE

study are still very new. Nevertheless, he says, "Digital technologies have completely revolutionized the public sphere, and journalists haven't yet done as much as they might with that. We have a lot to learn about ourselves, about the candidates, and about the issues from this incredibly rich trove of data."

While it is often difficult to point to discrete turning points in how campaigns are run, two recent landmarks stand out: the January 21, 2010 Citizens United ruling by the Supreme Court, and the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals decision in *SpeechNow.org v. FEC* on March 26 of that same year. Citizens United lifted the restrictions on political contributions by corporations and unions as long as they did not contribute directly to candidates or parties, and SpeechNow allowed individuals to pool their money to spend it independently, which spurred the creation of Super PACs.

Those decisions have unleashed a torrent of cash into presidential and congressional campaigns, much of which flows through shadowy third-party groups that are difficult to track. This spike in spending comes at a time when the wealth disparity between rich and poor Americans has grown even wider, bolstering the appeal of Sanders on the left and Trump on the right, since both candidates can make the case that they cannot be easily bought.

In the new world of campaign finance, journalists play a critical role in monitoring who is donating to politicians and how that money is spent. "A lot of reporters are always looking for what's illegal," says Carrie Levine, a politics reporter for the Center for Public Integrity. "But, sometimes, the most interesting story is what's legal. This is classic reporting, and you want to think about the things you think about with any story: Who's benefiting? Who's getting rich? Who has the ear of the people in power, and how are they influencing the decisions?"

The *New York Times*'s Nicholas Confessore and his colleague Sarah Cohen answered some of these questions on February 5 when they scrutinized the spending practices of Trump, who has boasted about the fact that he's funding his own campaign. Looking at the most recent federal election disclosures, they discovered that of the \$12.4 million Trump's operation spent in 2015—much less than any of his competitors—more than half of it was covered by donations from supporters who have either sent him checks or bought campaign merchandise. Equally important, nearly \$2.7 million of the spending went to at least seven firms Trump either owns outright or are owned by people who work for part of his business empire. "What remains is a quintessentially Trumpian endeavor that blurs the line between campaigning and brand building and complicates Mr. Trump's claims that he is funding his own White House campaign," they wrote.

Along with Confessore, *The Washington Post*'s Matea Gold has emerged with one of the clearest voices on the beat. A presidential-campaign veteran, Gold knew little about campaign finance when she took on

the beat in the wake of the Citizens United ruling. She quickly realized that the topic “is something so technical and arcane that it’s hard to keep a sense of expertise unless you’re in it all the time.” Yet she thinks it’s vital for voters to know who’s giving money and building influence with the candidates, and says she has noticed, via reader feedback, “the number of people who say they care about big money in politics has grown exponentially.”

Roughly every other week, Gold sends out a briefing to all Post reporters covering candidates. She includes what updated campaign-finance numbers she may have cobbled together as well as intelligence about super PACs worth watching. She might include observations about “how political operatives take advantage of loopholes in law,” she says, or “what outside groups are aligned with which candidates, to make sure all the trail reporters know.”

Working with Tom Hamburger and Jenna Johnson, Gold exposed how officials at a super PAC had ties to Trump even though he had decried the idea of these quasi-independent fundraising vehicles. After they wrote about it, the super PAC was shut down. In September, Gold and Hamburger wrote about how both parties have been pursuing wealthy donors, now that limits on contributions have been loosened. “A lot of this can be seen as an esoteric, academic debate,” says Gold. “But if you connect it to a voter in Akron—why you’re seeing your airwaves bombarded by ads from all these groups you’ve never heard of—that’s a really important part of the story.”

Looking forward, Gold hopes technology can bring campaign finance reporting into the 21st century. The FEC website doesn’t post donations in real time, and Senate campaign committees are not even required to submit their financial disclosure reports electronically. “The big hole we have is how money is being spent and seeing quickly who is making money from different entities,” she says. “If I had a wish, it would be for a killer app to see instantly who is profiting.” Some technologists are working to make her wish come true.

At the Center for Responsive Politics, a team of researchers is developing a new data query tool that will give reporters access to real-time campaign finance data. Prompt Data Query (PDQ) is an automated, interactive tool that will allow users to build custom data sets using the Center’s up-to-date campaign finance and lobbying data. Sarah Bryner, the lead on the PDQ project, says this will bring a new level of efficiency and accessibility to making customized data requests in real time.



JOHN KASICH

“**The big hole we have is how [campaign] money is being spent**”

—Matea Gold,
The Washington Post

“Right now, a reporter might e-mail me or someone on my team and ask for all contributions from the fashion industry to members of Congress,” Bryner explains. “We’ll write some queries and deliver that data directly to the reporter.” In a post-PDQ world, though, the reporter would just need to go to PDQ and select her options, setting up a recurring request to get new data whenever she wanted, a process the Center hopes will provide more timely data and, ultimately, get more data into more news stoers.

“Our mission is to increase the visibility of money in politics,” Bryner says, “and we hope that by making it easier for the public to keep a watchful eye on their elected officials, we provide one more roadblock to politicians taking advantage of their power.”

All of these techniques—scrutinizing FEC reports, crunching data from voter files, reporting from the field—share one quality: They take time to produce. It’s so noticeable when talented beat reporters are “given the time to really work on something,” Jill Abramson observes. “It’s amazing, and it’s revelatory. Those are the kind of pieces that I’m hungry for.” ■

With reporting by Eryn M. Carlson, Jeff Chu, and Sridhar Pappu



Nieman Watchdog

Neither Heroes Nor Victims

Covering the disability
community with sensitivity—
and without sensationalism

BY GENEVIEVE BELMAKER
WITH REPORTING BY ERYN M. CARLSON

ANDY LAUB

*Juli Windsor
completed her first
Boston Marathon
in 2014*



O

NE DAY BACK IN the spring of 2013, New York Times reporter Dan Barry was looking for a topic for “This Land,” his column about American

life, when he came across a newswire story about a labor case involving a group of men with intellectual disabilities. The facts of the case: 32 men with disabilities, working for the same wage for 35 years, \$240 million in damages. “What the heck are we talking about here?” Barry recalls thinking.

The men had been rescued from living in squalor and working in abusive and exploitative conditions at a turkey processing plant in tiny Atalissa, Iowa. They had spent decades working for just \$65 a month, living in a house infested with bugs and infused with a rank smell. Roaches fell from the ceiling as they ate. They slept on dirty mattresses and used metal trashcans to catch water from melting snow on the roof.

Barry called the lawyer on the case to find out more—and also to ask about speaking with the men. The lawyer’s response was surprising: Not a single reporter had ever asked to speak with the men before.

When the turkey processing plant bunkhouse was closed down in 2009, some local media in Iowa reported the news. But by then the men had already been relocated to other places around the state and the country. Some coverage included interviews with one of the men’s sisters. The Des Moines Register published photos and videos of

what it described as the “house of horrors” where the men had lived. Barry felt the story was too compelling and had too many unanswered questions, and he was intent on giving the men a voice.

He began by tracking down the men and methodically conducting interviews. First, he got a third-party introduction from a caretaker. When he initially met the men in person, he didn’t take any notes; they just talked. The second time he met them, he had a notebook. The third time there were cameras. Along the way, he verified information by circling back to caretakers and the attorney on the case. The result: “The ‘Boys’ in the Bunkhouse,” a multimedia report centered around Barry’s 7,000-plus word column, in which he painted a vivid portrait of the men themselves and the horrible conditions in which they had lived. An accompanying short documentary, “The Men of Atalissa,” a collaboration between the Times and PBS’s POV, was produced by Barry and his colleague, video journalist Kassie Bracken.

“I just wanted him to be a guy in a bus,” Barry says of his depiction of Clayton Berg, one of the men, on his way to work at his new job after leaving Atalissa. “The mundane nature of that is kind of extraordinary because of where he came from.”

Barry didn’t want the men’s former circumstances or their disabilities to distract from the fact that they were, first and foremost, human beings—something that seems obvious but, too frequently, seems forgotten in depictions of people with disabilities. Stereotypes and even prejudices



Before Dan Barry asked, no journalist had sought to interview the men at the heart of a \$240 million lawsuit



No reporters had talked to Clayton Berg, one of the workers in a \$240 million abuse case, before Dan Barry wrote “The ‘Boys’ in the Bunkhouse”

about disability persist, and those stereotypes can creep into media coverage in the form of clichés. People with disabilities are viewed as heroes for accomplishing ordinary tasks, as victims, or—in cases of violent crime involving the mentally ill—as villains.

“There are two extremes,” says Gary Arnold, president of Little People of America, which advocates for the approximately 35,000 Americans with dwarfism, a condition that results in short stature and

can lead to a number of health complications. “One extreme is portraying people with disabilities as people who are helpless and deserving of pity. That reinforces the stigma of disability as something that is bad and that would need to be changed. On the other extreme, you have the overly heroic portrayal of disability, where the person is portrayed as a superhero for doing things that a non-disabled person does on an everyday basis.”

There are nearly 57 million Americans with disabilities (nearly 1 out of every 5 people), according to U.S. Census data, with conditions ranging from the physical—blindness, deafness, paralysis—to the mental and psychological, including depression and anxiety. Most newsrooms don’t have reporters specifically focused on covering people with disabilities and many activists and support organizations say Barry’s sensitive, non-sensationalistic story is the

exception rather than the rule. Even research on stories depicting people with disabilities is hard to come by.

Arnold, of Little People of America, can cite plenty of examples of coverage that people with disabilities consider offensive. He says Little People of America stopped making itself available as a source to The Huffington Post, for example, because the publication consistently placed stories with their interviews in the website's "Weird News" section. A search of the word "dwarf" on the site does turn up a number of headlines under that section: "Dwarf Stripper Kat Hoffman Finds Love With Army Sergeant," "Jahmani Swanson Is 'Michael Jordan of Dwarf Basketball'" and "Ritch Workman, Florida Lawmaker, Says Yes To 'Dwarf-Tossing,' No To Gay Marriage." Huffington Post spokeswoman Lena Auerbuch says the publication has "spent years developing a respectful relationship with the little people community," though she acknowledged that stories about people with dwarfism that involve pop culture and fringe entertainment "do sometimes appear in our Weird News vertical, a vibrant community that examines counterculture." In September 2015, The Huffington Post added a disability news section to its website after pressure from advocates.

"What the disability community wants is attention to our issues," Arnold says: access to health care, education, and government services, as well as the right not to face discrimination.

The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), passed in 1990, was designed to address precisely these issues. The ADA protects against discrimination on the basis of disability in employment, public services, transportation, and telecommunications. It defines disability as anything that interferes with an individual's reasonable access to and accommodations in public places and services, including the ability to be employed and educated. Many journalists are unaware of just how wide this definition is. That, argues Beth Haller, journalism professor at Towson University in Maryland and author of two books on people with disabilities and the media, has limited coverage. "People just presumed that all the [ADA] covered is people who are deaf, blind, or use wheelchairs," she says. "If the media understood how broad the definition was, that would help."

Crucially, this definition of disability covers a diverse list of physical conditions,

ranging from AIDS and migraine headaches to diabetes and complications from pregnancy, and also includes people with a range of mental and psychological disorders, certain learning disabilities, and intellectual disabilities, like those of the Atalissa men in Barry's story. For "The 'Boys' in the Bunkhouse," The New York Times team was careful to portray the men as real people who could help tell their own stories. Photographer Nicole Bengiveno and videographer Kassie Bracken spent about a year reporting the piece—researching, interviewing, photographing, and traveling to the different states where the men had settled in the time since the house closed down in 2009.

ONE OF THE KEY ELEMENTS OF their reporting was patience. Initially, they were barred from taking photos or video. As the team earned trust, the restrictions were eased. "We had to put the story together in a very sensitive way," says Bengiveno. "It was like detective work, meeting the men and learning their stories. Sometimes, there were scrapbooks, and we looked at their pictures. We saw them over and over again, because we had to get to know them." Bengiveno spent time with the men without Barry, working to take photographs as unobtrusively as possible. She captured the men watering the garden, riding the bus, making dinner—mundane domestic tasks they were denied during their lives in Atalissa.

To tell the men's stories, Barry relied on his own reporting as well as public records, court documents, and testimony by an expert who interviewed all the men for the trial. Sometimes, a caretaker helped him communicate with the men, since some of them had hearing and speech impediments. The greatest challenge was nailing down the timeline of events, since the men's developmental and intellectual disabilities—which impacted their reasoning and learning—often affected their sense of time. Barry says there was "no trick or special approach" to his reporting; he just talked to the men and asked them to tell their stories.

That approach—treating people with disabilities as sources, not just subjects—is what advocates want more of. The National Center on Disability and Journalism (NCDJ) offers interviewing tips and a style guide for reporters covering disability. One of

"I do not view my life as a life of challenges and limitations. That's not how I want to be portrayed."

—Juli Windsor, Boston Marathon runner



the most important things to remember when interviewing those with intellectual disabilities: Speak directly to the person you are interviewing, not their companion, and regard that person as the expert.

Also crucial is to not group all people with similar disabilities together, assuming how one person's disability affects their life is universal for all people with the same handicap. This, according to journalist Mike Porath, extends to writing about the disability. "Ask the individual who is being interviewed how he or she would like to be referred to in the story," says Porath, who founded The Mighty, a media company focused on sharing stories—many from a first-person perspective—of people with diseases and chronic illnesses. "One person may want to be called 'autistic' and another may want to be called 'a person with autism.' It should be up to the interviewee, not the interviewer."

Porath conceived the idea for The Mighty after his young daughter was diagnosed with

Dup15q syndrome, a rare chromosome disorder. He wanted a single community where people with disabilities could share their experiences and connect with others. "There is a lot of medical information on the Web, but not nearly enough stories of personal experiences that can often be far more helpful, insightful, or empowering," says Porath, who worked for ABC, NBC, and The New York Times before founding The Mighty in 2014. "We need more stories from the perspective of individuals with disabilities."

The Mighty has produced more than 6,000 stories since it launched, including ones that have been syndicated in outlets such as The Huffington Post and Yahoo.

Members of the disabled community are increasingly telling their own stories elsewhere, too. Martyn Sibley, a Brit with spinal muscular atrophy who uses a wheelchair, decided to do that by writing a blog about accessible tourism, technology, health, and personal relationships. He co-founded and writes for the online magazine Disability

Horizons as well as The Huffington Post and The Independent. "For true inclusion," Sibley says via e-mail, "we do need inspiration stories, but also everyday achievers who 'happen' to have a disability."

Juli Windsor, a Boston-based physician's assistant, considers herself an everyday achiever who happens to have a disability. In 2013, she e-mailed Boston Globe reporter David Abel to pitch a story about her effort to become the first dwarf to run the Boston Marathon. "My initial intent was that I wanted there to be more stories of people with disabilities being out there doing worthwhile things," says Windsor. However, she stressed that she didn't want to be depicted as a runner who was somehow overcoming her disability or defying expectations by logging those 26.2 miles. "I do not view my life as a life of challenges and limitations," Windsor says. "That's not how I want to be portrayed."

At the time, Abel was spending a year as a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University, but decided to work on a documentary about her for a class. He was waiting at the finish line on April 15, 2013 when two bombs went off. The race was halted soon after the explosions, and about 5,700 participants were never able to cross the finish line—including Windsor. She was less than a mile away from the end.

Abel was part of the Globe team that won a Pulitzer Prize for its coverage of the bombing, but he came back to Windsor for a Runner's World article in 2014. She ran the marathon for a second time, with Abel by her side. The pair crossed the finish line together, holding hands. The experience was grueling for Windsor, not just physically—at 3-foot-9, she takes roughly twice as many steps as the average runner, and, since dwarfs often suffer problems with their spines, she can experience significant back pain after long runs—but mentally, as well. Running past the spot where she was stopped the year before, Windsor had tears in her eyes, remembering the collective and personal trauma stemming from the bombings; her mother, who had been standing near the finish line, sustained face injuries and a shattered shoulder when she was trampled in the tumult.

It was this characterization of Windsor, as a Bostonian personally impacted by the bombing and persevering despite the heightened physical and mental obstacles, that Abel focused on in his article. For Abel, Windsor's stature was only part of the reason

Dan Barry's story about newlyweds who met at a shelter workshop focused on their joy



he wanted to write about her. “If there’s a compelling story, my sense is we shouldn’t focus on the disability as much as the person and what their story is,” he says. “The disability is just a piece of that.”

That appears to be more challenging when addressing people with mental disabilities. “In recent years, the time you see mental illness covered the most is when there’s a violent act,” says Shannon Heffernan, a broadcast journalist with WBEZ radio in Chicago who has reported extensively on the subject. “I think mental illness and violence are linked in people’s minds. What that does is it further stigmatizes mental illness.”

This was certainly the case in August after journalists Alison Parker and Adam Ward, of Roanoke, Virginia’s CBS affiliate WDBJ, were shot and killed during a live television broadcast. Soon after he fled the scene, the gunman uploaded a cell phone video of the incident, recorded from a first-person perspective, to his social media accounts, which were suspended soon after. Hours later, he shot and killed himself after a car chase with police officers.

Many stories about the gunman focused largely on his mental state. One CNN story alleged that his mental state was unknown, yet still referenced mental illness and firearms control in the same paragraph. The gunman had a history of conflicts with former colleagues, and media conjecture about mental instability was never verified; the killer was never clinically diagnosed with a mental disorder. The portrayal of shooters as “crazy” perpetuates stereotypes of mental illness as being to blame for a whole array of societal problems, including gun violence, taking culpability away from other possible factors—including how easy it is to acquire a weapon in the U.S.

THERE IS LITTLE TRAINING FOR journalists on how to avoid stigmas. Sarasota Herald-Tribune reporter Carrie Seidman decided to address the situation head-on. In “The S Word: The Stigma of Schizophrenia,” Seidman—who is the Florida paper’s dance critic, but occasionally does special projects—wrote two separate stories about two different men navigating their mental illnesses with help from their mothers. The first of those two narratives was Seidman’s own story, written in the first person, about her son, Keaton,

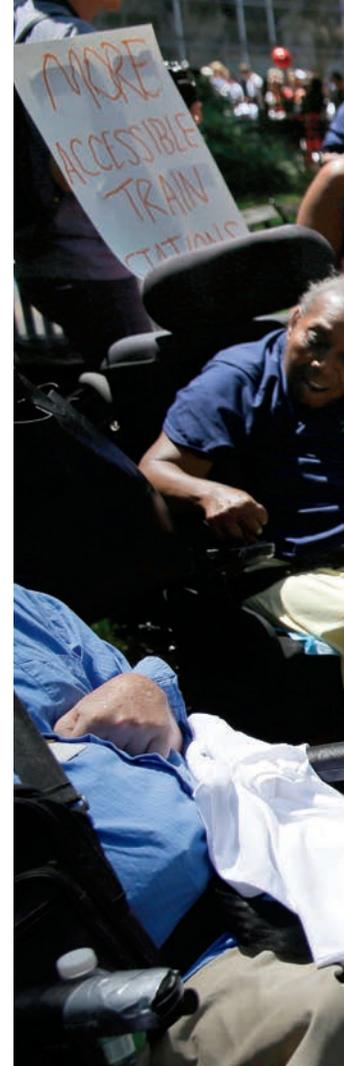
and his “jagged journey to stability,” starting from his first psychotic break, in college, until his diagnosis today, as a man in his early 30s who is able to live a relatively independent and productive life.

Six short vignettes about people with schizophrenia and their family members, who were all granted anonymity because the stigma of a diagnosis is still so great, accompany the two stories. The package was illustrated with work by a local artist with schizophrenia, and ran as a special, ad-free section in the Sunday paper in November. Seidman’s account brought a poignant and intimate dimension to the topic, humanizing those with mental illness.

Many advocates consider rights for people with disabilities as the next frontier for civil rights. Stories on the subject sometimes bear a striking resemblance to coverage of women and minorities from only a few decades ago. “It really is not so different from ‘first woman’ stories,” says Kristin Gilger, director of the NCDJ and an associate dean at Arizona State University’s Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communication. “For several decades, there were always newspaper articles about the first woman to do this and to do that. Just like with women and minority groups, it takes time for journalism to mainstream it into their coverage.”

The NCDJ administers the Katherine Schneider Journalism Award for Excellence in Reporting on Disability, and Gilger cites some recent winners as representative of the way coverage is changing. Ryan Gabrielson of California Watch won in 2013 for “Broken Shield,” his series of stories about the Office of Protective Services, a California police force designed to protect developmentally disabled patients, and its failure to investigate the horrific abuse of patients, even when they died under mysterious circumstances. Despite federal audits, investigations by disability-rights groups, lawsuits, and thousands of pages of case files and government data showing facility caregivers and other staff choking, hitting, and sexually assaulting patients, hundreds of abuse cases went unprosecuted. Gabrielson’s 18-month investigation led to greater protections for the patients.

ProPublica won in 2015 for a story by Heather Vogell about a boy with autism whose hands were broken when he was restrained by educators and about the broader use of restraint on hundreds of thousands of other schoolchildren every year. The



“The best thing news organizations can do to improve their coverage is to hire people with disabilities.”

—Mike Porath, founder of The Mighty



The Americans with Disabilities Act turned 25 years old in 2015, the year of the inaugural Disability Pride Parade in New York

article, “Violent and Legal: The Shocking Ways School Kids are Being Pinned Down, Isolated Against Their Will,” detailed the common practice of educators to isolate and fetter uncooperative—and often, disabled—children, sometimes with handcuffs, bungee cords, and even duct tape.

The New York Times’s Barry was honored with the 2014 award for “The ‘Boys’ in the Bunkhouse.” After the story was published in March of that year, Barry decided to spend the rest of the year reporting on the disabled community. It wasn’t difficult to find untold, or incompletely-told, stories. For one, he focused on the marriage of a couple who are both disabled and met in a sheltered workshop, where people with intellectual disabilities work in isolation at repetitive jobs for very low pay. Barry took this contentious issue and brought out the most human of elements: a happy couple in love, a bride and groom on their wedding day, and their joy at finding a life partner. He

relates the smallest details, such as picking up balloons for the wedding party that don’t fit into the car and a nervous bride fretting over shoes that hurt.

One simple way to improve coverage would be to train and hire more journalists with disabilities. “I think the issues stem from ignorance, not intent,” says The Mighty’s Porath. “The best thing news organizations can do to improve their coverage is to hire people with disabilities. There are a lot of great efforts to diversify newsrooms, but too often those initiatives are focused on gender and race alone. The best newsrooms will have people from all walks of life, including those with disabilities. All these life experiences and perspectives make newsrooms stronger.”

That’s certainly the case for Chicago’s ABC7, where, for more than two decades, disability issues have been covered as a beat rather than an occasional side story. The station hired Karen Meyer, a broadcast

journalist who has been deaf since birth, in 1991; for 23 years, Meyer’s regular on-air reports addressed everything from issues about wheelchair accessible playgrounds to protests in D.C. demonstrating against the fact that there were no statues of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in his wheelchair.

Having reporters on a disability beat remains rare, but ABC7 has remained committed to Meyer’s legacy of pioneering disability coverage, even after she retired in 2014. The station appointed anchor Hosea Sanders and special projects producer Sylvia L. Jones to the disabilities beat after Meyer left, and the station broadcasts special reports on a disability issue each week.

“Sometimes reporters—as a reflection of society in general—will write about the poor, or people with a disability, or people with some kind of challenge, with a hint of condescension,” The New York Times’s Barry says. “You have to clear your head of prejudices.” ■

Michelle Hackman
covers politics for Vox

Nieman Watchdog

Seen And Heard

The obstacles,
opportunities, and
latent prejudice
faced by journalists
with disabilities

BY MICHELLE HACKMAN



DERMOT TATLOW

MY FIRST REAL MISHAP AS A BLIND JOURNALIST happened during my first reporting internship at a small public radio station in southern Connecticut. It was a languid summer afternoon, and my editor, desperate to fill airtime, sent me out to an inconsequential press conference about Lyme disease research featuring Richard Blumenthal, Connecticut's then-junior senator.

The event was held on a grassy agricultural research campus several acres wide, a devilish labyrinth to navigate on deadline. I showed up 20 minutes early and started wandering aimlessly in search of the press conference. Just when I was ready to declare defeat on this most unimportant of assignments—the phone was already in my hand, ready to dial my editor—I heard a gaggle of chattering figures ahead. Reporters! I jogged right at them.

“Excuse me!” I practically shouted at one of the men. “Do you know where the press conference with Richard Blumenthal is happening?” We collided as he turned to look at me.

“Yes,” he said. “It’s right here. I’m Senator Blumenthal.”

The senator was very gracious about our chance encounter. He asked me which media outlet I was with and even personally helped me set up my mic on the podium. Doubtless, within several minutes, he—and everyone around us—had forgotten the whole debacle. But I couldn’t rid myself of it.

As a kid, I’d always dreamed of this day: when I, as a professional reporter, would be sent chasing after politicians to reveal some as-yet unspecified injustice. (Doubtless my childhood reveries centered far from the grassy, humid places of that day’s press conferences, let alone from the treatment of Lyme disease.) Before the Blumenthal run-in, I’d honestly never pondered just how I would pull it off in real life.

Ten years earlier, the little vision I’d grown up with, the kind of vision where I’d have to hold a book inches away from my face to make out the letters on the page, one-by-one, washed away. Officially, the doctors said my retina had detached, and no amount of surgery could re-glue it in place. But to my young mind, a world that had once taken on fuzzy outlines simply grew hazier. I was totally blind, yes, with not so much as the ability to detect faint traces of light. But I’ve always found the metaphor of darkness inadequate. I didn’t see darkness so much as I projected, through my other senses, the outlines of spaces I was moving through—the wide boxiness of a classroom with its sound-muffling carpeting; the echoes of a skinny hallway stretching far ahead.

It was perhaps because of the sudden onset of blindness, not in spite of it, that I first fantasized about journalism. Because I needed others’ hands to guide me across a street or to the bathroom, I wanted nothing more than an adulthood of everything I couldn’t have then: independence, adventure, respect.

So, I did what seemed instinctual. I became a journalist, writing first for my high school monthly and then the college paper. Naturally—this was my escape route, after all—I never dwelt on disability in my writing. I was lucky in this regard: politics compelled me as much as disability repelled me, and my wonky niche distracted editors from the fact that I could instead be writing compelling disability narratives.

I refused to think of myself as a “blind journalist” or a “disabled journalist.” Though I knew of exactly zero blind people who’d become successful roving reporters before me, I’d already concluded that the path for me was not only possible but inevitable. Before I’d really gotten into the nitty-gritty of the profession, I would have never thought to write this article. I would have believed it unnecessary and perhaps even unseemly if tied to my name.

Today, thanks to the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), journalists with disabilities find the path to employment better paved than ever before. But that doesn’t mean disabled journalists find themselves by any means on equal footing with their non-disabled counterparts. Those who make it in the field are the standout go-getters who seek out work-arounds to lessen the burden of their disabilities on employers. They are the few willing to pour extra effort into their stories in the hope that audiences will view their reporting as equal to that of non-disabled journalists. And they are the ones willing to tolerate relentless, if latent, prejudice from sources and editors alike who often have trouble squaring disability with competence.

Half a decade before the ADA’s passage, a forward-thinking newsroom hired a young blind college grad named Elizabeth Campbell, now a veteran reporter for the Fort Worth Star-Telegram. While she

never faced outright discrimination, she did need to coax editors into accommodating some of her unique needs. They were unwilling to hire Campbell a driver, for example, until she pointed out that the paper reimbursed other reporters by the mile when covering stories.

Lisa Goldstein, a deaf freelance journalist living in Pittsburgh, uses e-mail or chat programs to conduct the vast majority of her interviews, avoiding the inaccuracies of lip reading or the captioning on her telephone. “It’s great for accuracy,” she told me over Facebook Messenger.

Reid Davenport, a documentary filmmaker in California who has cerebral palsy and uses a wheelchair, employs a 96-button keyboard, called IntelliKeys, that functions as both a keyboard and a mouse. Despite editors’ suspicions to the contrary, Davenport told me, the only small adaptation he requires for a work computer is software that allows him to connect the computer to his keyboard.

Like Campbell, Goldstein, and Davenport, I have found that it’s helpful during job interviews to casually explain how I might handle a story, volunteering details about my computer (I can install screen-reading software on almost any computer, which will read aloud what I read and write) or my travel habits (I rely heavily on Uber for spot news and interviews; cheaper than a cab and easier for me to hail). Every editor I’ve worked for has asked how I include such vivid visual details in my stories, from descriptions of rich carpeting to the details of a character’s facial expression. The answer is simple: I ask, and then record the details in quick voice notes on my cell phone.

These work-arounds are certainly not easy to come by. “I find that I have to be my own IT person,” Campbell told me. She attends conferences to stay on top of the latest adaptive technology. Harder for journalists like me to stomach are the small daily affronts that

come with no easy fix. The moment when an editor assigns a story that’s rightfully yours to another reporter, because he or she thinks the other reporter can more easily carry it out; debating whether to reveal to a source that you have a disability; the pain of having someone do a double-take when you identify yourself as a journalist.

All of these experiences, in one way or another, weave themselves inextricably into the fabric of our work. Campbell knows that when she’s out in the field she might be met with a brief pause of surprise when she introduces herself as a representative from the local paper. Goldstein says she now expects some momentary confusion when she requests to conduct interviews over messenger programs.

Davenport, the journalist who uses a wheelchair, also has impaired speech due to his cerebral palsy. His words come out slowly, slurring together. When he was working as a daily reporter, both for his college paper and as an intern for publications, his speech proved more devastating for his work than his use of a wheelchair. When he left messages requesting calls back, he often wouldn’t get a response. When he did manage to get someone on the phone, they would routinely hang up on him in frustration. “If I had clear speech,” he says, “my life would be totally different.”

After two internships did not lead to full-time employment, Reid changed his strategy. He started producing documentary films, which allow him to develop deeper, longer-term relationships with his sources. That helps work through the initial awkwardness of presenting himself as a journalist.

In the years I’ve been doing journalism, my own streak of embarrassment and shame has shown little sign of slowing. I’ve needed help from security guards (sometimes even guiding me by the hand) to find important offices or meetings. I’ve asked editors for help reading the most basic charts embedded in reports, swallowing any pride I had about independence. And I’ve routinely been subtly passed over to cover breaking or spot news because, as far as I can tell, editors don’t trust me to be as fast as my peers.

With all that said, nearly everyone who spoke to me also brought up the same, unexpected bright side to working as a disabled journalist. So much of the job, they argue, is attempting to capture people at their most unguarded moments—to break through public relations noise or overcome an individual’s fear of speaking with the media. A journalist approaching strangers with their disabilities plainly visible, be it the cane they’re holding or the hearing aid they’re wearing, can be disarming.

Will Butler, another blind journalist, put it best. Sources are “impressed with your abilities, so they want to give you more, and they want to make your job easier,” he says. “Whereas if you are some hotshot reporter who looks like you know what you’re doing, a lot of people’s guard will shoot right up.”

Granted, that advantage is not great enough to push anyone with a disability into journalism, but the frustrations, for a select few people at least, don’t appear to be harsh enough to push disabled individuals out of journalism, either. What we all share is an unadulterated, idealistic love for the profession that comes independent of our disabilities.

Since that encounter with Senator Blumenthal, I have reported on a whole range of more consequential political stories, ones that have sent me on travel and, just as in my dreams, running through the halls of Congress. Those opportunities haven’t come because of my blindness or in spite of it. They are a direct product of my deep interest in political events. I have just tolerated many small slights along the way. ■

There’s an unexpected bright side to being a journalist with a disability: Holding a cane can be disarming, helping you connect with a source in an unguarded moment

Access For All

How newsrooms are trying to design sites that are easier for everyone to navigate

BY MICHAEL FITZGERALD

ELIZABETH CAMPBELL DOESN'T SEE the Web; she hears it.

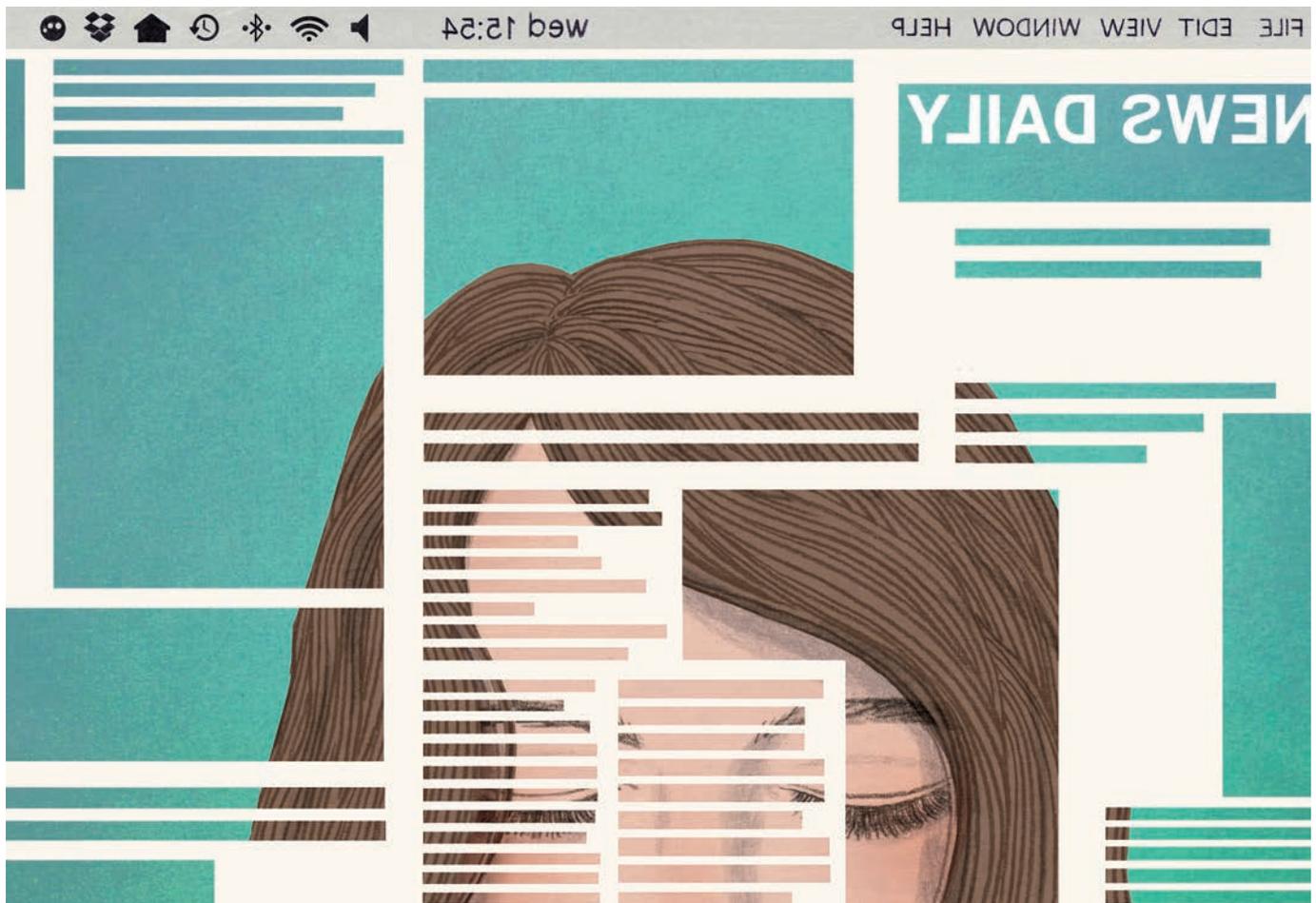
Campbell is blind and uses a program called JAWS that reads aloud the text on a Web page. The problem is, JAWS reads all the text. "I'll be reading along and JAWS will start reading an ad right in the middle of a story," she says. "A sighted person would see the same thing, but you guys can skim over it and skip the ad, where we have to figure out how far to go down so we can get back to the story." The more ads, the more likely a site is to make JAWS crash.

Cluttered designs stuffed with ads and other graphics give JAWS problems, especially if a site isn't programmed to make the text easy to interpret. So Campbell often tries a different browser. She might also use Apple's VoiceOver software on her iPhone, pulling up the article on the Web or even switching over to the publication's mobile app. Facebook is helpful because it makes text more accessible than many news sites and apps. As a last resort, Campbell, a general assignment reporter at the Fort Worth Star-Telegram, uses NFB-Newsline Online, a service of the National Federation of the

Blind that reads news content aloud.

If that sounds like a cumbersome way to read an article, it's also progress. "Even when I have challenges with access," Campbell is quick to say, "it's just amazing what we can do and what we can access as opposed to 30 years ago."

According to Census Bureau surveys, nearly one in five Americans reported having a disability in 2010. Many are motor or cognitive disabilities, including dementia and depression. But more than eight million Americans are visually impaired, and more than 7.5 million have hearing issues. For



people with disabilities, accessing the Web can devolve into the online bunny hop Elizabeth Campbell sometimes experiences.

While standards exist for creating accessible content online for those with disabilities, they are entirely voluntary for news

Five tips on accessible design

Put links in context. Text hyperlinks should say more than just “click here,” so that screen reader software can provide more information about what would be found at the link.

Use headings to structure pages. Screen readers and other adaptive software can browse a page by its numbered heading tags: <h1>, <h2>, <h3>, and so on. Each page should only have a single <h1> tag; subsequent tags may be used multiple times, but only if used logically to provide an outline of the page contents.

Include text descriptions of images. Captions alone may not provide enough context for blind users, so every tag should include an “alt” attribute that describes the content of the photo or graphic. This should also repeat any text contained in the image, which screen readers cannot parse.

Use landmark roles to define regions of the page. The “role” attribute can indicate which element on the page contains the main text, or the header, footer, and other information. This allows screen readers to skip information repeated on every page and go straight to the article.

Don't turn off visual focus. For people who cannot use a mouse, Web browsers have a feature that selects the clickable items on the page by pressing the TAB key. Some designers turn this feature off because they dislike the appearance of the focus box, but doing so can make it impossible for these users to navigate the site.

SOURCE: CARL AND RUTH SHAPIRO FAMILY NATIONAL CENTER FOR ACCESSIBLE MEDIA

sites. The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), a law requiring people with disabilities to be afforded equal access in public spaces, mandates things like wheelchair ramps, Braille signs, and handicapped parking. No such broad-based legal protections exist for the Internet. But for news organizations interested in reaching the widest possible audiences, and for journalists who see it as their mission to represent readers' interests, ensuring equal access to online content is essential.

Campbell wants to see the government extend the ADA online, treating the Internet like a public space where companies must design sites the way they design buildings—to ensure access for people with disabilities. That means incorporating things like descriptive tags for photos, videos, and interactive graphics so blind people can know the context of a photo caption; adding closed-captioning to online videos so deaf people can follow stories, and creating basic page designs for the Web and mobile apps that make it simple for people with various disabilities to skip over images.

Outside the news industry, much of the core technology for accessibility already exists. For blind users, JAWS and other screen readers can read content anywhere on the computer, not just on the Web. Apple implements VoiceOver on all of its devices, while Android phones have a corresponding feature called TalkBack, and Microsoft Windows has Narrator. For the deaf, automated closed-captioning systems for video have improved over time.

What's holding accessibility back is design—and awareness. Boston-based public media outlet WGBH has devoted considerable resources to accessibility over the years. The station was one of several groups that independently developed captioning for television and was first to use it on air, in 1972, during a broadcast of its Julia Child cooking show “The French Chef.” A transcriber did those captions by hand, and they could not be turned off.

Closed-captioning, which allows sighted viewers to turn off the captions, appeared in 1980. Today, there are automated services, but these are not yet consistent enough to be considered suitable for television audiences, says Geoff Freed, director of technology projects and Web media standards at the Carl and Ruth Shapiro Family National Center for Accessible Media (NCAM), which researches and develops accessibility technologies. Closed-captioning is still done

What if the Internet was treated like a public space that needed to ensure access for people with disabilities?

through paid stenography services, because “for truly accurate captions that are easy to read, humans must still be involved,” says Freed, whose business card is also printed in Braille.

One way designers can improve accessibility is to use the World Wide Web Consortium's most recent version of hypertext markup language, HTML5. This technical standard for posting information online makes it easier to put accessible captions on multiple images or use keyboard controls instead of mouse commands to play video or audio. The Timed Text Markup Language won a Technology and Engineering Emmy this year for making video more accessible to the hard of hearing and deaf.

Designers at digital journalism sites who care about accessibility usually start with the visually impaired, in part because the Web is primarily a visual medium. NPR brought in a person with limited vision, who showed the design team how hard it was to interact with the site. “It made me realize we needed to move to a simpler experience and de-emphasize the visual,” says Demian Perry, NPR's director of mobile. As a result, the mobile app NPR One has larger typefaces, minimal items per screen, and large control buttons for playing audio.

Clint Fisher, a senior Web developer at The New York Times, says the paper began incorporating access into its design criteria more than two years ago, during a redesign of the site. That redesign included bringing



Software that reads text aloud helps people with vision problems access information online

in people with disabilities to test how the site worked with their screen readers. He sat in on some of the user testing for the article pages and was startled to find that using a mouse or a keyboard was painful for people with certain motor disabilities.

One step Fisher took was to make sure the Times kept “focus rings,” visible boxes that appear on screen to highlight clickable content so that people can use the website without a mouse. (To see a focus ring, press the TAB key on nytimes.com; it moves a box from link to link.) However, focus rings can also distract sighted readers; Fisher notes that readers often report them as bugs in the design.

There isn’t a clearinghouse for accessibility information, but a good place to start is Yahoo, which runs a large accessibility lab in its Silicon Valley offices, with a satellite lab in Boston. Here the firm tests content for accessibility on devices ranging from traditional desktop PCs to gaming consoles to Apple TV. In October of last year, Yahoo live-streamed an NFL game, including live captioning, a step toward adding live captioning to Yahoo’s journalistic output, including Katie Couric’s show. Yahoo, Facebook, and other companies and colleges are also launching an education site on accessibility, teachaccess.org, which will include accessibility design tutorials.

Design alone can’t address all accessibility issues, though. TV stations automatically include closed-captioning when

content airs on television and then online, but the same is not true for Web-only video or live streaming, according to Joseph Radske, executive producer at WISC-TV3 in Madison, Wisconsin. For a live news conference streamed on its site, “the only information the hearing-impaired are going to get is what we have in the content of the story,” Radske says. Closed-captioning for live news events is about \$250 per half hour, he says.

There are online video sites, notably YouTube, which offer automated closed-captioning, but Goldberg and others say automated captioning is still not good enough to guarantee accessibility. Radske’s station has opted to limit its use of captions on streamed content to severe weather situations, to comply with Federal Communications Commission guidelines about safety. The good news, Goldberg says, is that costs for live captioning services have fallen dramatically and continue to drop.

Photographs are another area in which many sites don’t meet the needs of disabled people. “Slideshow content is not accessible for [blind people] at all,” says Nick Gomberg, an aspiring journalist who was born without eyes, a condition known as bi-lateral anopia. For the visually impaired, captions rarely provide sufficient information. When Gomberg went through a Bleacher Report story on Lou Gehrig’s baseball record, for example, his screen reader suddenly shifted from the story’s text to the photo credit and a six-word caption.

Sites can provide more detail about images through “alt” tags, parts of the HTML code that give screen reader software replacements for visual content that it cannot otherwise parse. Alt tags were one of the biggest areas of discussion at NPR when it replaced its content management system in 2010, according to Patrick Cooper, NPR’s director of Web and engagement. Questions included how many types of captions to include in the CMS and what was reasonable to ask journalists to do. In the end, NPR decided on a single field that had the caption and the alt tag together and trained staff on how to write captions that also described the context of the photo.

At the Boston Globe’s website, the design team made a conscious decision to use alt tags and other HTML code to accommodate screen readers. “We have programmatic things set up so if we write a caption, it automatically creates an alt tag for it,” says Michael Workman, the site’s design director.

At least one journalism school is looking to add accessibility training to its curriculum. Last year, Andrew Mendelson, then chair of Temple University’s journalism department, schooled faculty on how to incorporate accessibility techniques like descriptive video and audio. Mendelson, now at City University of New York (CUNY), says he hopes to do the same at CUNY. The New School is also offering a journalism course on designing for accessibility.

The Department of Justice has for several years been expected to begin a formal process for creating rules about online accessibility, and last fall said it would not begin the rule-making process until 2017. It declined to comment for this story.

In the meantime, one example of what fully compliant journalism might look like is The New York Times 12-minute documentary on theologian John Hull, who lost his eyesight as an adult. This special package, “Notes on Blindness,” included a closed-caption version, a version with audio descriptions of the images, and a full audio transcript. If something similar became the accessibility standard for journalism organizations, it would create additional workloads for already overstretched newsrooms. The cost, in time and personnel, would be significant.

For individuals with disabilities, these accommodations are essential. “What people with disabilities want is the same thing people without want: the information,” says NCAM’s Freed. “Everything else is just dressing.” ■

The New Media Monopoly As online news outlets concentrate in New York and other major cities, journalism faces an imperative to think differently

BY JOSHUA BENTON

A FEW YEARS BACK, AROUND the time of the financial crisis, I remember hearing about a guy with a start-up idea for a news site. The main expense any online publisher has is people, right? People who stubbornly insist on being paid actual money.

But the Internet meant reporters could churn out content from anywhere. So rather than pay 23-year-olds \$24,000 a year to live in a closet in Brooklyn, he wanted to buy up some land in Mexico—somewhere in the Yucatán, on a beach—and build a little Content Village. Rather than Williamsburg bars, he'd tempt young journalists with great surfing, a sandals-based dress code, and cheap cerveza. And because the cost of living was so much lower in Mexico, he could pay them crazy low wages, like half the American going rate.

I don't believe his little experiment in journalism arbitrage ever went anywhere, but it fit into a sort of thinking that was common in certain circles in earlier days of the Web: The power of the Internet was to eliminate barriers to entry, and geography was going to be one of the first to go. The "Publish" button in your content management system worked from anywhere, after all.

But, like so many optimistic narratives from that era about online media, the reality's

turned out different. Rather than disperse the news business around the country, the Internet has concentrated it more firmly than ever in New York and a few other major cities. And that has real impacts on the kind of news we get.

"The Internet doesn't spread things apart—it pushes them together," Richard Florida, the urban studies theorist, told me. "You're seeing more of these winner-take-all effects."

Let's start by thinking of the pre-Web news business. Physical distribution of newspapers and over-the-air distribution of TV signals meant location was all-important for daily news. Journalistic talent was arrayed to match, with substantial newsrooms in every city.

Digital changed that. I took a look recently at the job openings posted on JournalismJobs.com to see how many of them were based in New York City or Washington, D.C. Among television jobs, only 8.8% were based in one of the two news capitals. (The states with the most jobs? Texas, Ohio, and Florida.) For newspaper jobs, that number was 10.5 percent. But among digital media and start-up jobs, nearly 4 in 10—38.9%—were located in New York, D.C., or their suburbs.

When The Washington Post looked at Bureau of Labor Statistics data last year, it found that the share of American reporting jobs that were in New York, Washington, and Los Angeles went from 1 in 8 in 2004 to 1 in 5 in 2014.

Think of the most prominent digital-native news companies, like Vice Media, BuzzFeed, Business Insider, Gawker Media, Mashable, Vox Media—all of them are in New York or D.C. (Vice adds a sort of geographic diversity by being in Brooklyn instead of Manhattan, I suppose. But you could still visit a dozen of them without your Uber bill going too high.) There are smaller hubs in the Bay Area (for tech reporting), Los Angeles (all about video), and even Miami (for Spanish-language and Hispanic-targeting media), but the increase in concentration is unmistakable. Journalism jobs are leaving the middle of the country and heading for the coasts.

This won't come as a shock to anyone who's studied cluster theory, the idea that industries naturally tend toward concentration in one or a few places—think autos in Detroit, oil in Houston, or music in Nashville. Small geographic advantages start to snowball; companies that want to work with the big players naturally want to be near them, and talented people know that, if they want to do interesting work, they'd best go where the innovation is happening. The dispersed nature of the 20th-century American news business was the exception, not the rule; the world is spiky, not flat.

"These highly creative, high-velocity, high-metabolism industries really gravitate to really big cities," Florida told me. "It's where other companies are, it's where the talent is, it's where the innovation is happening the fastest."

So if the news business is becoming even more centered in New York, what sort of impacts would that have on our news?

For one thing, you'd expect it to make the media more liberal—culturally and politically. Journalists don't like it when conservatives point out that they, as a group, lean farther left than the country as a whole. But you don't need to be a conspiracy theorist to believe it: College-educated liberal arts grads who live in cities—a group most American journalists fit into—are more liberal as a group than the American median. And those who live in New York or San Francisco are going to be more liberal as a group than those in Cincinnati or Knoxville.

You can argue about whether that's a good thing or a bad thing. But one element of Donald Trump's rise is a backlash against the sort of cultural cosmopolitanism that lots of people who've never taken the Acela feel is on the rise. When trust in the media is at an all-time low, this shift could make it harder to bridge those divides.

Clustering could also change the sort of people who can enter the business. Some people don't want to live in New York. Twenty years ago, they might have taken a good job at a newspaper in Indiana and built a career there. Those jobs aren't all gone yet, but a lot of the ambitious college journalists



Vice Media, with headquarters in Brooklyn, is among the prominent digital news outlets clustered in New York or D.C.

I talk to these days are all about landing something, anything that'll get them in at the ground floor of an outlet in New York.

Does this trendline only move in one direction, toward greater concentration? There are a few forces working in the other direction. Tools like Slack make it easier for individual journalists to work outside the main office, which has let some reporters for whom location is unimportant to their work get out of the city. One could imagine a point at which the cost of living in New York

becomes too limiting a factor for growth and smaller cities become more appealing. (A version of this is happening now in the tech industry, where the insane cost of housing in Silicon Valley is helping cities like Austin and Seattle attract workers and companies.)

But the larger shift will be with us for years to come. There's little reason to believe news jobs will ever again be distributed as evenly around the country as they were a decade ago—the market forces are too strong. It'll increasingly be up to non-market forces—nonprofits and public media—to fill the local voids.

You see this pattern over and over again in digital news: What was once pitched as opening up a space has led instead to a greater concentration of power in the hands of a few. The Web and linking were supposed to expand routes of distribution—

but over time, we've seen that power become clustered in Facebook, Google, Twitter, and a handful of other tech companies. Online advertising was supposed to let a thousand media flowers bloom, supporting independents and small, high-quality publishers. Instead, it's led to a generation of digital publishers—all those guys in New York—who chase scale and race to be as big as possible.

America is a big, highly distributed place. Our democracy is structured around cities and counties and congressional districts and states. Our media used to be too. As an industry, it's our responsibility to make sure we don't become too myopically focused on a few square blocks in Midtown Manhattan. ■

Joshua Benton, a 2008 Nieman Fellow, is the founding director of the Nieman Journalism Lab

Though freed of geographic constraints, media are concentrated in a few U.S. cities

News Is a Public Good

So, in this excerpt from her new book “Saving the Media: Capitalism, Crowdfunding, and Democracy,” Julia Cagé argues that journalism outlets should be granted “nonprofit media organization” status

BY JULIA CAGÉ

“There have never been as many information producers as there are today. Paradoxically, the media have never been in worse shape,” economics professor Julia Cagé writes in her book “Saving the Media: Capitalism, Crowdfunding, and Democracy,” published by Harvard University Press in April. In it, she proposes a new business model for news organizations, inspired by a central idea: that news, like education, is a public good. Her model is inspired in part by major universities that combine commercial and nonprofit activities. A number of U.S. publications are organized as nonprofits but Cagé advocates a change in tax rules and the stable provision of capital through long-term investments to give news organizations more flexibility while also decentralizing control. Cagé, who holds a doctorate in economics from Harvard University, is an economics professor at the Paris Institute of Political Studies. She is a board member of Agence France Presse and a member of the Council of Economic Advisors

Adapted from “Saving the Media: Capitalism, Crowdfunding, and Democracy” by Julia Cagé, published by The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Copyright © 2016 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College. Used by permission. All rights reserved.

to France’s finance minister. This excerpt has been adapted from her book, which was translated from French by Arthur Goldhammer:

SOME OBSERVERS ARGUE THAT the media themselves are responsible for the worrisome situation they find themselves in because of their many mistakes and their failure to adapt to the new world. My diagnosis is somewhat different: the media have not hit on the right economic model because they have failed to comprehend the nature of the crisis and therefore continue to react with outdated reflexes. Most debate is focused on “the death of print,” but what matters is not the medium but the message. The most important issues of quality content and the organizational structure of the media have been neglected.

In short the question is not whether the media should be subsidized. It is rather whether they should be granted a favorable legal and tax status in recognition of their contribution to democracy—a status comparable to that long enjoyed by many other participants in the knowledge economy. Some see the interest of billionaire investors such as Jeff Bezos, Pierre Omidyar, and John

Henry as the harbinger of a new golden age: once again, newspapers will be flush with resources and staff.

But if the media of the future must depend on wealthy investors for their financing, many dangers lie ahead. It was in part the settlement of the estate of the Italian publisher Carlo Caracciolo that plunged the newspaper *Libération* into the crisis in which it finds itself today. That is why it is preferable for media companies to be organized as foundations rather than joint-stock companies: in a foundation, heirs cannot dispose freely of capital they inherit. The investment is irrevocable, hence permanent.

With many news outlets now mired in crisis, it has become imperative to think of new models for the media. The one I propose is based on crowdfunding and power-sharing. I hope that it may serve as a new economic and legal template for the media of the 21st century, a template that combines aspects of both a joint-stock company and a foundation. Let us call this new entity a nonprofit media organization (NMO).

To begin, it is useful to recall some mistakes of the past, starting with the experience of newspapers that have become publicly held corporations. Going public proved to be a mistake both for the newspapers themselves and for democracy. In the first five years after the *Chicago Tribune* went public, profits rose at the rate of 23 percent per year while gross revenue increased at a rate of only 9 percent; this performance was achieved by slashing expenditures drastically. The drive for higher profits affected not just newspapers but radio and television outlets as well (some television stations have operating margins above 50 percent), and the imperative to produce quality local news fell by the wayside.

To put it bluntly, shares of news media companies should not be publicly traded. This is particularly true in the United States, where publicly held companies have a fiduciary responsibility to their stockholders to maximize profits. This legal obligation conflicts with their moral responsibility to “serve the general welfare” (as indicated in the Statement of Principles of the American Society of News Editors). Similarly, because universities have a moral responsibility to educate and engage in research, it is hard to imagine them as publicly traded profit-maximizing corporations.

In the United States, the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Germany, newspaper companies have experimented with

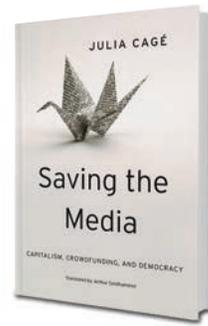
Being a nonprofit hasn't impeded the growth of media conglomerate Bertelsmann

a variety of innovative formulas over many years. Many nonprofit media organizations have emerged. In Germany the largest media conglomerate, Bertelsmann—number one in Europe and one of the largest media companies in the world—is owned by the Bertelsmann Foundation. This structure has in no way impeded Bertelsmann's growth. Bertelsmann, with 110,000 employees, occupies a significant place in the media landscape in France, in Europe, and in the United States, where it is the majority shareholder in Penguin Random House, the largest publishing house in the world.

Foundation status alone does not determine how media companies are governed. Should power be strictly proportional to shares of capital? If so, what countervailing powers can exist? In a typical joint-stock company, whoever owns the most shares also has the lion's share of the voting rights. This is a problem, because a dominant shareholder can see to it that the company serves his or her own economic or political agenda rather than the public interest.

Let's survey some existing models of nonprofit media organizations to gain a better idea of their advantages and limitations. One of the oldest independent foundation-owned newspapers is The Guardian, a pillar of the British press. The Guardian is owned by the Guardian Media Group, which is itself entirely controlled by the Scott Trust, a nonprofit foundation whose mission since 1936 has been to safeguard the paper's independence. In France, Ouest-France, the leading daily in terms of circulation, has been owned by a nonprofit organization since the early 1990s. With this legal status, the newspaper was able to avoid a hostile takeover.

However, it is in the United States, where philanthropy reigns supreme, that we find the largest number of nonprofit media organizations. One of the best-known is ProPublica, which Herbert and Marion Sandler created in 2008 with a donation of several million dollars. The investigative journalism site has already won two Pulitzer prizes. Among the more successful ventures we find are the Tampa Bay Times, which is owned by the nonprofit Poynter Institute; The Texas Tribune, The Christian Science Monitor, and of course the Associated Press, one of the world's leading press agencies and oldest cooperatives.



"Saving the Media: Capitalism, Crowdfunding, and Democracy" by Julia Cagé (Harvard University Press)

Can we say that the nonprofit form is the solution to the current crisis of the media? Notwithstanding the exceptional cases cited above, most nonprofit media companies are very small. Most of these organizations engage in niche journalism, specializing in narrowly defined subject areas.

Although such publications do bring welcome fresh air to democratic debate and to some extent fill the void left by cut-

ting in the traditional media, they do not appear to be capable of substituting for existing newspapers, especially since most of them are pure Internet players, which suffer from the same weaknesses as newspaper websites. The average visit to the website of a nonprofit publication lasts fewer than two minutes, half the length of the average visit to the site of a traditional American paper and far less than the time spent reading a traditional print paper. These weaknesses are not intrinsically related to the foundation status of the organizations in question but are due in large part to inadequate capitalization.

Foundations deserve credit for putting readers back in the center of the picture ... yet they have failed to involve readers in their financing. Except for the Voice of San Diego, which launched one of the largest-ever media crowdfunding campaigns (the Bigger Voice Fund), media companies have raised very little money via this route. Foundations generally favor large donations from wealthy individuals, firms, or other foundations over small individual contributions. This gives rise to two problems. First, they become vulnerable to excessive influence by a small number of individuals, thus creating a risk to democracy. And second, they become equally vulnerable to economic downturns and therefore financially fragile.

One other point deserves emphasis: the tax laws pertaining to foundations are extremely complex in both the United States and France, and this places strict limits on the development of foundation-based or other alternative media. In the United States, it is very difficult for a nonprofit news operation to meet the criteria of Section 501(c)3 of the tax code, which must be satisfied by any organization seeking to accept tax-exempt contributions and avoid payment of the corporate income tax.



The French daily Libération faces a financial crisis linked to the structure of the company

French authorities are currently considering extending foundation status to media organizations, and it is to be hoped that this comes to pass. One possibility would be to declare the maintenance of press pluralism as a mission in the public interest. In any case, it is extremely important that we begin to think of the media as part of a much larger ecosystem, the knowledge-producing sector of the economy.

My point is not to propose specific improvements in French or American law. It is rather to argue that extending the tax breaks accorded to endowment funds in France and 501(c)3 organizations in the

United States would mark a significant step forward. Simplification of the current system for contributions to the media would encourage private donations and make state aid more efficient. Even more important, reorganizing media companies as foundations would make it possible to establish permanent capital endowments. Gifts to foundations are irrevocable, and a system of irrevocable investments would make it possible to guarantee the independence of media companies over the long run.

The type of nonprofit media organization I am proposing combines the vir-

tues of different legal types. It enjoys the advantages of a foundation (stability of financing and ability to focus on information as a public good rather than on profit maximization at the expense of quality) and those of a joint-stock company (diversified ownership, replenishment of leadership ranks, and democratic decision-making, provided that the power of the largest shareholders is appropriately limited). The NMO I am proposing is a hybrid model. It is inspired in part by the model of the great international universities, which combine commercial and noncommercial activities.

BILL O'LEARY/THE WASHINGTON POST VIA GETTY IMAGES

Some see billionaire investors like Washington Post owner Jeff Bezos as a harbinger of a new golden age for newspapers



THE NMO MODEL FALLS between the two extremes of a foundation and a joint-stock company. Like a foundation, it can accept unlimited gifts. In my model, such gifts are to be tax deductible, as gifts to foundations currently are. Yet they are also to be compensated by voting rights in the firm: a gift to an NMO is a contribution to its capital and therefore brings “political” rights like any other investment.

In countries like the United States, where existing media subsidies are insufficient, the NMO model could also provide

a novel and extremely efficient way for the government to increase its contribution to the health of the media. The NMO model offers numerous advantages. It combines the benefits of the nonprofit model with democratized governance, bringing in more small shareholders while also allowing for the large investments that are often needed. Big investors give up some of their decision-making power but in return receive millions in tax breaks.

Tax relief in exchange for democratization and capital stabilization: this system resolves the inherent contradictions involved in giving subsidies to media owned by large profit-making corporations or in allowing the press to be controlled by individuals with deep pockets.

The solution I am proposing may seem radical. But this new legal entity of a NMO is not all or nothing. Drastic simplification of the existing system of press subsidies in France, a more accommodating legal and fiscal framework for the media in the United States, extension of the value-added tax reduction to online newspapers in Europe (where the tax break is currently available only to print newspapers), and, more generally, granting media companies everywhere easier access to foundation status and the benefits of private contributions—all of these measures would help.

What must be recognized is that the news media provide a public good, just as universities and other contributors to the knowledge economy of the twenty-first century do. For that reason they deserve special treatment by the government. Governments have moved gradually toward allowing media companies to operate as nonprofits and therefore to solicit donations. At the same time, they have made it too difficult to acquire nonprofit status because they have not fully embraced the idea that news is a public good.

In the current media landscape, it is not difficult to find any number of troubled organizations that could be saved if they adopted the NMO model. In France, for example, the NMO model would have allowed the employees of the regional daily *Nice Matin* (then in receivership) to buy the paper without having to cede ownership of *Corse-Matin* or delegate management of the paper to others (as was done under court order in November 2014). If the national daily *Libération* had been an NMO, a third of the staff would not have been forced to leave in early 2015 because of problems linked to

Like universities, news media provide a public good and deserve a special status

the estate of press baron Carlo Caracciolo. Since investments in an NMO are irrevocable, Caracciolo’s heirs would not have been able to sell their shares and thus jeopardize the entire system by transferring control to outside investors with little interest in quality news.

In the United States, how many layoffs of journalists might have been avoided if their employers had been NMOs of the type I am proposing? How many newspapers might have been bought out rather than forced to close? The Milwaukee *Journal Sentinel*, which until the early 2000s was owned by its employees, might have chosen to become an NMO rather than go public. It could then have attracted needed financial support from its readers devoted to the widely acknowledged quality of its investigative journalism, as well as from its employees, who would have received tax breaks in exchange for their investments rather than being forced to watch as the value of their shares plummeted on the stock exchange. E.W. Scripps Co., which bought the paper in 2015, has already shut down other papers it has purchased, such as the *Cincinnati Post*, *The Albuquerque Tribune*, and the *Rocky Mountain News*.

The NMO model would also encourage the creation of newspapers and online news sites. Under the new model, they would find it easy to raise funds from their readers while at the same time soliciting investments from outside investors without fear of losing control (because the voting rights of those large outside investors would be limited). Existing nonprofit media outlets would also be able to expand.

The difficulties the media face are such that there is no time for delay. A choice has to be made. New technologies such as the Internet have opened the way to a democratization of capitalism, of which crowdfunding is one sign. But pure gifts are not enough: contributors should receive voting rights and political power as incentives to invest and as a means reassert control over our collective destiny. Capitalism, crowdfunding, democracy: these are watchwords for the future. ■



1951

Simeon Booker is the recipient of the 34th George Polk Career Award for his 50-plus years of covering the civil rights movement for Jet magazine. His coverage included the 1955 murder of teenager Emmett Till.

1971

Jim Squires is the author of “West End: A Novel of Envy, Revenge, and Dirty Money,” a coming-of-age story that explores the demise of newspapers. Old Hickory Press published the novel, which

Squires penned under the pseudonym Crockett White.

Jack Schwartz’s memoir, “The Fine Print: My Life as a Deskman,” was published through CreateSpace. A copy boy at The Daily Mirror in the 1950s, he later ran The New York Times’s Culture Desk.

1977

Kathryn Johnson, formerly a reporter for the Associated Press’s Atlanta bureau, is the author of “My Time with the Kings: A Reporter’s Recollection of Martin, Coretta, and the Civil Rights

Movement,” published by RosettaBooks.

1989

Rod Nordland has penned a new book, “The Lovers: Afghanistan’s Romeo and Juliet,” which was published by Ecco. The book tells the story of a couple whom Nordland met while he was Kabul bureau chief for The New York Times.

1991

Tim Giago is president of the newly formed nonprofit National Historic Site of Wounded Knee, Inc. Its goal

is to buy 40 acres of land at Wounded Knee, put it in trust for all the tribes of the Great Sioux Nation, and establish a holocaust museum, cultural center, and trading post.

2001

Ken Armstrong is a recipient of the 2015 George Polk Award for Justice Reporting for “An Unbelievable Story of Rape,” a joint effort of The Marshall Project and ProPublica.

2004

Lizeka Mda has joined South Africa’s University of the

Eight Knight Visiting Nieman Fellows Named

The Nieman Foundation has selected eight journalists and media executives as Knight Visiting Nieman Fellows for 2016. Each is working on an innovative project designed to advance journalism across multiple platforms.



Maya Baratz, most recently head of new products at Disney/ABC Television, is experimenting with new formats for nonfiction storytelling via text messaging. She plans to design a product that offers an immersive experience.



Walter Frick, a senior associate editor at Harvard Business Review, will research how machine learning can help news organizations better organize background information in order to provide context for journalists and readers when news breaks.



David Barboza, a reporter for The New York Times who most recently served as Shanghai bureau chief, will build new tools for investigative reporting in China, including a business and financial database of Chinese companies.



Paul McNally, a radio journalist for Wits Journalism and director of The Citizen Justice Network in South Africa, will develop an online tool to organize citizen journalism into a network for investigative reporting.



Bill Church, executive editor of the Sarasota Herald-Tribune and southeast regional editor of GateHouse Media, will explore the organizational behavior of small newsrooms and examine new models for adaptability and innovation.



An Xiao Mina, director of product at Meedan, is examining how language barriers affect global coverage. She will conduct a case study around a news event to measure the impact of translations and social media annotations.



Fatemah Farag, founder and CEO of Welad El Balad Media Services in Egypt, will research the relationship between community engagement and media production. Her goal is to help alternative media in Egypt and the Middle East.



Tara Pixley, a freelance photojournalist, will identify structural challenges to accessing images from photojournalists outside the Western media network. She aims to create a platform to showcase quality global photojournalism.

The visiting fellowship program was established in 2012 to invite individuals with promising journalism research proposals to take advantage of the many resources at Harvard University and the Nieman Foundation. In 2015, the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation provided a \$223,000 grant to support the Knight Visiting Nieman Fellowships. Those eligible to apply include publishers, programmers, designers, media analysts, academics, journalists, and others interested in enhancing quality, building new business models, or designing programs to improve journalism. Application information for 2017 will be posted online by the middle of this year.

Witwatersrand as a lecturer in journalism practice.

2005

Joshua Hammer has received a National Magazine Award for reporting for his story “My Nurses Are Dead, and I Don’t Know If I’m Already Infected.” The article, which appeared in *Matter* in January 2015, detailed the life and death of a globally renowned Ebola expert.

2006

Mary C. Curtis has joined CQ Roll Call as the media company’s politics editor.

2009

Graciela Mochkofsky has been named director of City University of New York Graduate School of Journalism’s new Spanish-language journalism initiative to train bilingual journalists interested in working for Hispanic media outlets in the U.S. or abroad.

Margie Mason and colleagues at the Associated Press have been honored with USC Annenberg’s Selden Ring Award for Investigative Reporting, a George Polk Award for Foreign Reporting, the Goldsmith Prize for Investigative Reporting, the Anthony Shadid Award for Journalism Ethics, an Ancil Payne Award for Ethics in Journalism, and two Society of American Business Editors and Writers’ Best in Business Award for work on a series of stories that showed how seafood sold in the U.S. had been produced by slaves in Southeast Asia. The Associated Press series prompted a number of reforms and prosecutions, and more than 2,000 people who had been held captive have been released.

“ACEL DID NOT DO THINGS IN A SMALL WAY”



Former Philadelphia Inquirer editor Gene Roberts, NF '62, recalls the dedication of Acel Moore, NF '80

Acel Moore, NF '80, a longtime journalist at The Philadelphia Inquirer, died February 12 at his home in Wyncote, Pennsylvania. He was 75. The cause was complications of diabetes and chronic lung disease. After 43 years at The Philadelphia Inquirer, he retired in 2005.

The headlines of Acel Moore’s impressive career in journalism are well known. From copy boy to a member of The Philadelphia Inquirer’s editorial board. A founder of the National Association of Black Journalists. The first black journalist to win the Pulitzer Prize for reporting and writing.

Acel did not do things in a small way. He even ran up the largest parking bill in the history of the paper. It came when he and Wendell Rawls were working on the story of widespread abuses at the Farview State Hospital for the Criminally Insane. They drove a company car to the facility, parked it in a parking lot and grew so absorbed in the tales of horror that they were amassing about prisoner treatment that they forgot about the car. They returned to Philadelphia by air. Three months later the Inquirer received a parking bill for more than \$3,000 in 1976 dollars, more, by the way, than the car was worth. But the story Acel and Wendell did was more than worth the cost. It not only won the Pulitzer Prize, it became a textbook example of investigative reporting, laying bare the brutal treatment of mentally disturbed prisoners. It brought reforms.

Acel’s contributions to the Inquirer, of course, went beyond the many memorable stories and columns he authored. He was a key figure in steering the Inquirer from a segregated newsroom to one of diversity. He tirelessly recruited black journalists to the paper. And he was deeply involved in a program to bring minority copy editors onto the Inquirer in the 1970s when there were none in the business to recruit. The secret? Scouting colleges for students who were strong on grammar, urging black English teachers to take the paper’s copy editor exam. It worked. The paper’s copy desks were more diversified than any other large American newspaper at the time.

But of all his many contributions, it was Acel’s openness, his welcoming smile, his willingness to take hours and days to introduce a new staff member to his beloved Philadelphia, that will live longest in the minds of many veteran Inquirer staff members. This was no small contribution at a time when the Inquirer was recruiting journalists from across the nation, most of them with A-plus ability but with little knowledge of their new city. No one in the newsroom had an easier manner than Acel; no one knew the city better; and no one was more willing to help.

Alfredo Corchado has joined Arizona State University’s Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communication as a professor and editor of the school’s Southwest Borderlands Initiative, a new bilingual reporting program in which students cover immigration and border issues in Mexico and the U.S. for Arizona PBS.

2011

Joshua Prager made the selections for a new book, “100 Years: Wisdom From Famous Writers on Every Year of Your Life,” which will be published by Norton in May.

2012

Anna Griffin is Oregon Public Broadcasting’s new news editor. Griffin spent the past 12 years at The Oregonian.

Carlos Eduardo Huertas has launched Connectas Hub, a new Spanish-language platform through which investigative journalists in Latin America can share information. The platform is an initiative of the nonprofit Connectas.

Jeff Young is managing editor of Louisville Public Media’s Ohio River Network, a new collaboration between seven public media stations in Ohio, Kentucky, and West Virginia.

2014

Greg Marinovich has written a new book, “Murder at Small Koppie: The Real Story of The Marikana Massacre.” An account of a 2012 massacre, when South African police killed nearly three dozen miners and injured many others, the book was published by Zebra Press.

2015

Maggie Koerth-Baker is now a senior science reporter at FiveThirtyEight. She also is writing a column for UnDark, a new science publication based at MIT’s Knight Science Journalism Program.

Let's Talk By making the news a conversation, journalists can better serve the communities they cover

THE FIRST TIME I INVITED my readers to meet up at a coffee shop, one person came. His name was Jimmy. He was a fan of my geeky news and conversation blog at the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, and after we chatted over lattes at the Uptown Espresso, I asked him a bunch of questions. Would a meetup be worth doing regularly, even weekly? *Sure!* he said. What if just a couple people come? *Then a couple people have a conversation.* Is it OK if there's no agenda except to talk about whatever's on people's minds? *Sure, why not? Just try it and see how it goes!*

I hosted the "Big Blog meetup" every Wednesday evening, from 5:30 to 7, for nearly two years, beginning in 2008. Sometimes two people came. Sometimes 15 did. The meetups took place at any of dozens of coffee shops all over Seattle. I'd announce each location on Twitter, and we'd talk about anything and everything: the city's growth and gentrification, the culture wars between bicyclists and motorists, our days at work, our favorite phone apps and blogs.

Sometimes, I'd invite a special guest: a popular local weather blogger, a South Seattle breakdancing crew getting national attention, a man who criss-crossed the country to work 50 jobs in 50 states. After a while, readers, some of them neighborhood bloggers, started asking if I could host my next meetup in their part of town. That's how I got to know residents of parts of Seattle I'd only driven through: Lake City,

White Center, the Rainier Valley, and more.

I got story ideas at the meetups. I got sources. I got context. I heard perspectives that informed my online-only reporting.

But I wasn't there to mine people for stories. I was there to guide a good conversation, and to make sure that everyone who showed up felt valued enough to be part of it, and connected enough to come back. I was there, I later realized, not to find stories, but to build relationships.

The value of the meetups was obvious to me. But not to my editors.

One day, my editor told me that I couldn't host the meetups anymore. Instead, I should use those two hours a week to write another blog post that brings more hits to the site.

I was stunned.

Feeling desperate, I went to my desk and pulled up my blog. I printed out several posts, and with a marker circled all the comments that had been left by people who had come to my meetups. The whole point of my blog was to make Seattle news a conversation. I considered the quality of the comments my main metric of success. We didn't have threaded comments in those days. We didn't even have upvotes and downvotes. Long, more thoughtful comments had the power to draw other long, thoughtful comments. They saved

Mónica Guzmán



**Starting with a meetup
at which a single reader
showed up, I built a
world of relationships**

discussions from toxic oblivion. Often, they were left by my most committed readers—the people who came to the meetups.

Armed with this evidence, I went into my editor's office and made my case. She let me keep the meetups, but to this day, I don't know if it's because I convinced her that they were valuable to the paper, or because she saw how much I cared, and decided not to push the issue.

I read only one book on journalism before I became a journalist myself—"The Elements of Journalism," by Tom Rosenstiel and former Nieman curator Bill Kovach. One of the nine principles they articulate in the book is the role of journalism in providing a public forum for criticism and compromise. What's essential, the authors argue, is that that forum be guided by the same principles as the rest of journalism. Journalists should work, in other words, to make sure the forum is truthful, diverse, productive.

In the last two decades, that public forum has grown bigger and more powerful than many journalists could have imagined. It exists in countless spaces well beyond the boundaries of journalism, on platforms where journalists share a presence, but do not set the rules.

A more expressive public presents a new set of challenges to journalism, but it also demands that we revisit journalism's core purpose. Can our purpose be just to inform, when people are so adept at informing themselves? Can our purpose be just to report facts and context, when so much of what drives our society are the stories people tell each other, stories a whole army of journalists could never hope to find and report themselves?

Journalists are feeling all this pressure to go big. Go viral. Get scale. I think most of us would do better going small. Find the communities whose conversations you can do the most to strengthen and get to know them. Not so they can serve you with clicks and shares and crowdsourcing, but so you can serve them better than anyone else. ■

Mónica Guzmán, a 2016 Nieman Fellow, was formerly a columnist for The Seattle Times



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The Nieman Foundation for Journalism
Harvard University
One Francis Avenue
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

SPRING 2016
VOL. 70 NO. 2
TO PROMOTE AND
ELEVATE THE STANDARDS
OF JOURNALISM

